THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

Written originally in FRENCH by

RAPIN DE THOYRAS:

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES;

AND

CONTINUED FROM THE REVOLUTION

TO THE

Acceſſion of KING GEORGE II.

BY

N. TINDAL, M. A.

Late RECTOR of ALVERSTOKE IN HAMPSHIRE, and CHAPLAIN to the ROYAL HOSPITAL at GREENWICH:

With the Reign of GEORGE the II:

BY

T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

AND AN INDEX TO EACH VOLUME.

VOL. II.

Illuſtrated and Embelliſhed with Portraits of the KINGS, QUEENS, and illuſtrious Perſonages, Monuments, Great-Seals, Coins, naval and military Engagements, &c. and Maps of the different Parts of the World, where the Important Events of this Hiſtory took Place.

LONDON: Printed by and for JOHN HARRISON No. 115, Newgate-Street; and ſold by all the Book-Sellers in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland.*

M DCC LXXXIX.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London. Engravid for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

EDWARD. V. KING of ENGLAND FRANCE. &c

Goldar Sculp

From a Limning in a Manuscript-book now in the Library at Lambeth.

Published as the Act directs March 1, 1784

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

17. EDWARD V.

[1483] AFTER the death of Edward IV. the prince his eldeſt ſon, between twelve and thirteen years of age, was proclaimed king by the name of Edward V. The reign of this prince was ſhort and unfortunate, if the two months and twelve days that he bore the title of king, and which were wholly ſpent in depriving him of the crown even before he ſolemnly received it, ought not rather to be deemed an inter-regnum. However, as during that ſhort ſpace he was generally acknowledged for ſovereign of England, hiſtorians have made no ſcruple to rank him among the kings. The whole ſubject of this reign conſiſts only of the means uſed by the duke of Gloceſter to diſpoſſeſs the young king his nephew, and place himſelf on the throne. But before I enter upon the relation of theſe deteſtable practices, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the ſtate of the court of England before the death of Edward IV.

Elizabeth Woodville, who from a ſubject was become queen by her marriage with Edward, held the firſt rank at court, as well by the privileges common to all queens, as by her great credit. From the time of her marriage, ſhe had acquired an influence over the king, which ſhe preſerved to the day of his death. Her birth, by her father's ſide, was not very conſiderable[a]: but her mother, who had been wife of the famous duke of Bedford, was of the houſe of Luxemburgh, illuſtrious for the princes, kings, and emperors it had given to Europe. So, conſidering Elizabeth as derived from thence, it is not at all ſtrange ſhe ſhould have a great ſoul, and think herſelf as worthy to command as the nobleſt lords of England. However, as being queen gave her no right to interpoſe in the public affairs, ſhe artfully aſſumed it by her aſcendancy over the king. Though Edward often proved falſe to her, ſhe bore it with patience, and without any ſigns of uneaſineſs. Edward, charmed to find himſelf at liberty to purſue his inclinations without danger of continual reproaches, repaid this moderation with all ſorts of condeſcenſions, which the queen knew how to improve. The advancement of ſir Richard Woodville, her father, to the honour of Earl Rivers[b], and the marriage of her brother with the richeſt heireſs of the kingdom, were the firſt proofs ſhe gave of her power. After that, Edward heaped honours and riches upon the family, even to the deſiring to marry his brother-in-law Anthony to the king of Scotland's ſiſter[c], as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts. When the prince of Wales was of age to have a governor, that lord, become earl Rivers, was intruſted with that high office. The queen forgot not her own children by her former huſband ſir John Grey of Groby: Thomas Grey, her eldeſt ſon, was made marquis of Dorſet, governor of the Tower, and keeper of the king's treaſures; Richard Grey, his brother, was created a baron, and had a conſiderable poſt about the prince of Wales.

If the queen had confined her favours to her ſons, her father, and her brother, there would have been no reaſon to think it very ſtrange; but it cannot be denied that ſhe made an ill uſe of her power by cauſing to be created peers many perſons who would have had no pretenſion to that honour, if they had not been protected by her favour. This gave occaſion to the diſtinction in thoſe days between the Ancient and the New nobility. But if this diſtinction redounded not to the honour of the laſt, that diſadvantage was amply repaired by the places of honour and profit procured them by the queen. By degrees, ſhe had, as it were, baniſhed the ancient nobility from the court, where appeared ſcarce any but lords of the new creation, all attached to the queen. It was much the ſame in all the reſt of the kingdom, where the moſt conſiderable poſts were filled by ſuch as the queen knew to be her creatures. Her aim was to preſerve her power during the king's life, and in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, to ſecure the government of the kingdom in her ſon's name, when he ſhould be on the throne. But, by a fatality very common to the beſt contrived projects, this very thing proved the occaſion of her own and her family's ruin.

The queen having thus openly declared againſt the ancient families, it is eaſy to conceive ſhe was not beloved. Accordingly, ſhe took all poſſible care to hinder the lords, whom ſhe did not like, from having the king's ear. Mean-while, it was not in her power to expel the court three lords of the ancient nobility, whom the king loved becauſe they had done him ſignal ſervices: theſe were Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, William Haſtings, and Thomas Stanley.

The firſt, who was of a very ancient family[d], had, moreover, the advantage of being deſcended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Gloceſter, ſeventh ſon of Edward III. and enjoyed the office of high-conſtable.

The lord Haſtings[e] was high-chamberlain. The king had a ſingular affection for him, becauſe of his conſtant loyalty, of which he had given proofs in the time of his adverſity, particularly when he was forced to fly into Holland. This lord was extremely attached to the king's perſon, but loved not the queen; if he paid her any reſpect, it was with reluctance, and ſolely out of complaiſance to the king his maſter.

The lord Stanley[f], of an ancient family, was in the ſame diſpoſitions: he was devoted to the king, without making much court to the queen.

The king's concubines held likewiſe a conſiderable rank at court, by reaſon of their influence over him. There were three eſpecially, of whom Jane Shore alone was concerned in the events of this new reign: ſhe was wife to a citizen of London, whom Edward had debauched and taken from her huſband. She was ſurprizingly beautiful, and withal of a generoſity very uncommon in perſons of her character. The king was as much in love with her temper as her beauty. He never heard her ſpeak ill of any perſon, nor ever perceived her to try to prejudice him againſt any man whatever. If ſhe importuned him ſometimes, it was in behalf of the unfortunate. When ſhe had done a good office, ſhe ſcorned to take a reward, being unwilling to give occaſion to think ſhe acted from a motive of intereſt. And, therefore, ſhe had amaſſed but few riches, in compariſon of other concubines, whoſe greedineſs can never be ſatisfied.

The duke of Gloceſter, the king's brother, was embarraſſed between the two parties formed at court and in the kingdom. The only way to pleaſe the king, was to make court to the queen. But on the other hand, the duke perceiving the queen's aim was to ingroſs the government in caſe the king happened to die, could not be attached to her, without forfeiting the attention of the ancient nobility, of which he might one day ſtand in need. As he was naturally a great diſſembler, he reſolved to make his court quickly to the queen, but in private he joined with the duke of Buckingham, the lord Haſtings, and the lord Stanley.

It is needleſs to ſay much of the two young princes the king's ſons, the eldeſt of whom was but twelve, and the duke of York, his brother, but nine years old when their father died. It will ſuffice to ſay, that before Edward IV. was ſeized with the diſtemper that laid him in his grave, he had ſent the prince his eldeſt ſon, with the earl Rivers his governor, into

a The firſt mention of that family is in 37 Edward III. when Richard de Wodville was conſtituted ſheriff of Northamptonſhire, and governor of the caſtle there. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 230.

b This was not the name of any place, but of an ancient family ſome-time earls of Devon. Ibid.

c Margaret.

d He was deſcended from Robert de Stafford, who, at the time of the general ſurvey in the reign of William I. poſſeſſed two lordſhips in Suffolk, one in Northamptonſhire, twenty in Lincolnſhire, twenty-ſix in Warwickſhire, and eighty-one in Staffordſhire. Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 156.

e Anceſtor of the earl of Huntington.

f Anceſtor of the earl of Derby.

Wales to appeaſe ſome commotions [g]. The young duke of York remained at court with the queen his mother.

Edward ſaw with ſome concern the two parties that were formed in his court: but his affection for the queen not ſuffering him to hold the balance even, he took no care to prevent the conſequences. So long as he enjoyed his health, he imagined that during his life he ſhould be always maſter of both, and by ſtrengthening the nobility, hinder the old from being able to prejudice the queen and her children after his death. But when he came to die, he beheld this diviſion in another light: he conſidered that he left for ſupport to his houſe only new families, which had not had time to eſtabliſh themſelves, and owed all their authority and credit entirely to his favour, of which they were going to be deprived. This thought affecting him greatly, he conſidered how to repair his error, and in his preſent condition found no better way than to perſuade the two parties to be reconciled for his ſake. Weak expedient! which could hardly produce the deſired effect. The regard for a dying king, never beloved by the ancient nobility, was little capable of extinguiſhing their hatred and envy of the queen's relations, which unhappily had been ſo much fomented. However, before he expired, Edward had at leaſt the ſatisfaction to ſee this reconciliation, which he thought ſincere, becauſe of the ſeeming readineſs and chearfulneſs wherewith both parties conſented to his requeſt. The lord Rivers being abſent, the queen his ſiſter paſſed her word for him; and the marquis of Dorſet, her eldeſt ſon, as repreſenting the family of Grey, embraced the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings, who were the heads of the oppoſite party. The duke of Gloceſter being then at York upon the king's affairs, had it not in his power to obſtruct the reconciliation, which indeed would have been very much to his prejudice had it been ſincere.

As ſoon as Edward's eyes were cloſed, the two parties, forgetting their mutual proteſtations of friendſhip, thought only of gaining the advantage one of another. Mean-while, they unanimouſly agreed to proclaim the deceaſed king's eldeſt ſon by the name of Edward V. That done, each took ſuch meaſures as were thought moſt proper to attain his ends. The chief point was to become maſter of the king's perſon, in order to govern in his name. The queen hoped to maintain and even to increaſe her authority, during the king her ſon's minority; and the other party ſaw themſelves irrecoverably loſt, if the young prince was once in the hands of his mother. However, thus far the advantage was entirely on the queen's ſide. Immediately after the death of the king her huſband, ſhe had diſpatched a courier to the lords Rivers her brothers with the news: ſhe told him withal in the letter, that ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary for him to raiſe forces in Wales and the adjoining counties, to enable him to conduct the new king ſafely to London, in order to his coronation.

On the other ſide, the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings ſent an expreſs to the duke of Gloceſter [h], acquainting him with the king's death and the queen's meaſures: and withal repreſenting to him, that being the king's uncle by the father's ſide, the government of the realm belonged to him during the minority; but if he did not prevent the queen it would be in vain to expect afterwards to obtain his due right: in fine, that at all adventures they offered him a thouſand men well armed, and ready to march at the word of command.

It is very difficult to judge, whether before the death of Edward IV. the duke of Gloceſter had thoughts of mounting the throne to the prejudice of his nephews: but it is ſcarce to be doubted that he formed his deſign the moment he heard of his brother's deceaſe. All his after proceedings too plainly appear to be conſequences of a ſcheme laid to compaſs that end. As for the lord Haſtings, his ſole intention was certainly to take the government out of the hands of the queen and her relations. His conſtant attachment to Edward IV. would never have ſuffered him to be concerned in a plot to dethrone his ſon. As for the duke of Buckingham, his conduct is more ambiguous: beſides his hatred to the queen and her family, he had always preſerved a particular regard for the duke of Gloceſter, which gives occaſion to ſuſpect he had joined with him at firſt in the deſign to place him on the throne. However, the hiſtorians aſcribe to him (at leaſt in the beginning of this reign) the ſame intention only with the lord Haſtings, namely, to remove the queen from the government of the king's perſon and of the realm. Be this as it will, the duke of Gloceſter, upon news of the king's death, ſent back the expreſs with orders to deſire the duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings to come and confer with him at Northampton.

Theſe two lords, with ſome others of their party repairing to the place appointed, the duke of Gloceſter in a long ſpeech, demonſtrated to them the great and impending danger, if the queen was poſſeſſed of the government. He told them, "They would be expoſed to the mercy of an imperious woman, and of the two families of Rivers and Grey, newly raiſed by the king his brother, who would never think themſelves perfectly ſafe, till thoſe whom they conſidered as their rivals and enemies were deſtroyed. That the late king had kept them by his authority within ſome bounds, but when they ſhould be poſſeſſed of the ſupreme power in the name of the young king, nothing would be capable of curbing their inſolence. He added, that no perſon had more right, or was more concerned than himſelf to take care of the affairs of the kingdom, during the minority of the king his nephew. That every one knew his conſtant attachment to the king his brother, and therefore his tender affection for his children ſuffered him not to leave them to the mercy of thoſe who had never appeared to have any other view than their own advancement. That for theſe reaſons he was reſolved zealouſly to apply himſelf to promote to the utmoſt of his power the good of the nation and the honour of his nephew, principally by giving him an education that ſhould render him capable of treading in the ſteps of his illuſtrious anceſtors. But that he could not hope to execute ſuch a project without the aſſiſtance of all honeſt men, and particularly of thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking, who, without doubt, had like him no other view than the nation's welfare and glory. That he had aſſembled them to conſult upon what was to be done in the preſent emergency, being reſolved not to proceed without their advice."

This ſpeech meeting with applauſe, all the lords entered into a ſerious debate concerning the means to become maſter of the king's perſon. To ſucceed by force was extremely difficult: the lord Rivers had not only aſſembled a good number of troops, but it would have been alſo very eaſy for him to conduct the king to London before they were in condition to prevent it: beſides they would have given him too great an advantage, if without any apparent neceſſity they had begun ſo ſoon to take up arms. Such a ſtep would have infallibly cauſed the people to ſide with their enemies, and been looked upon as tending to obſtruct the king's coronation. Theſe conſiderations made the lords reſolve to uſe policy. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould continue to ſhew a great zeal for the king, in order to deprive the queen of all pretence to raiſe forces, or keep thoſe on foot that were aſſembled by the lord Rivers. That the duke of Gloceſter ſhould try to perſuade her to diſmiſs theſe troops as uſeleſs. That in caſe he ſucceeded, it ſhould be endeavoured to become maſter of the king before his arrival at London; but if on the contrary the queen was bent to keep thoſe forces, ſhe was to be amuſed with negotiations till her deſigns could be openly oppoſed.

The conference being ended, the lord Haſtings poſted to London, where his preſence was neceſſary, by reaſon of his great intereſt in the city. Preſently after, the duke of Gloceſter ſent the queen a lettter [i] of condolance upon the king's death, expreſſing an extreme affection for the young prince his ſucceſſor, and an extraordinary reſpect for her. After this beginning, he told her, "He beheld with great joy, all hearts united in the ſame ſentiments, which made him hope that the king his nephew would paſs his minority in a perfect tranquillity. That for his part he would do all that lay in his power to keep the people in the obedience due to their ſovereign, by giving them himſelf an example of unlimited ſubmiſſion. That he did not queſtion ſhe would likewiſe contribute to cauſe all the king's ſubjects to enjoy the peace and quiet they had reaſon to expect. That therefore he took the freedom to adviſe her to uſe her endeavours to diſpel the old jealouſies among the great men, and confirm by her prudence the reconciliation lately made before the king her huſband's death. That his advice was, that without affection or prejudice, care ſhould be taken to reward

[g] The prince was then at Ludlow in Shropſhire, that by his preſence he might compoſe the diſorders of the Welſh; who, though not in actual rebellion, yet were grown ſo unruly and diſobedient to their governors and ſuperiors, that the magiſtrates, with all their power, were not able to ſuppreſs the diſſenſions and diſorders, robberies and wrongs committed by them. Moor, p. 481.

[h] He was then at York, to keep all things quiet in thoſe parts. Compl. Hiſt. Moor, p. 482.

[i] Sir Thomas Moor does not ſay, that he ſent the queen ſuch a letter, but only that he ſecretly and by divers means cauſed the queen to be perſuaded, that it was unneceſſary and would be dangerous for the king to come to London with an army of attendants. See in Hall, fol. 5. He and his aſſociates ſent letters; but it was to the lord Rivers, and others of the queen's friends that were about the king's perſon. Idem. fol. 6.

And

merit wherever it was found, that no man might juſtly complain of being neglected for mere party-concerns. That this was chiefly to be endeavoured, leſt by acting otherwiſe, diviſions, which ought to be buried in eternal oblivion, ſhould be renewed. That therefore he could not forbear telling her, he was ſurprized to hear that lord Rivers was gathering forces to conduct the king to London, ſince they ſeemed to be entirely needleſs. That he was really convinced of the goodneſs of her intention, but it was to be feared, this proceeding would be ill-conſtrued. That troops, raiſed upon the frivolous pretence of providing for the king's ſafety, when none appeared to give him any diſturbance, could not but breed ſuſpicions in the oppoſite party lately reconciled. That the precautions ſeveral lords would undoubtedly take, to ſcreen themſelves from the miſchiefs they would have reaſon to dread, were the natural and conſequent fruits of theſe ſuſpicions. That therefore to avoid a groundleſs peril, and by a needleſs precaution the peace of the whole kingdom was endangered. That when once theſe ſuſpicions ſhould take root, and two armies be on foot in the kingdom, God alone knew what might be the event. That for theſe reaſons, of which doubtleſs ſhe perceived the ſtrength, he adviſed her to diſmiſs her troops, that all the nobles of the realm might come without fear and ſuſpicion, to pay their reſpects to their young ſovereign, and contribute, each according to his power, to the preſervation of peace and union in the ſtate."

The queen very imprudently followed the advice of which ſhe perceived not the venom. She thought it was the ſooner to be complied with, as it came from a brother-in-law, who had always been firm to the intereſts of the late king, and ſtill ſhewed himſelf very zealous for her and her children. During Edward IVth's life, the duke of Gloceſter had been very reſpectful to the queen, ſo that ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect him. Beſides, there was not in his letter a ſingle word to induce her to think he intended to diſpute the government with her. In fine, ſhe conſidered, the duke could not aſpire to the crown, without ſupplanting two nephews, and five nieces, who were not in his power. This alone would have been capable to remove her ſuſpicions, ſuppoſing ſhe could have entertained any. So, believing herſelf ſufficiently ſupported, ſince the duke of Gloceſter expreſſed ſo great an attachment to her intereſts, ſhe wrote to the lord Rivers her brother, that ſhe thought it proper, he ſhould diſmiſs his troops, for fear of raiſing jealouſies without occaſion. The earl immediately obeyed her orders, and keeping only the king's domeſtics, began his journey to conduct him to London.

The young king approaching Northampton, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, who had brought into the town nine hundred armed men [k], went to meet him and ſaluted him very reſpectfully. In diſcourſing with the lord Rivers, they told him, the town of Northampton was ſo full of ſtrangers, and ill provided with proviſions and other conveniences, that it would be very incommodious for theirs, and the king's retinue to lodge in that place. Then they adviſed him to carry the king to Stoney Stratford which is but twelve miles further in the road to London. They added, for their part, they would return to Northampton, and wait upon the king in the morning, before he ſat out. Upon parting, one of them propoſed to the earl, in a free and eaſy manner, as if it had been a ſudden thought, to go and paſs the night with them at Northampton, whilſt the king reſted at Stoney Stratford. The earl not ſuſpecting their deſign, complied with the kind invitation. He was even glad of an occaſion to cement their mutual reconciliation, by this mark of confidence.

The three lords being come to Northampton, ſpent the evening together in perfect harmony, with mutual proteſtations of friendſhip and offers of ſervice. Bed-time being come, the earl Rivers withdrew to his lodgings. But the other two paſſed the reſt of the night in conſulting what was to be done, ſince the earl had indiſcreetly put himſelf into their hands. Their conſultation being ended, they ſecured the keys of the inn where they lodged, under colour that they would be the firſt that ſhould attend the king in the morning. For the greater precaution, they ſent a good number of men to line the way, and ſuffer no perſon whatever to enter Stony Stratford. At break of day they were ready to mount, whilſt the lord Rivers was ſtill in bed. Mean-time, one of his people waking him, and telling him, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham were ready to depart, and that no body was ſuffered to go out of the inn, he immediately put on his cloaths, to know the reaſon of that proceeding. But he found them in a very different diſpoſition from that wherein he had left them ſome hours before. Upon his approach they began to quarrel with him [l], taxing him with alienating the king's affection from his moſt faithful ſubjects, adding, they ſhould take care to prevent the like practices for the future. The earl began to return a calm anſwer to this accuſation, but refuſing to hear him, they committed him to the cuſtody of ſome of their ſervants, and mounting their horſes rode away to the king.

They found the young prince ready to depart, and paying him their reſpects re-mounted in order to attend him. Before they were out of the town, they quarrelled with the lord Richard Grey, the king's half-brother, and charged him that jointly with the marquis of Dorſet his brother, and the lord Rivers his uncle, he had conſpired to become maſter of the king's perſon: and that the marquis of Dorſet had moreover taken out of the Tower the treaſure committed to his cuſtody by the late king. Whereupon the king ſaid, that for what concerned the marquis of Dorſet he could ſay nothing, but would anſwer for the conduct of the lord Rivers and the lord Grey, ſince they had been continually with him. To this the duke of Buckingham replied, they had taken care to conceal their plots from his highneſs, which however were not the leſs certain. At the ſame time, he ordered his people to arreſt the lord Grey, with ſir Thomas Vaughan and ſir Richard Hawſe, and inſtead of proceeding to London, carried the king back to Northampton [m]. The ſame or next day the priſoners were conducted to Pomfret caſtle [n], the governor whereof was the duke of Gloceſter's creature. The king appeared extremely concerned for the diſgrace of his brother and uncle, as well as for the violence to his own perſon. But he had no way to free himſelf from his new governors, but his tears, which were little regarded. Meanwhile they paid him outwardly all the reverence uſually paid to a ſovereign, in order to blind the eyes of the people by theſe marks of reſpect and ſubmiſſion.

The news being brought to the queen, ſhe perceived her error in relying on the duke of Gloceſter, and ſuſpected immediately that he would not ſtop there, and that he had formed deſigns ſtill more deſtructive to the royal family. So, finding herſelf deprived of the aſſiſtance of her brother and ſons, as well as of their counſels, ſhe ſaw no other refuge, than with the duke of York her ſon and the reſt of her family to take ſanctuary in Weſtminſter-Abbey [o].

The lord Haſtings, then at London, hated the queen, as I obſerved, but loved the king and all Edward IVth's family. It is true, he was engaged in Gloceſter's and Buckingham's plot, but it was with a belief that it tended only to hinder the queen from aſſuming the government, which he thought juſt and reaſonable. He had intelligence in the night of what had paſſed at Northampton, and inſtantly ſent the news to Dr. Rotherham the archbiſhop of York and lord chancellor, aſſuring him withal, he had no reaſon to be alarmed: that the king's perſon was in no danger, and very ſhortly what had happened would turn to the welfare of the kingdom. The archbiſhop riſing that moment went to the queen, and carried the great ſeal along with him. He found her in a diſconſolate condition, ſitting upon the ground, lamenting her own and her children's fate, whilſt her domeſtics were buſy in carrying ſuch goods as were neceſſary into the ſanctuary. He endeavoured to comfort her, telling her what the lord Haſtings had declared to him. But he found her very backward to believe, that any good could come from ſuch an enemy. Then the prelate to give her hope, told her, the king's perſon was ſafe, ſince the duke of York his brother was not in the power of thoſe whom ſhe conſidered as her enemies. He added, if they ſhould be ſo audacious as to put the king to death, or give the crown to another, he aſſured her he would immediately crown the duke of York. In fine to give her all poſſible aſſurance of his fidelity, he left the great ſeal with her. But reflecting afterwards upon his error, in reſigning ſo precious a pledge committed to him by the late king, he ſent for it again as ſoon as he came home.

Mean-while, the whole city of London was in commotion. Several citizens had even taken up arms, not knowing what might be the event of the news they had juſt received, which probably was very much aggravated. The lord Haſtings being ſenſible, that an inſurrection at London might break the meaſures of his friends at Northampton, inſtantly came into the city, and as his credit was great among the citizens, he aſſured them that the king was in no danger: that indeed the

[k] And had lain there ſome days. Moor, p. 483.

[l] When he aſked them the reaſon of their keeping the keys of the inn. Moor, p. 484.

[m] And diſplaced all ſuch perſons as had offices about the king, and in whom they could not entirely confide. Moor, ibid.

[n] They were at firſt ſent into ſeveral priſons in the north for a time, and afterwards removed to Pomfret caſtle. Moor, ibid.

[o] In the middle of the night, ibid.

On

earl Rivers, the lord Grey, and ſome others were arreſted for conſpiring againſt the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham, but would be brought to a legal trial: that however, it was no juſt reaſon for them to take up arms, and it was to be feared they would be called to an account for the tumult, if they did not lay down as readily as they had taken them up. The citizens ſuppoſing the lord Haſtings to be perfectly informed, by reaſon he was of the duke of Buckingham's party, retired to their houſes, being unwilling to concern themſelves with the quarrels of the great men.

Shortly after, the dukes of Gloceſter and Buckingham conducted the king to London, paying him all the reſpect due to his dignity. As they travelled along, they cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the lord Rivers and the reſt of the priſoners at Pomfret had intended to kill them; and their ſervants ſhewed the people barrels of arms, which were ſaid to be found among the baggage of the conſpirators. The news of the extraordinary reſpect paid the king, flying to London before his arrival, the city grew more quiet, becauſe there was reaſon to believe, there had been no attempt upon the king's perſon or dignity. At his approach, the people went out in crowds to receive him, and the young king entered the city[p], attended by a great number of lords, and particularly by the duke of Gloceſter, who followed him bare-headed[q]. He was lodged in the biſhop's palace, to ſhew the citezens the great confidence placed in them, and that his ſafety only was conſulted[r]. This management entirely removed the ſuſpicions againſt the duke of Gloceſter, raiſed by the Northampton affair.

The rejoicings for the king's ſafe arrival being ended, it was neceſſary to think of ſettling the government during his minority, which was to laſt ſeven years. The moſt natural way would have been to call a parliament, as was practiſed after the death of Henry V. But as, during a parliament, all other authority would have ceaſed, till the government was regulated, the duke of Gloceſter did not think fit to part with the power he had acquired by ſeizing the king's perſon. Indeed he might have expected, that the parliament would confer on him the dignity of protector of the realm, ſince he was the only prince of the blood capable of holding the reins of the government. But at the ſame time the care of the young king's perſon and education would have been certainly committed to others. It is a conſtant and very juſt rule not to truſt a minor king to thoſe that may be gainers by his ruin. But this was what the duke of Gloceſter feared above all things. He reſolved to continue maſter of the king's perſon, otherwiſe it would have been very difficult to accompliſh his deſigns. Theſe conſiderations made him think it more agreeable to his intereſts to call a great council, and not ſummon a parliament till he had ſecured the crown. This council, conſiſting chiefly of the ancient nobility and the duke of Gloceſter's friends, declared him protector of the king and kingdom, uſurping a privilege belonging only to the parliament. But as I have often obſerved, it is eaſier to cauſe the parliament to confirm what is done, than induce it to do what is deſired.

The ſeizing of the king's perſon, and the getting himſelf declared protector, were the two firſt ſteps by which the duke of Gloceſter intended to mount the throne. Each had its fair and foul ſide. In the firſt place, after the death of Edward IV. the queen and her relations having no right to ſeize the government of the realm, it could not be thought ſtrange that the duke of Gloceſter ſhould aſſume near the king the rank to which he was intitled by his birth. But his fraud and violence to the queen's relations gave occaſion to ſuſpect he had formed deeper deſigns. In the next place, nothing was more natural than to ſee the king's uncle protector of the realm. But at the ſame time, his affecting to obtain that dignity, without vouchſafing to call a parliament, and his chuſing to be annexed to the office of protector of the realm, that of protector of the king, which ſhould have been ſeparated from it, was an extraordinary proceeding, which might have raiſed juſt ſuſpicions. And yet the conſequence was not perceived till it was too late to prevent it. But for fear theſe irregularities might open people's eyes, the duke took care to conceal himſelf under the vail of an extraordinary zeal for the king his nephew's intereſts, and a great reſpect for his perſon.

As ſoon as the duke was declared protector, he took the great ſeal from archbiſhop Rotheram, who had given him a very plauſible pretence, and delivered it to the biſhop of Lincoln[s]. The duke of Buckingham and the lord Haſtings were confirmed in their places; but there were great alterations made in all the reſt of the poſts, the new protector putting in his own creatures in the room of the queen's, who filled them before. Though the lord Haſtings was not truſted with his principal deſign, he did not deſpair of gaining him, when his affairs ſhould be more advanced. Beſides, Haſtings was a mortal enemy to the queen and her family, and had a great intereſt in London. This was ſufficient then, for without knowing it, he could be ſervicable to the protector in executing his projects, which it was not yet proper to diſcover.

To proceed with any appearance of ſucceſs in his deſign, it was neceſſary for the duke of Gloceſter to have the young duke of York in his power as well as the king his brother. To dethrone or murder the king would have been to no purpoſe, ſo long as the duke of York was out of reach. For he would ſtill have had the ſame thing to act over again. In order to accompliſh that deſign, he moved in the council, whether it would not be requiſite to get the duke of York out of the queen's hands, and place him with the king his brother. He made upon this occaſion a very long ſpeech, wherein, after teſtifying an extraordinary zeal for the royal family, and confirming what he ſaid with a great oath, he diſplayed the reaſons which required the young prince's removal from the queen. The firſt was, "That the queen's flying to ſanctuary without any apparent danger to herſelf or family, could not but be conſtrued as an affront to the government. In the ſecond place, her ſole aim muſt have been to raiſe diſturbances by making the people believe the king was in danger, ſince no other conſequence could be inferred from her conduct. That therefore it was neceſſary to undeceive the people, by procuring the duke of York, and cauſing him to be educated according to his quality. That the more viſible the queen's malice was, the more it ſhould be endeavoured to prevent its effects. That it was manifeſt, ſhe was ſtriving to form in the kingdom a party capable of ſetting her at the head of affairs, as ſhe was in the late reign. That it was with difficulty and great chance, that they were freed from the imperious rule of that princeſs and her family; but if the king ſhould happen to die, the realm would be again plunged into the ſame calamities, ſince ſhe had the lawful heir in her power. On the other hand, it was neceſſary to conſider what foreigners would ſay when they heard, that whilſt one of Edward IV's ſons was crowned, the other was forced to keep in ſanctuary. That it would be diſhonorable to the government to ſuffer themſelves to be thus braved by a woman, who had attempted to cauſe the king's council to be conſidered as enemies of the royal family. That beſides, the king being young and wanting ſome diverſion, he could not have a more agreeable companion than his own brother, and there was no reaſon to keep them aſunder. In fine, it would be indecent to proceed to the coronation in the abſence of the duke of York the ſecond perſon in the ſtate, who, having an evident right to be preſent, could not be debarred of it without injuſtice. Upon all theſe accounts, he concluded that a truſty perſon ſhould be ſent to the queen, to deſire her to deliver the duke of York to the king his brother. He added, that, in his opinion, the cardinal biſhop of Canterbury[t], was the propereſt perſon for that office. That if, notwithſtanding all the archbiſhop's arguments, ſhe ſhould obſtinately keep the young prince with her, and perſiſt in her groundleſs ſuſpicions, he ſaw no reaſon why the council ſhould not take him away by force. This was his opinion, and he deſired every member of the council to ſpeak his own with freedom."

The cardinal readily took upon him to acquaint the queen with the council's pleaſure, but by no means approved the motion of violating the privilege of ſanctuary. He ſaid, the church of Weſtminſter was conſecrated five hundred years ago, by St. Peter himſelf, who deſcended from heaven[u], attended by multitudes of angels. That no king of England had ever dared to violate that ſanctuary, and that ſuch an attempt would certainly draw down the juſt vengeance of God upon the whole kingdom.

The duke of Buckingham replied with great warmth to part of the cardinal's ſpeech. He ſhewed that ſanctuaries were intended only to protect ſuch as had reaſon to fear oppreſſion and violence, and not to countenance frivolous and malicious ſuſpicions, detrimential to the king and kingdom. After many ſharp reflections againſt the queen, he enlarged

[p] On the 4th of May. Moor, p. 486.
[q] He rode bare-headed before him, and often with a loud voice ſaid to the people. "Behold your prince and ſovereign. Ibid.
[r] At the biſhop's palace, the duke of Gloceſter did the king homage, and invited all the nobility to do the ſame. Ibid.
[s] John Ruſſel, a wiſe and good man, and of very great experience in the ſtate affairs. Moor, p, 486.
[t] Thomas Bourchier.
[u] In the night. See Moor, p, 9. 487.

Attended

upon the abuſes of ſanctuaries, particularly as they afforded thoſe who fled thither means to eſcape. He added, though the duke of York was neither guilty nor oppreſſed, there was room to fear the queen his mother would carry him out of the kingdom, which might one day give the queen opportunity to invade England, by the help of ſome foreign prince, upon frivolous pretences, which would never be wanting. In fine, after alledging ſeveral other reaſons, he agreed with the protector to take the duke of York by force out of the ſanctuary, if the queen refuſed to deliver him freely. This matter being taken into conſideration, the opinion of the protector and the duke of Buckingham prevailed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of moſt of the eccleſiaſtics there preſent.

The cardinal being come to the queen[v], uſed all poſſible arguments to induce her to comply, and to perſuade her that neither the king, not herſelf, nor the duke of York, were in danger. He ſpoke with the greateſt aſſurance, as he was ſatisfied of the truth of what he ſaid, never ſuſpecting the duke of Gloceſter of having ill deſigns. For, as to the violence uſed to the queen's relations, he conſidered it as no great hurt. Beſides, as he was ignorant whether they were innocent, he did not think it any great injuſtice to detain them ſome time in priſon, in order to prevent their diſturbing the kingdom by their immoderate ambition. But all his eloquence was not capable to perſuade the queen, who plainly ſaw in the duke of Gloceſter's conduct too much reaſon to ſtrengthen her fears. At laſt, the cardinal perceiving his arguments were fruitleſs, told her, that the council, apprehenſive of her carrying the prince her ſon out of the kingdom, had reſolved to take him by force out of his ſanctuary, if ſhe obſtinately inſiſted upon keeping him there. The queen hearing theſe menaces, dwelt upon the privileges of ſanctuaries, which was entirely needleſs, ſince ſhe ſpoke to a prelate who was thoroughly convinced of the ſame. At length, ſeeing herſelf preſſed to obey the council's order, ſhe freely declared to the cardinal the real cauſe of her fears. She told him, ſhe could not help ſuſpecting the duke of Gloceſter of having deſigns deſtructive to the royal family, which he could not accompliſh without having both the brothers in his power; and that the only means to preſerve the king, was to keep the duke of York out of their uncle's reach. The cardinal growing warm at this diſcourſe, replied, ſince ſhe obſtinately terrified herſelf with vain and groundleſs ſuſpicions, he would ſay no more upon that head. That being only ſent by the council, and the buſineſs not concerning him in particular, he would preſs her no farther, leſt he ſhould give her occaſion to think him in the plot ſhe apprehended. That however, he ſaw with grief her ill opinion of the members of the council: that ſhe muſt believe them to be either void of underſtanding, not to perceive what ſhe fancied ſhe ſaw ſo plainly, or elſe ſo wicked as to lend their aſſiſtance to the duke of Gloceſter. That for his part, he believed he might confidently affirm, the duke had never entertained ſuch a thought; and that the council would be very ſorry to ſee themſelves taxed with treachery or extreme imprudence. The good cardinal, to remove the queen's fears, ſaid nothing but what he really thought, becauſe he was not in the protector's confidence. Accordingly the queen felt herſelf very much ſhaken by the aſſurances of a perſon of his character. It was apparent, that if the council intended to deceive her, they would not have made him their inſtrument; and yet ſhe could not lay aſide her fears. Mean while, ſhe ſaw the cardinal ready to return, and herſelf going to be expoſed to the violence of her enemies, and obliged to do by force what was civilly deſired. So, ſuddenly reſolving to give up the young prince, ſhe caught him in her arms, tenderly took her leave of him, and with a ſhower of tears delivered him to the cardinal, who brought him to the protector. As ſoon as he ſaw his young nephew, he ran to him with open arms[w], to embrace him, and give him marks of a feigned affection, telling him, he would always be to him inſtead of a father. Then he carried him to the king, who, without knowing how he came there, was overjoyed at his company. A few days after, the protector found ſome excuſe to convey them both to the Tower[x], whereas before they lodged in the heart of the city at the biſhop's palace[y].

It is generally believed, that hitherto the duke of Glouceſter had not communicated his moſt ſecret thoughts to the duke of Buckingham, nor truſted him with them till after he had the two princes in his power. Buckingham mortally hated the queen and her family, becauſe it was through their means that the late king refuſed to give him poſſeſſion of certain lands in Herefordſhire, to which he laid claim[z]. His hatred had even paſſed to the king's perſon, though he had not dared to ſhew it. He had joined with the duke of Glouceſter, to deprive the queen and her relations of the government of the realm, during the king's minority; but it is not believed, his thoughts had gone any farther. For as he wanted only to preſerve or increaſe his credit, a minority ſeems to have been more for his purpoſe than the government of a grown king, ſuch as the duke of Gloceſter. However, as he was a man of ill principles, it was not difficult for the protector to engage him in his plot, by the hopes of a reward. It is ſaid, he promiſed not only to procure him the lands he deſired, but alſo to give him part of the late king's wardrobe, to furniſh his houſe in a ſtately manner, and ſecure to his heirs the office of high conſtable, of which he was in poſſeſſion[a]. Be this as it will, the duke of Buckingham ſo engaged in the project to ſet the protector on the throne, that from thenceforward he appeared no leſs eager than the protector himſelf to accompliſh it. The thing being reſolved, the queſtion was only how to put it into execution.

From that time the conferences between the duke of Gloceſter and his truſty friends became more frequent than before. They debated the principal difficulties that might occur in the execution of the deſign, and the means to ſurmount or prevent them. In ſhort, they came to the following reſolutions, which were conſidered as the plan whereon they were gradually to proceed. 1. As the ſtrongeſt oppoſition was probably to be expected from the queen, it was reſolved to diſpatch the priſoners at Pomfret, in order to deprive the royal family of their chiefeſt ſupport. The lord Haſtings, to whom this deſign was imparted, readily gave his conſent, though he knew not the protector's real motive to put theſe lords to death. 2. It was agreed to endeavour to engage in the plot the propereſt perſons to accompliſh it, that is in other words, villains capable of any undertaking, without regard to honour, juſtice, or conſcience. 3. It was judged neceſſary to find ſome foundation to ſupport the duke of Gloceſter's pretenſions, that the people might be amuſed with ſome appearance of reaſon. 4. As it was no leſs requiſite to keep the plot ſecret till matters were ripe for execution, it was reſolved ſtill to ſhew publicly a ſettled deſign to cauſe the king to be crowned, till it was no longer neceſſary to diſſemble. 5. Laſtly, It was agreed, that the lord Haſtings ſhould either be gained or diſpatched out of the way. One of the two ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, conſidering his great intereſt with the people of London.

This plan being laid, the protector wrote to ſir Richard Ratcliff governor of Pomfret and his creature, to behead, on a day appointed, the four lords that were under his cuſtody.

After that, he applied himſelf particularly to gain ſir Edmund Shaw, then mayor of London, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. The mayor engaged in the plot his brother John Shaw, a famous preacher, and Pinker, monk and provincial of the Auguſtine fryars, who were much eſteemed by the people. To theſe the protector joined Richard Cateſby, a particular friend and confident of the lord Haſtings.

By means of theſe men, the protector's ſecret council reſolved to ſpread among the people the reaſons which might ſtrengthen his pretenſions. This ſeemed very difficult, ſince there were three princes and ſix princeſſes before him, namely, the king, the duke of York his brother, Edward the IVth's five daughters, the earl of Warwick, ſon to the late duke of Clarence, and Margaret his ſiſter. One ſingle expedient ſeemed proper and ſufficient to deſtroy the rights of theſe princes and princeſſes; which was to intimate that Edward IVth's children were all baſtards, and Edward himſelf and the duke of Clarence his brother, not ſons of the late duke of York. To exclude Edward's children, it was reſolved to urge the validity of his pretended marriage-contract with Elizabeth Lucy before he eſpouſed Elizabeth Woodville, from whence it followed, that the children by the laſt marriage were ille-

v Attended by ſeveral lords of the council; the duke of Gloceſter, and the reſt of the council, remaining all the while in the ſtar-chamber to expect the event. Moor, p. 489.

w He was brought to him in the Star-chamber. The duke took him up into his arms, and kiſſed him, ſaying, "Now welcome my lord, with all my very heart." Moor, p. 491.

x Which was the uſual place from whence the ſolemnity of the coronation began; for he ſtill feigned to be making preparations for Edward's coronation. Moor, Ibid. Hall, fol. 13.

y Which was near St. Paul's.

z It was no leſs than half the earldom of Hereford, and the lands belonging to it (which were then in the crown) He claimed them, as being deſcended from Ann daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, who had married Eleanor, one of the youngeſt daughters and co-heireſſes of Humphrey de Bohun earl of Hereford. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 163, 168. And below in the beginning of Richard III's reign.

a It appears from Rymer that he was not. For that office was, November 14, 1482, given in commiſſion to ſir William Parre, ſir James Haryngton, ſir James Tyrrel, and four other perſons. Tom. xii. p. 169.

gitimate. This pretenſion was to be proved by the ducheſs of York's teſtimony, who had uſed that argument to hinder the king her ſon from marrying ſir Richard Woodville's daughter. Philip de Commines ſays, the biſhop of Bath and Wells then affirmed, that he married Edward IV. to a lady called Eleanor Talbot, before he eſpouſed the queen; that it was done without witneſs, and the king had ſtrictly charged him never to mention it to any perſon whatever. But we do not find in the Engliſh hiſtorians, that the duke of Gloceſter, at the time we are ſpeaking of, made uſe of this reaſon, which however would have been more plauſible than that taken from Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Lucy. For Edward had taken precautions with regard to this laſt, as was obſerved in the hiſtory of his reign, whereas the firſt had been unanſwerable, being ſupported by the evidence of the very biſhop that pretended to officiate. It is therefore unlikely the duke of Gloceſter ſhould neglect ſo great an advantage. But it may very well be that Philip de Commines was wrong informed, or at leaſt miſtaken in the name of the king's miſtreſs.

Mean-while, as it was not eaſy to prove Edward's pretended marriage with Elizabeth Lucy; and as, on the contrary, the biſhops had declared there was no mutual contract, the protector's council judged that the other point ſhould be chiefly inſiſted upon, namely, that Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence were not ſons of the late duke of York. Thereby were excluded, at once, the poſterity of theſe two princes, and then the duke of Gloceſter was next heir. To ſupport this aſſertion, it was reſolved to plead the duke of Clarence's own teſtimony, who, as was pretended maintained that Edward IV. was illegitimate. Moreover ſome of the late duke of York's ſervants were already ſuborned, who took care to ſpread divers reports which confirmed what was intended to be intimated to the people. They gave out, that the ducheſs of York had taken to her bed certain perſons perfectly reſembling Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence, and that the duke of Gloceſter alone was ſon to the duke of York.

As for the earl of Warwick and his ſiſter, another way was uſed to exclude them, namely, the attainder of the duke of Clarence their father, which, as they pretended, rendered them incapable of inheriting at all. Thus, the duke of Gloceſter did not ſcruple to accuſe his own mother of adultery. But this was one of the leaſt crimes which cleared his way to the throne, ſo blinded was he by his ambition.

Every thing being thus prepared, the protector feigned to haſten the king's coronation. For that purpoſe he appointed a particular council, which was to meet every day [b], and regulate the ceremonies. He took care to compoſe this council of ſuch lords as were moſt attached to Edward IVth's family, among whom the two archbiſhops, the biſhop of Ely [c], the lord Haſtings, and the lord Stanley were the principal. At the ſame time, he had another council conſiſting of his creatures, which alſo met regularly [d], but whoſe conſultations were only how to defer the coronation, and place the protector on the throne.

The lords appointed to haſten the coronation, quickly perceived all their orders were retarded by obſtacles from another quarter. On the other hand, they were ſurpriſed, that the protector ſeldom ſuffered the king to be ſeen; that the young prince had but very few attendants, whilſt the protector's houſe was full of unneceſſary people, and a crowd of courtiers, who were always well received and careſſed. Theſe things, joined to the affected delays of the coronation, began to breed ſuſpicion in thoſe who were really friends to the king's perſon. The lord Stanley, a man of deep penetration, was the firſt to diſcover his fears of the protector's ill deſigns. He freely ſpoke his mind to his fellow-counſellors, and declared, he did nor like the duke of Gloceſter's proceedings: that the other council which ſo frequently met, and whoſe reſolves could not be known, was to him very ſuſpicious. That therefore it was his opinion, they ſhould think betimes of means to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen. This advice was prudent; but the lord Haſtings, ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the protector thought only of humbling the queen's party, removed all theſe ſuſpicions. He affirmed there was no danger from the other council; and would pawn his life, that if any thing were tranſacted there detrimental to the king and the ſtate, he ſhould be inſtantly informed of it by one of the members who was entirely devoted to him. He meant Cateſby his friend and confident [e]. But he did not know that Cateſby betrayed him, and was therefore truſted by the duke of Gloceſter. So Stanley and the other lords of the ſame party preferring the lord Haſtings' aſſurances to their own judgment, took no meaſures to ſtop the protector's progreſs, which they might eaſily have done, had they endeavoured it in time.

Mean-while, the duke of Gloceſter, knowing what a firm friend the lord Haſtings was to the king, thought it time to execute the project he had formed about him, that is, to engage him in the plot, or deſtroy him. To that end, he ordered Cateſby to ſound him, but with all the caution imaginable, for fear of diſcovering the deſign before he was ſure to be gained. Cateſby having put the lord Haſtings upon diſcourſing of ſtate affairs, told him, people talked very much of the duke of Gloceſter's title to the crown preferably to Edward IV's children, and many were perſuaded the title was not groundleſs. That it was openly ſaid, it were to be wiſhed the reaſons alledged in his favour were good, ſince it would be more advantageous to the nation to be governed by a man than by a child. That, for his part, he had not yet examined the matter, and ſhould be glad firſt to know his opinion. Haſtings, not ſuſpecting his friend, diſcloſed all his thoughts, and imparted to him the lord Stanley's ſuſpicions of the duke of Gloceſter. He added, he had rather ſee the ruin and deſtruction of the protector and the duke of Buckingham, than the late king's children deprived of their right. That if he perceived any plot in favour of the duke of Gloceſter, he would employ his credit, his eſtate, and his very life, to prevent its ſucceeding. This reply was immediately carried to the protector by the treacherous Cateſby, with many aggravations, to promote the lord Haſtings' deſtruction for fear he ſhould one day diſcover his treachery.

The duke having thus ſounded the lord Haſtings, was greatly embarraſſed. He paſſionately deſired to gain that lord, knowing how ſerviceable he could be to him. But for that very reaſon he could not help fearing him, if he perſiſted in his attachment to the king. To free himſelf from this uneaſineſs, he ordered Cateſby to ſound him once more. Cateſby ſpeaking a little too plainly in his ſecond converſation with Haſtings, and not doubting that his treachery was known, told the protector, that not only he had nothing to hope from that quarter, but was to expect to find in Haſtings a profeſſed enemy. Whereupon the protector reſolved to diſpatch him, looking upon him now as his real adverſary.

This reſolution being taken, he called a council at the Tower [f], under colour of finiſhing the affairs of the king's coronation. He came himſelf at nine o'clock in the morning, with a chearful countenance, courteouſly ſaluting all the lords, as if he had nothing in his mind that gave him the leaſt uneaſineſs. After that, he went out, and deſired the lords of the council to continue their deliberations in his abſence.

About an hour after he returned with an angry countenance, knitting his brows, biting his lips, and ſhewing all poſſible ſigns of the perturbation of his mind. Remaining ſome time without ſpeaking, he broke ſilence with theſe words: "My lords, what puniſhment do they deſerve who have plotted againſt my life?" The lords not immediately anſwering, the lord Haſtings replied, "Whoever was guilty of ſuch a crime ought to be puniſhed as a traitor." "It is, anſwered the duke, that ſorcereſs my ſiſter-in-law, with her accomplices." Theſe words aſtoniſhed many of the council who favoured the queen, being afraid the accuſation concerned them. But the lord Haſtings was far from any ſuch fear. All knew he was ſworn enemy to the queen, and conſequently there was no likelihood of his joining with her in ſuch a deſign. Beſides, he had lately approved of the order ſent to Pomfret, to behead the lords priſoners, who were to be executed that very day. After a ſhort pauſe, the protector, unbuttoning his left ſleeve, ſhewed the council his arm, dried and withered, ſaying, with extreme emotion, "See what that ſorcereſs, and Shore's wife have done by their witchcrafts. They have reduced my arm as you ſee, and my whole body would ſoon have been the ſame, if by God's mercy their infamous plot had not been diſcovered." Theſe words cauſed a greater ſurprize than the former, the whole council knowing the duke's arm had long been in that condition. Beſides, if the queen had framed ſuch a project, Jane Shore would have been the laſt perſon ſhe would have imparted it to, ſince of all women ſhe moſt hated her. The lord Haſtings, who ſince Edward's death had kept Jane Shore, perceiving ſhe was involved in the accuſation, could not forbear to ſhew how much he doubted her being guilty, by ſay-

[b] At Baynard's caſtle. Moor, p. 491. In the mean time, orders were iſſued out, on June 5, for creating knights at the king's coronation, which was fixed to the 22d of June. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. XII. p. 185.

[c] John Morton.

[d] At Croſby's place, in Biſhopſgate ward. It was the protector's manſion-houſe. Moor, p. 491.

[e] Richard Cateſby was a lawyer, who had through the lord Haſtings' means, been put into a place of conſiderable truſt in the counties of Leiceſter and Northampton, where this lord's power and intereſt lay. Moor, p. 492.

[f] On June 13. Moor, p. 493.

The

ing, "if they had committed ſuch a crime, they deſerved to be puniſhed." Then the protector raiſing his voice, What, ſays he, doſt thou anſwer me with Ifs and Ands, as if I forged this accuſation? I tell thee they have conſpired my death, and thou thyſelf art acceſſary to the crime," As he ended theſe words, he ſtruck the table twice with his fiſt, and immediately the room was filled with armed men. As ſoon as they were in, the protector turning to the lord Haſtings, ſaid to him, "I arreſt thee for high treaſon." "Who me, my lord?" anſwered Haſtings. "Yes thee, traitor," replied the protector: at the ſame he delivered him to the cuſtody of the ſoldiers. During the buſtle, one of the ſoldiers would have cleft the lord Stanley's ſkull with a battle-ax: but he avoided part of the blow by ſinking under the table, however he was dangerouſly wounded. Probably the ſoldiers had orders to kill him as it were by chance, under pretence he would have defended the lord Haſtings. It is not hard to gueſs, why the protector deſired to be rid of him. Be this as it will, having miſſed his aim, Stanley was arreſted with the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Ely, it being the protector's intereſt to put it out of their power to hurt him, whom he knew to be zealouſly affected to the young king. As for the lord Haſtings, he would ſcarce give him time to make a ſhort confeſſion to the next prieſt that came, ſwearing, "He would not dine till his head was ſtruck off." Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log which was found on the green before the Tower chapel, the time fixed by the protector being too ſhort to erect a ſcaffold. Hiſtorians enlarge upon ſundry preſages he had of his death. But though ſuch kind of remarks may have their uſe, when the facts are very certain, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence[g]. It ſuffices to obſerve only, that the lord Haſtings died the ſame day and hour that the Pomfret priſoners[h] were executed, to whoſe death he greatly contributed.

The lord Haſtings being dead, the protector judged it neceſſary to palliate ſo haſty and illegal an execution, for fear the Londoners ſhould take fire upon hearing it[i] and for that purpoſe, ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen. In the mean while, he and the duke of Buckingham put on two old ruſty coats of armour. The mayor being come to the Tower, the protector told him, the lord Haſtings and ſome others had conſpired to take away his life, and he had no intelligence of the plot till ten o'clock that morning: that the fact being fully proved, the king and council had thought neceſſary to execute him immediately, by reaſon they were informed, a great number of people were all ready to riſe in his favour: that the conſpiracy had put his perſon in extreme danger, and forced him to harneſs himſelf in old ruſty armour for his defence: that he had ſent for him to inform him of the truth, that he might, when he acquainted the Londoners with the ſudden execution, take care to appeaſe or prevent the commotions which ill-affected people might raiſe in the city. The mayor and aldermen eaſily perceived the protector did not tell them the whole truth; but not daring to expreſs their doubt, they withdrew, aſſuring him his orders ſhould be obeyed.

What the protector had ſaid to the mayor and aldermen, was only to prepare the people to receive a proclamation, publiſhed in the city two hours after the death of the lord Haſtings. The king, in whoſe name it was publiſhed, was made to ſay in it, "That the lord Haſtings had conſpired to ſeize his perſon, in order to govern the kingdom as he pleaſed, and to kill the protector, and the duke of Buckingham. That to prevent the deſign, he was forced by advice of his council, to cauſe the criminal to be immediately puniſhed, and that never man more deſerved to die. That it was he that perſuaded the late king to do ſo many things contrary to the rights and privileges of the people. That he had endeavoured to debauch him by his perſuaſions and example, and had laid the night before with Shore's wife, the accomplice of all his crimes, and particularly of that for which he was executed." There were ſeveral other things in the proclamation, tending to leſſen the people's affection and compaſſion for the lord Haſtings, and to ſhew that his death was a judgment upon him. It was obſerved, that the proclamation was elegantly compoſed, and fairly written on parchment, though publiſhed ſo very ſoon after that lord's death. This bred a ſuſpicion that it was ready prepared[k] in order to be publiſhed immediately after the execution. Accordingly, it produced but little effect.[l]

As Jane Shore was accuſed of being an accomplice of the lord Haſtings, the protector was obliged to proceed againſt her. So, giving orders[m] to arreſt her, he commanded her to be brought to the Tower, where ſhe was examined before the council. The duke of Gloceſter accuſed her himſelf of intending, by her ſorceries, to waſte his fleſh by degrees, and conſpiring with the lord Haſtings to aſſaſſinate him. But beſides that he could alledge nothing in proof of theſe accuſations, ſhe made ſo good a defence, that the council could find no reaſon to condemn her. However, as the protector was unwilling ſhe ſhould eſcape without puniſhment, ſhe was ſued for incontinency, as being guilty of leaving her huſband, and living with other men. Theſe were facts ſhe could not deny, ſince the whole court was witneſs, ſhe had been kept by the late king, and afterward by the lord Haſtings. Whereupon ſhe was delivered over to the biſhop of London, and condemned by the eccleſiaſtical court to do open penance in St. Paul's church in a white ſheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before all the people.[n]

The late executions at London and Pomfret without any proceſs, the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, left no room to queſtion the duke of Gloceſter's deſigns. Hitherto, he had given ſome colour to his conduct; but after theſe violent proceedings, there was no way to hide his intentions. Every one ſaid to himſelf, theſe unjuſt doings could not but end in the king's deſtruction. But people durſt not tell their thoughts to one another, ſuch a terror was there every where ſpread. They, who could have taken meaſures to oppoſe the Protector's deſigns, were dead or in priſon; and if there were any left capable to make him uneaſy, the example of thoſe who had been treated with ſo much barbarity, was ſufficient to cauſe them to act with circumſpection. They plainly ſaw the imminent danger, if they did but ſeem to perceive what was contriving.

Fear and conſternation having thus ſeized the great men, the Protector and the duke of Buckingham thought it was time to diſcover their deſigns.[o] There remained but one difficulty, and that was to get the Londoners to approve of the intended change. This was no eaſy matter. Indeed, private perſons may ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted, and if any are too obſtinate, they may be diſpatched as the lord Haſtings had been ſerved. But how to perſuade a whole nation they ought to approve of manifeſt acts of injuſtice, wherein they themſelves have no intereſt, there are but two ways to ſucceed. The firſt is to oblige them through fear, to feign to believe what they do not believe; the other, to gain thoſe in whom they put any confidence, that they may by degrees be brought to what is deſired. After ſeveral conſultations, the Protector and the duke of Buckingham reſolved to uſe theſe two means; the firſt whereof had already begun to have a very great effect. For the ſecond, they agreed, that, by emiſſaries, it ſhould be continued more than ever to be ſpread among the people, that Edward the Fourth's children were illegitimate, and their father himſelf and the duke of Clarence his brother where not the duke of York's ſons. That theſe rumours ſhould be ſupported by a ſermon of Dr Shaw, whoſe eloquence was applauded by the whole city.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the doctor mounted the pulpit one Sunday morning at Paul's Croſs, and preached upon theſe words, "Baſtard ſlips ſhall take no deep root[p]." He began with ſhewing the bleſſings God uſually beſtowed on the fruits of the marriage-bed, and the calamities which on the contrary fell upon the children born out of wedlock. He did not want examples of both, as well in ſacred as prophane hiſtory. Then he enlarged on the noble qualities of the duke of York, ſlain in the battle of Wakefield, and ſhewed how happy the Engliſh would be to have a ſovereign of the race of that great prince. From thence he took occaſion to remark, that it was to be feared, the reign of Edward V. would be fatal to England, ſince he was born of an illegitimate marriage. Moreover, that neither Edward IV. nor the late duke

[g] The preſages hiſtorians dwell upon were, a remarkable dream of the lord Stanley's, who dreamed, that a wild boar with his tuſhes, had wounded his and the lord Haſtings's head, and therefore adviſed him to fly from danger: the ſolicitations of his concubine Jane Shore that very morning, not to go to the council, nor to truſt the wild boar; the often ſtumbling of his horſe as he was riding to the Tower, and ſome other like obſervations. He was afterwards buried at Windſor, near king Edward's tomb. Moor. p. 494.

[h] Anthony earl of Rivers, Richard lord Grey, ſir Thomas Vaughan, and ſir Richard Hawſe.

[i] The lord Haſtings was in great eſteem with king Edward's friends, as being well-affected to his family, and in no ſmall favour with the people, being reckoned a lover of the common good. Moor, p. 495.

[k] By Cateſby. Moor, p. 495.

[l] People jeſted and ſaid, "it was written by the ſpirit of prophecy." Idem. p. 496.

[m] To Sir Thomas Howard, to apprehend her perſon, and ſeize her goods, which were valued at between two and three thouſand marks. Ibid.

[n] Which ſhe accordingly did the next Sunday morning, after this manner, ſhe was brought, cloathed in a white ſheet, by way of proceſſion, with the croſs carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand, to St. Paul's church, from the biſhop's palace adjoining. In all this action ſhe behaved with ſo much modeſty and decency, that ſuch as reſpected her beauty more than her faults, never were in greater admiration of her than now. Ibid.

[o] In the mean time, he iſſued out a proclamation, importing, That the king's coronation, for divers great and urgent cauſes, ſhould be deferred to the 2d of November. Moor, Hall, fol. 17.

[p] Wiſdom of Solomon, iv.

On

of Clarence were ſons of the great duke of York, as was certainly known from officers of his houſhold, witneſſes of the ducheſs their mother's ſcandalous life. That ſhe had taken to her bed, in the ſight of all her ſervants, men whom the two brothers perfectly reſembled: but that the duke of Gloceſter alone could truly be called the duke of York's ſon. That beſides, Edward IV. was not lawfully married to his queen, ſince he had before plighted his faith to the lady Elizabeth Lucy, as could be ſhewn by good evidences. That conſequently his children could be no better than baſtards. That therefore the duke of York's real poſterity was not to be looked for either in the children of Edward or of the duke of Clarence, and that their race would infallibly periſh, becauſe "baſtard plants ſhall take no deep root." But my lord protector, continued he, raiſing his voice, that noble prince, the pattern of all virtue, carries in his countenance, in his air, in his carriage, in his ſoul, the perfect image of his illuſtrious father. At theſe words, it was deſigned, the duke of Gloceſter ſhould appear, in hopes that the people, moved by the preacher's eloquence, would ſalute him king. But the duke happening to ſtay a little too long, the Doctor had begun another ſubject, when he ſaw him entering, which however he left, and repeated the ſame words before-mentioned, whilſt the duke was preſſing through the crowd to come to his place. But inſtead of hearing the cry of Long live King Richard! as he expected, he perceived, all kept a ſullen ſilence, the people deteſting the baſeneſs of the preacher, inſtead of applauding his eloquence. The ſermon being ended, the doctor went and hid himſelf for ſhame, neither durſt he ever ſhew his face again in the world. It is ſaid he died preſently after with grief at his ill ſucceſs, and for loſing the eſteem of his audience.

Shaw's ſermon not producing the deſired effect, other means were to be uſed; for the protector had proceeded too far to recede. So the duke of Buckingham, being a fine ſpeaker, took upon him to harangue the people, imagining, a polite ſpeech would be more ſucceſsful than Shaw's methodical ſermon. To that purpoſe, the lord mayor had orders to aſſemble the aldermen, common-council, and principal citizens, at the Guild-Hall [q]. Which being done, the duke of Buckingham came to the aſſembly [r], and taking his place near the mayor, told the people, he was come from the council, to acquaint them with a matter of the greateſt importance to the whole kingdom, but eſpecially to the inhabitants of London. His ſpeech ran at firſt upon the calamities endured by the people of England in the laſt reign. He aggravated in a very violent manner, the cruelty, avarice, and incontinency of Edward IV. and endeavoured, to the utmoſt of his power, to render him odious. Then, he put his audience in mind, the Sunday before, that excellent man, Dr. Shaw, had clearly proved to them, that Edward was not lawfully married to his queen, and conſequently their children were baſtards: that neither Edward himſelf, nor the duke of Clarence his brother, were the duke of York's ſons; and to the proofs alledged by the doctor, he himſelf could add many more, did not his reſpect for the protector hinder him upon dwelling upon the ducheſs his mother's looſe life: that for theſe reaſons, the lords of the council, and the commons of the realm, particularly the northern counties, had declared, that a baſtard ſhould not ſit on the throne of England, and petitioned, that the crown ſhould be adjudged to the duke of Gloceſter, only ſon of the late duke of York: that indeed there was reaſon to fear the magnanimous duke would refuſe the offer; but on the other hand, it was to be hoped, all the people, and eſpecially the inhabitants of London, uniting with one accord, he would be prevailed with to take upon him the burden of the government, too weighty for a child: that upon all theſe conſiderations, he required them in his own, and the name of the lords of the council, to declare their intention. Here he ſtopped in expectation to hear the people cry, "Long live King Richard;" but every one ſtood ſpeechleſs, ſo great was their ſurpriſe to hear ſo unjuſt a propoſal. The duke, ſurpriſed in his turn at ſo unexpected a ſilence, aſked the mayor the reaſon; who replied, perhaps they did not well underſtand him. If that is the caſe, anſwered the duke, I will make myſelf better underſtood. Then raiſing his voice, he repeated the ſenſe of what he had ſaid in other words, with a gracefulneſs and eloquence worthy a nobler ſubject. But the people ſtill kept a profound ſilence. The duke in confuſion that his rhetoric ſhould produce ſo little effect, talked ſome time in a low voice with the mayor, to conſult with him what was to be done. At length the mayor told him, perhaps the people were ſilent becauſe they were uſed to be harangued only by the recorder, who was the mouth of the city. Whereupon he commanded the recorder [s] to ſpeak to the people, which he did with great reluctance. However, he ſo managed his ſpeech, that without any addition of his own, he repeated to the people the ſubſtance of what the duke had ſaid. He concluded, with requiring the people [t] to give a poſitive anſwer, whether they would have the duke of Gloceſter for king or not? At theſe words there was a confuſed murmur in the aſſembly; and as it was yet uncertain whether the people anſwered Ay or No, ſome of the duke of Buckingham's ſervants, who had ſlipt in amongſt the crowd, cried out, "Long live king Richard!" Some of the citizens who had been bribed, but would not venture to begin, ſeconded the cry, and the apprentices, with the rabble that ſtood near the door, followed their example, and throwing up their hats in token of joy, cried out, "King Richard! King Richard!" The duke of Buckingham plainly perceived, the cry came from the rabble without, and not from the principal citizens in the hall. Nevertheleſs he commanded ſilence, and reſuming his ſpeech, ſaid he was overjoyed to ſee ſo general and unanimous an approbation to his propoſal. "Wherefore, continued he, my good friends, I deſire you to meet me here to-morrow about this time, that we may all go together, and preſent our humble petition to his highneſs, and intreat him to condeſcend to our requeſt." Then the mayor diſmiſſing the people, the citizens returned to their houſes with tears in their eyes, and grief in their hearts, without daring to ſhew it, for fear of offending thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to have it concealed.

Next day the duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and many other perſons of the cabal, came to the protector's palace [u] and ſent a meſſage to him, that the magiſtrates of London deſired an audience. The protector ſcrupled to appear, pretending to fear, that ſuch numbers were aſſembled for no good deſign. Whereupon the duke of Buckingham obſerved to the mayor and thoſe about him, that his highneſs was not conſcious of their intent, intimating thereby, that he was not concerned in the tranſactions of the foregoing day. At length, upon the repeated deſire that his highneſs would be pleaſed to grant an audience, he came forth with ſigns of great miſtruſt, and as not daring to approach ſuch multitudes for fear of ſome miſchief [w]. Then the duke of Buckingham, without giving the mayor time to ſpeak, briefly ſet forth the grievances of the nation in the late reign. After that, he ſaid to the protector, the people had found no better way to free themſelves from their evils, than to pray his highneſs to aſſume the royal authority, which of right belonged to him. He added, the mayor and aldermen of London, whom he ſaw there, were come to petition in the name of all the people, who were united in the ſame intention.

The duke of Gloceſter ſeeming ſurpriſed at the propoſal, anſwered, "He was convinced that all he had heard was true: but he had ſo great a veneration for the memory of the late king his brother, and ſo tender an affection for his children, as out-weighed all the crowns in the world, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt. However he willingly pardoned their petition, and thanked them for their affection: but adviſed them to be obedient to the ſovereign under whoſe dominion they lived. That for his part, he would continue to the utmoſt of his power to give the king his nephew ſuch counſels, as he ſhould judge moſt conducive to render his kingdom flouriſhing, and his people happy, as he believed he had hitherto done, to the ſatisfaction of all the world."

The duke of Buckingham ſeeming diſſatisfied with this anſwer, murmured ſome words to himſelf expreſſing his diſcontent, and at length deſired leave to ſpeak once more; and having obtained it, he plainly told the protector, "That all the people were unanimouſly reſolved not to acknowledge for king any of Edward IVth's children: that they had proceeded too far to recede, and therefore if he would not receive the crown, the people would be forced to offer it to one who would not refuſe it." At theſe words the protector began to be a little more compliant, and at laſt ſpoke to the people in this manner: "Since I ſee the whole kingdom is reſolved not to ſuffer Edward's children to reign, for which I am extremely concerned, I am fully convinced, the crown can of right belong only to me, who am the undoubted ſon of the

[q] On the Tueſday following, which was the 17th of June. Moor. Hall, fol. 20.

[r] Attended by ſeveral lords, who were privy to the deſign. Ibid.

[s] Thomas Fitz-williams. Moor. Hall, fol, 22.

[t] It was not the recorder, but the duke of Buckingham, who continuing to ſpeak, required the people to give a poſitive anſwer. Moor. Hall, fol. 23.

[u] At Baynard's caſtle in Thames-ſtreet, where the protector then lay. Moor.

[w] He is ſaid to appear in a gallery, with a biſhop on each ſide of him. Moor. Hall, fol. 23.

Sir

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

London: Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

KING RICHARD. III.

Goldar Sculp.

From the Antient Picture in Kensington Palace

Pub.d as the Act directs. Sept.r 2. 1746.

late duke of York my father. To this title is now joined the free election of the lords and commons of the realm, which of all titles I ſhall conſider as the chief and moſt effectual. From theſe conſiderations I graciouſly receive your petition, and inſtantly take upon me the government of the two kingdoms of England and France, the former to be governed and defended, and the latter by God's help, and my people's aſſiſtance, to be ſubdued." At the cloſe of the ſpeech was heard a great ſhout of "Long live king Richard III!" The comedy being over, the people retired to their homes, making upon this occaſion ſuch reflections as were ſuggeſted by their underſtandings, intereſts or paſſions.

18. RICHARD III. Sirnamed Crook-Back.

[1483] THE duke of Gloceſter having attained his ends by ſuch extraordinary ways, and in ſpite of all the obſtacles that oppoſed his ambition, was proclaimed the 22d of June [a], by the name of Richard III. He might have been crowned the next day, ſince the preparations for Edward the Vth's coronation were finiſhed: but he delayed the ceremony till the ſixth of July, expecting the arrival of five thouſand men, which he ſent for out of the north, becauſe he did not entirely confide in the citizens of London.

During that interval, he gave the great ſeal to the biſhop of Lincoln [b], one of his favourites. On the 18th of June he conferred the office of earl marſhal upon the lord John Howard [c], and the next day the title of duke of Norfolk. The day following he commiſſioned him to exerciſe the office of high-ſteward during the coronation. A few days after, he created Thomas Howard his ſon, earl of Surrey, William Berkley earl of Nottingham, and the lord Lovel one of his confidents, viſcount of the ſame name [d].

Thomas Rotheram archbiſhop of York and the lord Thomas Stanley, who were impriſoned the day the lord Haſtings was executed, were releaſed at the ſame time, and the new king made the lord Stanley lord ſteward of the houſhold. It was not from a motive of affection or confidence, but out of fear that the lord Strange his ſon [e], who was beginning to levy forces in Lincolnſhire [f], ſhould raiſe commotions, the conſequences whereof he much dreaded.

As for Dr. Morton biſhop of Ely, who was arreſted the ſame day, the king deſigned not to do him the ſame favor. But the univerſity of Oxford, of which that prelate was member, having preſented a petition in his behalf, he did not think proper wholly to reject it, at a time when he wanted to gain the affection of his new ſubjects. However, as he mortally hated that biſhop, he could not reſolve to releaſe him entirely. He only took him out of his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the duke of Buckingham's cuſtody, who ſent him to the caſtle of Brecknock in Wales. He was a man of mean parentage [g], but having ſtudied at Oxford, where he had taken his doctor's degree, was ſo eminent for his learning and parts, that he was taken from thence and made privy-councellor by Henry VI. The revolution which had placed Edward IV. on the throne made no alteration in his fortune. Edward, it is likely, pleaſed with his complaiſance, continued him in the ſame poſt and promoted him to the biſhopric of Ely. From thenceforward he was wholly attached to that prince, which drew on him Richard's hatred, who put him under confinement the ſame day the lord Haſtings was beheaded, for fear his affection to the late king's family ſhould lead him to oppoſe his deſigns. The ſixth of July, the coronation of the king and queen was performed with great ſolemnity [h]. All the peers of the realm were preſent for fear of being ſuſpected by the new king, whoſe jealous temper was well known. Margaret counteſs of Richmond, wife of the lord Stanley and mother of the earl of Richmond detained in Bretagne, held up the queen's train.

Richard enjoyed but two years and two months the crown he had ſo ardently deſired. He ſpent his whole reign in deviſing means to ſupport himſelf in the throne, which having mounted by bloodſhed and other crimes, he endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion by the ſame methods, but all his meaſures proved ineffectual, Divine Providence being pleaſed to blaſt projects, founded wholly upon injuſtice, violence, and the ſubverſion of the laws. The preſent circumſtances ſeemed however to be very favourable for him. The Lancaſtrian family was quite extinct in England. Henry earl of Richmond, the only branch of that houſe, was in the hands of the duke of Bretagne, who had promiſed Edward IV. to hinder him from going out of his dominions. Margaret his mother ſhewed no inclination to proſecute her rights. Beſides, ſhe was ſubject to a huſband whom Richard had attached to his intereſt by one of the moſt conſiderable poſts at court. As to the princes and princeſſes of Portugal and Caſtile, deſcended from Philippa and Catherine of Lancaſter, daughters of John of Gant, they were too remote to diſturb the new king. In fine, there was not a lord in the kingdom that ſeemed to have credit enough to excite inſurrections, the civil war having ſwept away great numbers and entirely deſtroyed many ancient families. As for thoſe that were ſtill left, Richard hoped to win them by favours, as he had already gained the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Norfolk, the lord Stanley, and ſome others. As for the Yorkiſts attached to the family of Edward IV. namely, the Woodvilles, Greys, and others of the new nobility, he had already diſpatched ſome, in the laſt reign, and the reſt were fled. The queen-widow was ſtill with her five daughters in ſanctuary, from whence ſhe durſt not ſtir, and where ſhe ſeemed unable to hurt him. The marquis of Dorſet her ſon had likewiſe taken ſanctuary, and ſir Richard Woodville had abſconded. In a word, Edward V. and the duke of York his brother were in the Tower, where ſince the 27th of June, Richard had taken care to place as governor ſir Robert Brackenbury his creature. Thus, nothing ſeemed capable to ſhake the new monarch's throne.

Mean-while, to be provided againſt whatever might happen, he formed the project to ſecure Caſtile and Portugal, the archduke Maximilian, who governed the Low-countries in the name of Philip his ſon, France and Bretagne, from whence he feared his enemies might procure ſome aſſiſtance. In fine, to break all the meaſures which the friends of Edward the IVth's family might take againſt him, he reſolved to murder his nephews young king Edward V. and the duke of York his brother. Theſe were Richard's firſt projects to preſerve his crown, which created him no leſs uneaſineſs after poſſeſſion than whilſt he was labouring to obtain it.

To execute all theſe reſolutions, the 12th of July, he appointed for his embaſſador to Caſtile, Barnard de la Force, with orders to renew the ancient alliance with queen Iſabella and Ferdinand king of Arragon her huſband. The next day he gave the like commiſſion to Thomas Hutton, to treat of the prolongation of the truce with Francis II. duke of Bretagne. Probably Hutton had ſecret inſtructions to endeavour to procure the earl of Richmond, or at leaſt to renew the treaty upon that ſubject between Edward IV. and the duke. Three days after, he appointed commiſſioners to treat with France concerning ſome breaches of the truce, in order to have occaſion to confirm it.

Theſe meaſures being taken, nothing remained but to execute the principal article, the murder of his two nephews. For that purpoſe, he reſolved to remove from London, that their death happening in his abſence, he might be the leſs ſuſpected. With this view he departed from London to viſit ſeveral counties, under colour of reforming certain abuſes introduced to the great detriment of the people. His progreſs into the north was particularly neceſſary to curb the inſolence of the troops he had ſent for from thence, and who after their return had committed great outrages. But before he proceeded to York, he made ſome ſtay at Gloceſter, not to be too far from London, whilſt his orders concerning his nephews were executing.

The duke of Buckingham, his intimate friend and confident, attended him to Gloceſter. He had loaded that lord

[a] Sir T. Moor, (as publiſhed in Hall) ſays that Richard took the reins of the government the 19th of June, and the next day, viz. the 20th, was proclaimed king, when with great ſolemnity he rode to Weſtminſter, and ſitting in the ſeat royal, called before him the judges of the realm, whom he ſtraightly commanded to execute the law without favour or delay. Moor. Hall, fol. 25.

[b] John Ruſſel.

[c] He was ſon of ſir Robert Howard, and Margaret daughter and coheireſs of Thomas de Moubray duke of Norfolk. The firſt perſon of note in this family, was William Howard judge of the common-pleas, in the reign of Edward I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 265.

[d] And chamberlain. Moor.

[e] Having married Joan, daughter and heireſs of John lord Strange, he was ſummoned to parliament in 22 Edw. IV. by the title of lord Strange. Dugdale. Ibid. p. 249.

[f] Hall and Hollingſhead ſay, it was in Lancaſhire, fol. 25. 1386.

[g] Biſhop Morton was not of mean parentage. He was ſon of Richard Morton, a gentleman of Bere in Dorſetſhire; whoſe grandfather was Robert Morton, of Morton in Nottinghamſhire, of a very ancient family.

[h] On the 4th of July he went to the Tower by water with his wife; the 5th he rode through London with great pomp; and the 6th was crowned. See a particular account of his coronation in Hall, fol. 25. 26; and Hollingſhead, p. 1387, &c.

with eſtates and honours, both whilſt he was protector and after he was king. But the duke ſtill expected another favour, of which he had received a poſitive promiſe. And that was, the moiety of the lands of the houſe of Hereford, to which he thought he had a very juſt right. The foundation of his claim will plainly appear in the following genealogy.

HUMPHREY BOHUN,
Earl of Hereford and Northampton.

MARY BOHUN Wife of Henry IV.	ANN THOMAS of Woodſtock Earl of Gloceſter, Son of Edward III.
HENRY V.	ANN Edmund Earl of Stafford.
HENRY VI.	HUMPHREY Duke of Buckingham.
EDWARD Prince of Wales.	HENRY Duke of Buckingham.

To conſider only this genealogy, it is evident, the duke of Buckingham had a right to claim one half of the earl of Hereford's lands, as deſcended from one of his daughters. But there were other reaſons which rendered his title diſputable. When Richard II. put to death his uncle the duke of Gloceſter at Calais, he cauſed his eſtate to be confiſcated by the parliament, and gave what that prince held in right of Ann his wife to the earl of Derby, who had married the eldeſt of the ſiſters, and withal created him duke of Hereford. Thus the earl of Derby took poſſeſſion of the whole inheritance of the earl of Hereford his father-in-law, and afterwards mounting the throne by the name of Henry IV. all his lands were annexed to the crown, which was thereby poſſeſſed of the whole eſtate of the Hereford family to the time of Richard the third's acceſſion to the throne. However, when Richard, being protector, intended to engage the duke of Buckingham to ſerve him in his deſign to uſurp the crown, he promiſed to reſtore him the moiety of the inheritance confiſcated upon the duke of Gloceſter his great-grandfather. But after he was king he altered his mind, whether he thought he had amply rewarded him otherwiſe, or was afraid of rendering him too powerful, and ſo giving him occaſion to aſpire to the throne, as deſcending from Edward III. Be this as it will, the duke during the progreſs putting him in mind of his promiſe, received ſuch an anſwer, as left him no room to expect that juſtice or favour[i]. The duke, who was very high-ſpirited, was ſo offended at the king's anſwer, that he deſired leave to go and look after his own private affairs[k]. Richard, not imagining the refuſal had made ſo deep an impreſſion upon the duke, or perhaps not fearing the effects of his reſentment, gave him the leave he deſired, and parting from him at Gloceſter, he purſued his journey to York.

During the king's ſtay at Gloceſter, he ſent an expreſs order to Brackenbury, governor of the Tower of London, to murder Edward V. and the duke of York his brother. Brackenbury, more conſcientious than his maſter, returned a very ſubmiſſive anſwer, but withal told him, he ſhould never be able to execute his commands. Richard, vexed to be deceived in his opinion of that officer, ſent him by James Tyrrel a written order, to deliver to the bearer the keys and government of the Tower for one ſingle night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrel brought in his agents[l] to execute the king's orders. That very night, whilſt all were aſleep, he went into the two princes' room, and ſmothering them in their bed, cauſed them to be buried under a little ſtaircaſe. This is what Tyrrel himſelf afterwards confeſſed, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. In 1674, whilſt ſome alterations were making in that part of the Tower, bones were found, which were thought to be thoſe of Edward V. and the duke of York, and upon that ſuppoſition, Charles II. who then reigned, ordered them to be put into a marble urn, and removed to Weſtminſter among the tombs of the kings[m]. As the two princes were never more heard of, ſince the day Tyrrel went into the Tower, and as their ſervants were diſmiſſed, the public doubted not that they were ſacrificed to their uncle's ſafety.

Richard having received the news of the death of his two nephews, continued his journey into the north, and came to York about the end of Auguſt. As the pretence of his progreſs was to cauſe juſtice to be impartially adminiſtered to the people, he could not help executing ſome of the northern ſoldiers, who in returning from London had committed great outrages. Then, he cauſed himſelf to be crowned a ſecond time at the cathedral of York the beginning of September, and the ſame day be created Edward his ſon, ten years old, prince of Wales, with the uſual formalities.

A few days after his coronation, he received the agreeable news that Ferdinand and Iſabella had prevented him, by deſiring themſelves the confirmation of the alliance between England and Caſtile, by an embaſſador ſent on purpoſe, and who was then come to York. The renewing of that alliance, which he ratified himſelf the 31ſt of Auguſt, pleaſed him extremely. He found that Ferdinand and Iſabella acknowledging him for lawful king, were forming no project to reſtore to the throne the houſe of Lancaſter, from whence queen Iſabella was deſcended, being grand-daughter of Catherine of Lancaſter, daughter of John of Gant. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction by conferring the honour of knighthood[n] upon Geoffry de Saſiola embaſſador of Caſtile, who brought him the good news, and by his letters full of eſteem, affection, and acknowledgment, to the king and queen of Spain, to the cardinal de Mendoca, and to the earl of Leryn their miniſters.

Lewis XI. king of France died Auguſt the 29th this year. Charles VIII. his only ſon being a minor, ſucceeded him under the guardianſhip of his ſiſter Ann, wife of Philip de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu, purſuant to the late king's directions. But Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, diſputed the regency with her. This conteſt raiſed in the court of France diſturbances which prevented the miniſters from attending to the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, which Richard earneſtly ſolicited.

Whilſt the king was flattering himſelf with having taken all neceſſary meaſures to ſupport himſelf on the throne, a conſpiracy was forming againſt him, which ended in his ruin after proving the deſtruction of its author. I left the duke of Buckingham diſſatisfied, and parting from the king in order to retire. He was a perſon of a lively and penetrating genius, very proud, ambitious, revengeful, and not very ſtrict in his morals. During Edward the fourth's life, he could never bring himſelf to ſtoop to the queen, though ſhe had a great aſcendant over the king her huſband. He was even conſidered as head of the party of the ancient nobility againſt the new, which wholly conſiſted of the queen's relations and creatures. It was chiefly from his averſion to the queen, that after Edward IV's death he devoted himſelf entirely to the duke of Gloceſter, for whom as has been related, he procured the protectorſhip, and at laſt the crown itſelf. In return for ſo ſignal a ſervice, Richard had liberally beſtowed his favors upon him. Particularly he made him as it were maſter of Wales, and the adjoining counties, by the poſts and governments given him in thoſe parts.[o] But all theſe favours were forgot, when he refuſed to grant him a moiety of the lands of Hereford. The duke perceived the king's policy, in giving him poſts, from which he could remove him at pleaſure, whereas in reſtoring the lands he demanded, it would not have been in his power to reſume them without uſing force. This proceeding convinced him, that the king would always keep him in dependence; and as he perfectly knew that prince's character, eaſily perceived, that the leaſt occaſion would be ſufficient to make him forfeit whatever he enjoyed. Beſides, he thought it a manifeſt injuſtice to refuſe him what he believed to be his lawful right; that moreover he broke his promiſe, and ſhewed himſelf extremely ungrateful, in

[i] That Rapin, and the reſt of our hiſtorians are miſtaken in this particular, is plain from ſir W. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 168, wherein is inſerted a bill ſigned by king Richard, whereby he granted the duke of Buckingham livery of all thoſe lands to which he pretended a right by deſcent from Humphrey de Bohun. Among the reſt there were ſixteen lordſhips in Eſſex, (particularly Walden, Badow, Plecy, Waltham, High-Eſtre) beſides many more in other counties, amounting in all to the yearly value of 1084l. 12s. 9d.

[k] Dugdale aſcribes the cauſe of his retiring, either to trouble of conſcience, or becauſe he found himſelf neglected by the king. Ibid.

[l] Miles Foreſt, and John Dighton. Moor.

[m] In the time of ſir Thomas Chicheley, maſter of the ordnance, great heaps of records of bills and anſwers lying in the ſix clerks office, were removed to be repoſited in the white tower; and a new pair of ſtairs were made into the chapel there, for the eaſier conveyance of them thither. The labourers in digging at the foot of the old ſtairs, came to a wooden cheſt, containing the bones of conſumed corpſes covered with a heap of ſtones: which bones king Charles cauſed to be interred in Henry VIIth's chapel, near two other royal children, Maria, and Sophia, daughters of king James I. with a monument of white marble, and an inſcription on it in capital letters. Stanford, p. 427—429.

[n] Which he did by putting a gold collar round his neck, and ſtriking him thrice on the ſhoulders with his ſword. Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 200.

[o] He was chief-juſtice and chamberlain of all South-Wales and North-Wales; as alſo conſtable of all the caſtles, and ſteward of all the king's lordſhips lying within Shropſhire and Herefordſhire. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 169. and Strype's notes in Compl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 530.

There

making ſo ill a return for the ſervices he had received from him. All this gave him reaſon to fear, he had intended to ruin him in time.

Full of theſe ſiniſter thoughts, he retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where Dr. Morton biſhop of Ely was priſoner under his cuſtody. In his frequent converſations with that prelate, he could not help diſcovering his reſentment againſt the king. The biſhop, who was a man of ſenſe, quickly found the duke was diſſatisfied, which emboldened him to talk to him freely. He obſerved the duke took a pleaſure in hearing him, and that he would have perhaps ſpoken himſelf more plainly, had he dared to truſt him entirely. So, to inſpire him with more confidence, he affected to ſpeak of the king in a manner, which, by ſhewing what he thought of him, gave the duke to underſtand, that he ſhould find in him a perſon ready to ſecond him in his deſigns. At length, after mutually ſounding each other for ſome time, they opened their minds to one another, and lamented together the unhappy ſtate of the kingdom under ſuch a king. The late death of Edward V, and of the duke his brother, afforded them freſh matter to exclaim againſt Richard. They concluded, that ſince he had not ſpared his own nephews, no lord in the kingdom could be ſure of his life. Theſe converſations ended at length in the duke's requeſt to the biſhop, to tell him freely, whether he ſaw no way to prevent the miſchiefs they had reaſon to fear; promiſing with an oath to keep the ſecret inviolably. Morton, who till then was under ſome apprehenſions that the duke deſigned to enſnare him, being encouraged by the oath, told him in plain terms, "it was his opinion, there was no other way than to dethrone Richard, and ſet up another king. He owned, that though he could have wiſhed the crown had continued in the family of Henry VI. he had not been able to avoid following the ſtream, when he ſaw almoſt all England declare for Edward IV. That afterwards, Henry VI. and the prince his ſon being dead, he had faithfully adhered to Edward. That upon Edward's death he had ſerved with the ſame zeal his young ſon, whom he believed his lawful ſucceſſor. That afterwards he perceived with grief the duke of Gloceſter aſpiring to the throne, and having the honour to be of the council, thought it is duty to endeavour to oppoſe his deſign. But inſtead of ſucceeding, he had only drawn upon himſelf the hatred and diſpleaſure of that prince, who had thrown him into priſon, ſolely for adhering to the family of Edward IV. That this unjuſt violence had increaſed his hatred of the uſurper, and the tragical death of the two young princes had carried it to the higheſt degree. That being in theſe circumſtances, he had conſidered with himſelf what prince would be the moſt proper to be placed on the throne in the room of the tyrant, and had found no other than the duke of Buckingham, deſcended from a ſon of Edward III. That the whole race of Lancaſter being extinct, at leaſt in England, there remained of the houſe of York only the tyrant and his ſon, with the young earl of Warwick ſon of the duke of Clarence. As for the laſt, he could not pretend to the crown, his father's attainder having debarred his heirs of the right of inheriting. That the preſent king had by his crimes rendered himſelf unworthy, and to preſerve the ſons after deſtroying the father, would be acting by halves. That therefore, once more, he ſaw only the duke of Bukingham capable of lawfully claiming the crown."

The duke liſtened very attentively tothis diſcourſe, but deferred his anſwer till next day. This delay threw the biſhop in a fright, ſince it left him ſtill uncertain whether the duke was ſincere, or deſigned only to ſift him. By the way the biſhop it ſeems was not very ſcrupulous, ſince knowing the duke of Buckingham's character, he readily offered his ſervice to ſet him on the throne. This is a ſign that he acted more from a motive of revenge againſt Richard, than with a view to the good of the public. The king and the duke were too much alike for any great advantage to be expected by ſuch a change.

Next day the converſation being reſumed, the duke after a long apology for all his former actions, freely confeſſed to the prelate, "he had once an intention to aſpire to the throne, but upon mature deliberation had entirely dropped it. He conſidered, that in acting for himſelf, he ſhould ſtir up againſt him all the friends of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, equally concerned to oppoſe his pretenſions. That there was a prince nearer than he, whom the houſe of Lancaſter looked upon as their head, and he it was on whom he had caſt his eyes to raiſe to the throne. Then he named Henry earl of Richmond, who was in Bretagne." adding, "that the project to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne would draw one half of the kingdom to that prince's intereſt, and he had deviſed a happy expedient to gain him the other half: and that was his marriage with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. which would make all the Yorkiſts his friends. That moreover, the nation would receive great advantage from thence, in as much as all the ſeeds of the civil wars would be deſtroyed, by the union of the two contending houſes. That by this means even thoſe who were indifferent for either party, would be forced, as one may ſay, to promote the common good of their country; and then Richard's few friends would not be able to balance ſo great a power. Whereas, if he pretended to ſet up himſelf, the whole kingdom would be united againſt him, ſince there was not the leaſt colour to exclude from the throne, two houſes that had been in poſſeſſion above fourſcore years. In fine, he added, that in his way to Brecknock, he met the counteſs of Richmond, and having ſounded her upon this head, believed he could be ſure ſhe would be eaſily diſpoſed to promote the advancement of her ſon."

The biſhop liked this expedient, as more conformable to juſtice and equity, and more adapted to the good of the realm, eſpecially as it came from the only perſon, who would have had reaſon to oppoſe it, had it been propoſed by another.

Henry earl of Richmond, as I elſewhere obſerved, was of Welſh extraction. But his mother Margaret was daughter of John de Beaufort duke of Somerſet, grandſon of John of Gant duke of Lancaſter. Margaret's father dying without iſſue male, Edmund his younger brother inherited his title. But Edmund and all his poſterity being deſtroyed in the civil wars, Margaret and her ſon were the only remains of that houſe. So, it ſeemed, they ſhould have indiſputably inherited all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter. But however the title was liable to great objections.

Whilſt John of Gant duke of Lancaſter lived with Conſtantia of Caſtile his ſecond wife, he kept, as his concubine, Catherine Roet, widow of ſir Otho de Swinford, and by her had ſeveral children. Conſtantia his wife being dead, he married his concubine, and had intereſt enough to cauſe her children, born before marriage, to be legitimated by an act of parliament, and by Richard IId's ſubſequent letters patent. However, the king and the parliament, willing to make a diſtinction between theſe natural children and the others born in wedlock, gave them not the name of Lancaſter or Plantagenet, but that of Beaufort, the name of the caſtle where they were born. Moreover, though in the act of parliament, and in the king's letters patent, power was granted them to hold principalities, dukedoms, earldoms, &c. and to tranſmit them to their heirs, there was no mention of the crown.[p] During the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry V. the princes of this branch durſt not aſſume the name of Lancaſter. It was not till about the end of Henry VI's reign, that Edmund duke of Somerſet being prime miniſter, and very zealous for the king, againſt the attempts of the duke of York, began by degrees to aſſert his deſcent from John of Gant, and his kindred to the king, as being of the houſe of Lancaſter. The queſtion therefore was to know, whether the princes of this branch could ſucceed to the crown in their turn. And ſuppoſing they could, the point was to know what rank they held, and whether the heirs of John of Gant's daughters born in wedlock, were not to precede thoſe of a ſon only legitimated, and born before marriage. If ſo, there was no leſs than ten or twelve princes and princeſſes in Portugal, Caſtile and Germany, who would have excluded the earl of Richmond. On the other hand, it ſeems that by Edward IVth's endeavours to have the earl of Richmond in his hands, he had, as it were, owned him capable of inheriting all the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter. This was a queſtion which might have been debated in thoſe days, but which, having been decided above two hundred years, requires no farther examination, unleſs out of mere curioſity thoſe that are verſed in theſe matters are willing to exerciſe their wits.

Very likely, if the duke of Buckingham had thought it in his power to mount the throne, he would not have failed to object againſt the earl of Richmond's title the forementioned reaſons. But, as he had himſelf obſerved, in his diſcourſe with the biſhop of Ely, he could not ſet up himſelf without oppoſing the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, that is to ſay, the whole kingdom, which was divided between theſe two factions. So the pretence to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter, and put an end to the civil wars, by the union of

[p] There was mention of the crown, but it was to exclude them abſolutely from it; as is plain from the words of the act. They were by it intitled—"Ad quæcunque honores dignitatie (excepta dignitates regali) preeminentias ſtatus gradus & officia publica & privata tam perpetua quam temporalia atque feudalia & nobilia quibuſcunque nominibus noncupentur, etiamſi ducatus principatus comitatus Baronie vel alia feuda fuerint."—This act bears date Feb. 9 Anno. 20. Richard II. and was afterwards exemplified by king Henry IV. on Feb. 10, in the 8th year of his reign. See Sandford. p. 322, 323.

Where

the two contending houſes, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of Richard. I ſay to be revenged, for it is hard to believe, a man of his character ſhould act on this occaſion from a nobler motive.

Be this as it will, the duke and the biſhop having conſulted together how to accompliſh their deſigns, came to this concluſion: that all hope of ſucceſs was founded on the marriage of the earl of Richmond with the princeſs Elizabeth; that therefore, before all things, that point was to be ſecured without which it would be to labour in vain, or at leaſt with great uncertainty. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould without loſs of time acquaint the counteſs of Richmond with their project, that ſhe might inform her ſon of it, and perſuade the queen-dowager, mother of the princeſs, to conſent to the marriage.

But as conferring with Margaret would have been very dangerous for the duke of Buckingham, conſidering the king's extreme jealouſy of the houſe of Somerſet, the biſhop told him, he had an old friend in the counteſs's ſervice, one Reginald Bray, who might ſafely be truſted with the ſecret. The duke approving that expedient, Bray was privately ſent for to Brecknock, and the project being imparted to him, the propoſing of it to his miſtreſs was left to his care. More eſpecially, he was charged to tell her, that the marriage of the earl her ſon was the baſis and foundation on which the whole project reſted.

As ſoon as Bray was gone to execute his commiſſion, the biſhop of Ely deſired the duke's leave to retire to his biſhopric. He was juſtly afraid of his life, in caſe the plot came to be diſcovered. It may be, he did not wholly depend upon the duke's ſincerity. But the duke gave him two invincible reaſons why he could not comply with his requeſt. The firſt was, that he ſhould be guilty of letting his priſoner eſcape, which alone would be ſufficient to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions. The ſecond, that in an undertaking of this nature, he could not proceed without his advice. The biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe reaſons, but had by him ſtill ſtronger, to free himſelf from the impending danger, in caſe the affair was diſcovered. And therefore, as he was not ſo narrowly watched by his keepers, ſince his frequent converſation with the duke, he found means to eſcape, and retire to Ely;[q] from whence he fled into Flanders. Upon his arrival, he wrote to the duke to excuſe his eſcape, and withal endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his power to promote the execution of their intended deſign, than whilſt he was priſoner. He conjured him likewiſe, to continue in his reſolution, and ſhewed him how he might carry on a private correſpondence with him.

Mean while the counteſs of Richmond being informed of what was projected in favour of the earl her ſon, ſent back her ſervant to the duke of Buckingham with her compliment of thanks; and withal let him know, ſhe was endeavouring to obtain the queen dowager's conſent to the marriage, and then would take the moſt proper meaſures, to ſend to the earl of Richmond.

Elizabeth Woodville widow of Edward IV. was ſtill in her ſanctuary at Weſtminſter with her five daughters, lamenting the death of her two ſons, and blaming herſelf for having been the occaſion, by her uneaſineſs to deliver the duke of York to his uncle. There had never been any particular friendſhip between that queen and the counteſs of Richmond. One was wife to a king of the houſe of York, and the other was of the family of Somerſet, ſworn enemies of the Yorkiſts. Wherefore the counteſs could not viſit the queen in her ſanctuary, without cauſing great ſuſpicion. To avoid this inconvenience, ſhe made uſe of one Lewis her phyſician,[r] and having communicated the whole affair to him, ordered him to go to London, and ſo manage as to ſee the queen, and inform her of what was in agitation. Above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all hope of ſucceſs depended upon the union of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with the earl of Richmond.

Lewis being come to London, found no great difficulty, as a phyſician, to get admittance to the queen. He communicated to her what he had in charge, intimating it would be in her own power to be revenged of her mortal enemy, the murderer of her children, and dethrone the uſurper, provided ſhe would conſent to the marriage propoſed. The queen gladly liſtened to the overture. She charged the doctor to tell his miſtreſs ſhe approved of the project, and would ſo order it that all the king her huſband's friends ſhould join with the earl of Richmond. But ſhe added, ſhe wiſhed the earl would ſwear to marry Elizabeth, or in caſe ſhe happened to die, Cecily her younger ſiſter.

Matters being thus ſettled between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, they endeavoured to engage in the plot their moſt truſty friends, who likewiſe drew in others[s]. The Engliſh were as favourably diſpoſed as could be wiſhed, by three principal reaſons. Firſt, becauſe of the people's univerſal hatred of the king, who had made himſelf extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his protectorſhip, as by his late crime, in putting his nephews to death, after robbing them of the crown. He had thereby loſt moſt of the friends of the houſe of York, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the family of Edward IV. In the ſecond place, all the Lancaſtrians ſaw with pleaſure, a project tending to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, Laſtly, thoſe that without regarding the intereſt of the two factions, had only the good of the nation in view, could not but conſider as a great happineſs, the ſucceſs of an enterprize, which by uniting the two contending houſes, would put an end to the civil war wherewith the kingdom had been afflicted thirty years. Thus the Lancaſtrians, Yorkiſts, and even thoſe that ſtood neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur to the downfall of the uſurper.

The duke of Buckingham being the author and head of the enterprize, it was his part to conduct it to a happy concluſion. For that purpoſe, he firſt ſecured ſome friends in Wales, where his power was great, who undertook to liſt ſoldiers privately, to enable him to bring ſuddenly and ſeaſonably an army into the field. Then he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome gentlemen of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwal, who promiſed to raiſe forces, and receive the earl of Richmond at his arrival. His deſign was to join them himſelf, with his Welſhmen, that Richard might be the leſs able to oppoſe the earl's landing. At the ſame time, ſeveral lords and gentlemen were to riſe in other counties, that the king might be at a loſs where to march firſt. The marquis of Dorſet, who had lately quitted his ſanctuary,[t] ſir Richard Woodville his brother,[u] the biſhop of Exeter, ſir Edward Courtney his brother, and ſeveral other perſons of quality engaged in the plot.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the counteſs of Richmond ſent two expreſſes[w] to the earl her ſon, by different ways, to let him know what was reſolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two expreſſes arriving almoſt together, informed him of all the circumſtances of the plot and prayed him to repair into England without loſs of time, upon the aſſurance they gave him, that every thing was ready for his reception. They told him likewiſe that Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, or Cornwall,[x] were the moſt convenient places to land, by reaſon of the meaſures taken with the people of thoſe parts.

The earl of Richmond was then at Vannes in Bretagne, where he had been ſeveral years really a priſoner, becauſe of the duke of Bretagne's engagements with Edward IV. but his confinement was not ſtrict, the duke contenting himſelf with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his eſcape in caſe he attempted it: in other reſpects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy that he was thought of in England. But when he came to conſider his preſent condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own country ſo as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in his enterprize without the duke of Bretagne's conſent and aſſiſtance; for unleſs that prince ſupplied him with money, troops, and ſhips, it was not practicable to take juſt meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns: beſides, the duke might have made him cloſe priſoner, by which means the whole affair would have miſcarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he reſolved to tell him the ſecret, and engage him, if poſſible, to aſſiſt him. He found the duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The duke was not engaged with Richard as he had been with Edward his brother: beſides, the unjuſt and violent actions of the new king had rendered him odious to all the princes of Europe, and eſpecially to the Duke of Bretagne. Another thing likewiſe induced him

[q] Where he found friends and money, Hall, fol. 36. Hollingſh. p. 1399.

[r] Who was a Welſhman. Hall, fol. 36.

[s] Reginald Bray was employed by the counteſs of Richmond to engage people in her ſons party, which he accordingly did, and brought in, among the reſt, ſir Giles Daubeney, ſir John Cheney, Richard Guilford, Thomas Rame, eſquires, and many others. Hall, fol. 47. Stow, p. 463.

[t] He repaired into Yorkſhire, where he raiſed large forces; ſir Edward Courtney and his brother did the ſame in Devonſhire and Cornwall; and in Kent, Richard Guilford and other gentlemen gathered a great body of ſoldiers, and began to commit hoſtilities. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingſh. p. 1401.

[u] It ſhould be his uncle. For he was brother to Elizabeth Woodville, the marquis's mother.

[w] She ſent Hugh Conwey, eſq; with a large ſum of money. But Richard Guilford, for fear Conwey ſhould be ſtopped at Plymouth, where he intended to take ſhip, ſent out of Kent, by the way of Calais, Thomas Rame, with the ſame inſtructions. They both arrived almoſt at the ſame hour, at the duke of Bretagne's court. Hall. fol. 37, 38. Hollingſh. p. 1400.

[x] Wales, Stow, p. 436.

He

to hearken for the earl's propoſals; he had pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond in England, formerly enjoyed by his anceſtors, and imagined the earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it, if by this means he arrived to the crown. It is pretended this was the principal article of their agreement, for which the duke very willingly engaged to ſupply him with men and ſhips. When the earl was ſure of the duke of Bretagne's aſſiſtance, he ſent expreſſes[y] to the counteſs his mother and the duke of Buckingham, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of October, deſiring them to prepare all things by that time. This good news preſently put all the conſpirators in motion; every one repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe forces as excite inſurrections: there was no time to looſe, good part of September being now paſt.

How careful ſoever the conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe things could not be done, and Richard have no intelligence that ſome plot was contriving againſt him; but none could tell him what it was, or who were the authors. He was then at York, thinking of very different things, ſo ſecure was he in his own opinion. But theſe advices obliged him to leave the north, and approach the centre of the kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered his troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Mean while he prepared very ſlowly, not imagining the danger ſo near. As the intelligence he had received made him uneaſiy, he ran over in his mind all the lords of the realm who could be diſſatisfied, or had ſufficient credit to incite inſurrections againſt him: he found none but the duke of Buckingham. He had angered him by diſappointing him with regard to the lands of Hereford, and knowing him perfectly, could not doubt that he was capable of any thing to be revenged: beſides, he knew him to be the only perſon in condition by his parts, his riches, and his intereſt, to form and execute great projects: his own experience would not ſuffer him to queſtion it. The biſhop of Ely's eſcape alſo ſerved to ſtrengthen his ſuſpicion. The duke of Buckingham muſt have known how odious that prelate was to him, and therefore his careleſſneſs in guarding ſuch a priſoner could not but be deemed a colluſion and conſequence of ſome ill deſign. Upon theſe ſuſpicions, which were but too well grounded, Richard reſolved to ſend for him to court, but the duke deſired to be excuſed, on pretence of ſome indiſpoſition. This refuſal confirmed the king in his belief, that what he had ſuſpected was but too true. Nevertheleſs, to be more fully ſatisfied, he ſent him poſitive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuſe. The duke perceiving diſſimulation was ineffectual, ſent him word, he would not expoſe his perſon to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would ſerve.

This was ſufficient to convince the king that the duke of Buckingham was the author of the commotions, which for ſome time had made him uneaſy. On the other hand, the duke perceiving that after ſuch a declaration there was no more ceremony to be uſed, drew together the forces which himſelf and friends had privately liſted in Wales, and began to march towards the weſtern counties[z], where he knew the earl of Richmond intended to land. There he was to be joined by thoſe who were gone before to prepare all things againſt the earl's arrival.

Richard was not a little ſurprized to hear that the duke was ſo ready. However, as he had taken ſome precautions to aſſemble his forces in caſe of neceſſity, he appointed the rendezvous at Leiceſter, where he repaired himſelf, with a reſolution to give his enemies battle before their number was increaſed. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to riſe in arms in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The duke was advancing by long marches[a] to Gloceſter, where he deſigned to paſs the Severn: but at the ſame time the river was ſo ſwoln, that the country on both ſides was overflowed and great damage done by the waters. Never had ſo terrible an inundation been heard of in that country: it held ſix whole days, during which the duke's army could neither paſs the river, nor ſubſiſt on the other ſide where was nothing but deſolation[b]. In fine, the Welſh ſoldiers, tired with being expoſed to hunger, rains, and numberleſs hardſhips, returned to their homes, notwithſtanding all the duke's intreaties to the contrary[c]. The deſertion was ſo general, that there remained with the duke only one ſingle ſervant. Reduced to this ſad condition, he ſaw no other remedy than to conceal himſelf till he could take new meaſures. Unhappily for him, he choſe for his retreat the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, and to whom his father and himſelf had been very kind.

The king hearing of the diſperſion of the duke of Buckinghams's troops, iſſued out a proclamation againſt him and the marquis of Dorſet with ſome others of his adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in league with him. But as the marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and ſo could not be ſtiled a rebel, he made uſe of another pretence to involve him in the ſentence. He ſaid, that having taken an oath at his coronation to puniſh vice and wickedneſs, he was obliged to puniſh the marquis of Dorſet, notorious for his debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral virgins, been guilty of ſundry adulteries, and publicly kept Shore's wife. Then he promiſed a reward of one thouſand pounds ſterling, or a hundred pounds a year, to any perſon that ſhould bring the duke to juſtice; a thouſand marks, or one hundred marks a year, for the marquis; and ſo in proportion for the reſt that were named in the proclamation[d]. The villain Baniſter[e], not being able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a temptation, betrayed his maſter to the ſheriff of Shropſhire[f], who cauſing the houſe to be ſurrounded by a company of armed men, ſeized the duke of Buckingham diſguiſed like a peaſant, and conducted him to Shrewſbury. The duke was deſirous to ſpeak with the king but could never obtain that favour. Some ſay he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death: but this is only conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at Shrewſbury[g], without any legal proceſs, by the king's bare order. Thus, this lord, who had helped to take away the lives of the lord Haſtings, the earl of Rivers, and other priſoners at Pomfret, by an arbitary ſentence, periſhed himſelf in the ſame manner, contrary to all right, by the abſolute orders of him whom he had placed on the throne. On the other hand, we ſhall ſee preſently, that this very conſpiracy, formed by the duke of Buckingham, accomplice of all the king's ill actions whilſt he was but protector, proved the occaſion of that monarch's ruin. Is it poſſible not to perceive the direction of Providence in ſuch ſort of events!

Upon the firſt news of the diſperſion of the Welch army, the duke's friends, who expected him in the weſt, ready to take up arms the moment they ſhould hear of his paſſing the Severn, diſperſed themſelves. Some lurked among their friends, and others fled to ſanctuary. But the greateſt part embarked and ſailed to the earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no ſafety for them in the kingdom: the marquis of Dorſet was of this number.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Richmond, imagining that all went there to his wiſh, ſailed from St. Malo's the 12th of October, with five thouſand men and forty ſhips, furniſhed by the duke of Bretange. But the fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſome of the ſhips were driven on the coaſt of France, others returned to Bretange. The ſhip in which was the earl of Richmond, reſiſting the ſeas better than the reſt, arrived after the ſtorm upon the coaſt of Cornwell[h], where he ſaw the ſhore crowded with troops, who made him a ſignal to approach: but happily for him he reſolved not to land till his fleet had rejoined him, expecting they would be ſoon at the rendezvous. Mean time, they ſent to enquire whether the troops he ſaw were friends or enemies: the commander anſwered, he was poſted there by the duke of Buckingham, to wait for the earl of Richmond, and favour his landing. But the perſon ſent by the earl eaſily perceived the contrary, and informed his maſter of it, who finding his deſign was diſcovered, put to ſea and arrived at a port in Normandy. The truth is, the troops he ſaw on the coaſt of Cornwall were the militia of the country, poſted there by Richard, with intent to ſurpprize his enemy by that artifice.

The earl of Richmond heard in Normandy of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune. As after that there was no more appearance of purſuing his enterprize without taking new

[y] He ſent back Conway and Rame. Hall, fol. 38. Hollingſh.

[z] Towards Saliſbury, Hall, fol. 39. Stow. p. 463.

[a] Through the foreſt of Dean, Hall, fol. 39.

[b] This inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a hundred years after it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is ſaid to laſt ten days, and that men, women, and children were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were covered with the waters. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingſhead, p. 1402.

[c] Hall ſays, he had enforced and compelled them into his ſervice againſt their wills, rather by lordly and ſtreight commandment, than by liberal wages and gentle retinour; which was the very occaſion why they left him deſolate, fol. 49.

[d] With him are named in the proclamation, ſir William Noreys, ſir William Knevet, ſir Thomas Bourghchier, of Barnes, ſir George Broun, John Cheyne, John Norcis, Walter Hungerford, John Ruſh, and John Harecourt. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 204.

[e] His name was Ranf Baniſtre, king Richard gave him for his reward the manor of Ealding in Kent. See Compl. Hiſt. p. 532, note.

[f] John Mitton. Hollingſhead, p. 1403.

[g] So ſays Hollingſhead, p. 1403, but Hall, fol. 40. and Stow, p. 465. ſay it was at Saliſbury.

[h] At Pool, in Dorſetſhire. Hall. Hollingſh.

the two contending houſes, was by far the more natural way to be revenged of Richard. I ſay to be revenged, for it is hard to believe, a man of his character ſhould act on this occaſion from a nobler motive.

Be this as it will, the duke and the biſhop having conſulted together how to accompliſh their deſigns, came to this concluſion: that all hope of ſucceſs was founded on the marriage of the earl of Richmond with the princeſs Elizabeth; that therefore, before all things, that point was to be ſecured without which it would be to labour in vain, or at leaſt with great uncertainty. To that end they agreed, that they ſhould without loſs of time acquaint the counteſs of Richmond with their project, that ſhe might inform her ſon of it, and perſuade the queen-dowager, mother of the princeſs, to conſent to the marriage.

But as conferring with Margaret would have been very dangerous for the duke of Buckingham, conſidering the king's extreme jealouſy of the houſe of Somerſet, the biſhop told him, he had an old friend in the counteſs's ſervice, one Reginald Bray, who might ſafely be truſted with the ſecret. The duke approving that expedient, Bray was privately ſent for to Brecknock, and the project being imparted to him, the propoſing of it to his miſtreſs was left to his care. More eſpecially, he was charged to tell her, that the marriage of the earl her ſon was the baſis and foundation on which the whole project reſted.

As ſoon as Bray was gone to execute his commiſſion, the biſhop of Ely deſired the duke's leave to retire to his biſhopric. He was juſtly afraid of his life, in caſe the plot came to be diſcovered. It may be, he did not wholly depend upon the duke's ſincerity. But the duke gave him two invincible reaſons why he could not comply with his requeſt. The firſt was, that he ſhould be guilty of letting his priſoner eſcape, which alone would be ſufficient to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions. The ſecond, that in an undertaking of this nature, he could not proceed without his advice. The biſhop ſeemed to yield to theſe reaſons, but had by him ſtill ſtronger, to free himſelf from the impending danger, in caſe the affair was diſcovered. And therefore, as he was not ſo narrowly watched by his keepers, ſince his frequent converſation with the duke, he found means to eſcape, and retire to Ely;[q] from whence he fled into Flanders. Upon his arrival, he wrote to the duke to excuſe his eſcape, and withal endeavoured to convince him, it was much more in his power to promote the execution of their intended deſign, than whilſt he was priſoner. He conjured him likewiſe, to continue in his reſolution, and ſhewed him how he might carry on a private correſpondence with him.

Mean while the counteſs of Richmond being informed of what was projected in favour of the earl her ſon, ſent back her ſervant to the duke of Buckingham with her compliment of thanks; and withal let him know, ſhe was endeavouring to obtain the queen dowager's conſent to the marriage, and then would take the moſt proper meaſures, to ſend to the earl of Richmond.

Elizabeth Woodville widow of Edward IV. was ſtill in her ſanctuary at Weſtminſter with her five daughters, lamenting the death of her two ſons, and blaming herſelf for having been the occaſion, by her uneaſineſs to deliver the duke of York to his uncle. There had never been any particular friendſhip between that queen and the counteſs of Richmond. One was wife to a king of the houſe of York, and the other was of the family of Somerſet, ſworn enemies of the Yorkiſts. Wherefore the counteſs could not viſit the queen in her ſanctuary, without cauſing great ſuſpicion. To avoid this inconvenience, ſhe made uſe of one Lewis her phyſician,[r] and having communicated the whole affair to him, ordered him to go to London, and ſo manage as to ſee the queen, and inform her of what was in agitation. Above all, ſhe charged him to tell her, that all hope of ſucceſs depended upon the union of the two houſes of York and Lancaſter, by the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with the earl of Richmond.

Lewis being come to London, found no great difficulty, as a phyſician, to get admittance to the queen. He communicated to her what he had in charge, intimating it would be in her own power to be revenged of her mortal enemy, the murderer of her children, and dethrone the uſurper, provided ſhe would conſent to the marriage propoſed. The queen gladly liſtened to the overture. She charged the doctor to tell his miſtreſs ſhe approved of the project, and would ſo order it that all the king her huſband's friends ſhould join with the earl of Richmond. But ſhe added, ſhe wiſhed the earl would ſwear to marry Elizabeth, or in caſe ſhe happened to die, Cecily her younger ſiſter.

Matters being thus ſettled between the queen dowager, the counteſs of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, they endeavoured to engage in the plot their moſt truſty friends, who likewiſe drew in others[s]. The Engliſh were as favourably diſpoſed as could be wiſhed, by three principal reaſons. Firſt, becauſe of the people's univerſal hatred of the king, who had made himſelf extremely odious, as well by what he had done during his protectorſhip, as by his late crime, in putting his nephews to death, after robbing them of the crown. He had thereby loſt moſt of the friends of the houſe of York, who only wanted an opportunity to revenge the family of Edward IV. In the ſecond place, all the Lancaſtrians ſaw with pleaſure, a project tending to reſtore the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne. Laſtly, thoſe that without regarding the intereſt of the two factions, had only the good of the nation in view, could not but conſider as a great happineſs, the ſucceſs of an enterprize, which by uniting the two contending houſes, would put an end to the civil war wherewith the kingdom had been afflicted thirty years. Thus the Lancaſtrians, Yorkiſts, and even thoſe that ſtood neuter, were equally diſpoſed to concur to the downfall of the uſurper.

The duke of Buckingham being the author and head of the enterprize, it was his part to conduct it to a happy concluſion. For that purpoſe, he firſt ſecured ſome friends in Wales, where his power was great, who undertook to liſt ſoldiers privately, to enable him to bring ſuddenly and ſeaſonably an army into the field. Then he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome gentlemen of Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, and Cornwal, who promiſed to raiſe forces, and receive the earl of Richmond at his arrival. His deſign was to join them himſelf, with his Welſhmen, that Richard might be the leſs able to oppoſe the earl's landing. At the ſame time, ſeveral lords and gentlemen were to riſe in other counties, that the king might be at a loſs where to march firſt. The marquis of Dorſet, who had lately quitted his ſanctuary,[t] ſir Richard Woodville his brother,[u] the biſhop of Exeter, ſir Edward Courtney his brother, and ſeveral other perſons of quality engaged in the plot.

Theſe meaſures being taken, the counteſs of Richmond ſent two expreſſes[w] to the earl her ſon, by different ways, to let him know what was reſolved in his favour, and how far the project was advanced. The two expreſſes arriving almoſt together, informed him of all the circumſtances of the plot and prayed him to repair into England without loſs of time, upon the aſſurance they gave him, that every thing was ready for his reception. They told him likewiſe that Dorſetſhire, Devonſhire, or Cornwall,[x] were the moſt convenient places to land, by reaſon of the meaſures taken with the people of thoſe parts.

The earl of Richmond was then at Vannes in Bretagne, where he had been ſeveral years really a priſoner, becauſe of the duke of Bretagne's engagements with Edward IV. but his confinement was not ſtrict, the duke contenting himſelf with narrowly watching him, in order to hinder his eſcape in caſe he attempted it: in other reſpects he enjoyed an honourable freedom. He heard with great joy that he was thought of in England. But when he came to conſider his preſent condition, and how little it was in his power to return into his own country ſo as to procure a welcome reception, he found it would be almoſt impoſſible to ſucceed in his enterprize without the duke of Bretagne's conſent and aſſiſtance; for unleſs that prince ſupplied him with money, troops, and ſhips, it was not practicable to take juſt meaſures to accompliſh his deſigns: beſides, the duke might have made him cloſe priſoner, by which means the whole affair would have miſcarried. So, perceiving he could not proceed without him, he reſolved to tell him the ſecret, and engage him, if poſſible, to aſſiſt him. He found the duke more ready to countenance him than he expected. The duke was not engaged with Richard as he had been with Edward his brother: beſides, the unjuſt and violent actions of the new king had rendered him odious to all the princes of Europe, and eſpecially to the Duke of Bretagne. Another thing likewiſe induced him

[q] Where he found friends and money, Hall, fol. 36. Hollingſh. p. 1399.

[r] Who was a Welſhman. Hall, fol. 36.

[s] Reginald Bray was employed by the counteſs of Richmond to engage people in her ſons party, which he accordingly did, and brought in, among the reſt, ſir Giles Daubeney, ſir John Cheney, Richard Guilford, Thomas Rame, eſquires, and many others. Hall, fol. 47. Stow, p. 463.

[t] He repaired into Yorkſhire, where he raiſed large forces; ſir Edward Courtney and his brother did the ſame in Devonſhire and Cornwall; and in Kent, Richard Guilford and other gentlemen gathered a great body of ſoldiers, and began to commit hoſtilities. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingſh. p. 1401.

[u] It ſhould be his uncle. For he was brother to Elizabeth Woodville, the marquis's mother.

[w] She ſent Hugh Conwey, eſq; with a large ſum of money. But Richard Guilford, for fear Conwey ſhould be ſtopped at Plymouth, where he intended to take ſhip, ſent out of Kent, by the way of Calais, Thomas Rame, with the ſame inſtructions. They both arrived almoſt at the ſame hour, at the duke of Bretagne's court. Hall. fol. 37, 38. Hollingſh. p. 1400.

[x] Wales, Stow, p. 436.

He

to hearken for the earl's propoſals; he had pretenſions to the earldom of Richmond in England, formerly enjoyed by his anceſtors, and imagined the earl would readily promiſe to reſtore it, if by this means he arrived to the crown. It is pretended this was the principal article of their agreement, for which the duke very willingly engaged to ſupply him with men and ſhips. When the earl was ſure of the duke of Bretagne's aſſiſtance, he ſent expreſſes[y] to the counteſs his mother and the duke of Buckingham, to acquaint them that he hoped to be ready by the beginning of October, deſiring them to prepare all things by that time. This good news preſently put all the conſpirators in motion; every one repaired to the poſt aſſigned him, as well to raiſe forces as excite inſurrections: there was no time to looſe, good part of September being now paſt.

How careful ſoever the conſpirators had been to conceal themſelves, all theſe things could not be done, and Richard have no intelligence that ſome plot was contriving againſt him; but none could tell him what it was, or who were the authors. He was then at York, thinking of very different things, ſo ſecure was he in his own opinion. But theſe advices obliged him to leave the north, and approach the centre of the kingdom. At the ſame time he ordered his troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral parts, to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Mean while he prepared very ſlowly, not imagining the danger ſo near. As the intelligence he had received made him uneaſiy, he ran over in his mind all the lords of the realm who could be diſſatisfied, or had ſufficient credit to incite inſurrections againſt him: he found none but the duke of Buckingham. He had angered him by diſappointing him with regard to the lands of Hereford, and knowing him perfectly, could not doubt that he was capable of any thing to be revenged: beſides, he knew him to be the only perſon in condition by his parts, his riches, and his intereſt, to form and execute great projects: his own experience would not ſuffer him to queſtion it. The biſhop of Ely's eſcape alſo ſerved to ſtrengthen his ſuſpicion. The duke of Buckingham muſt have known how odious that prelate was to him, and therefore his careleſſneſs in guarding ſuch a priſoner could not but be deemed a colluſion and conſequence of ſome ill deſign. Upon theſe ſuſpicions, which were but too well grounded, Richard reſolved to ſend for him to court, but the duke deſired to be excuſed, on pretence of ſome indiſpoſition. This refuſal confirmed the king in his belief, that what he had ſuſpected was but too true. Nevertheleſs, to be more fully ſatisfied, he ſent him poſitive orders to come to him, without alledging any excuſe. The duke perceiving diſſimulation was ineffectual, ſent him word, he would not expoſe his perſon to his mortal enemy, whom he neither loved nor would ſerve.

This was ſufficient to convince the king that the duke of Buckingham was the author of the commotions, which for ſome time had made him uneaſy. On the other hand, the duke perceiving that after ſuch a declaration there was no more ceremony to be uſed, drew together the forces which himſelf and friends had privately liſted in Wales, and began to march towards the weſtern counties[z], where he knew the earl of Richmond intended to land. There he was to be joined by thoſe who were gone before to prepare all things againſt the earl's arrival.

Richard was not a little ſurprized to hear that the duke was ſo ready. However, as he had taken ſome precautions to aſſemble his forces in caſe of neceſſity, he appointed the rendezvous at Leiceſter, where he repaired himſelf, with a reſolution to give his enemies battle before their number was increaſed. He would have found it very difficult however to prevent them, if an extraordinary and very unexpected accident had not hindered the duke from joining his friends, who were all ready to riſe in arms in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The duke was advancing by long marches[a] to Gloceſter, where he deſigned to paſs the Severn: but at the ſame time the river was ſo ſwoln, that the country on both ſides was overflowed and great damage done by the waters. Never had ſo terrible an inundation been heard of in that country: it held ſix whole days, during which the duke's army could neither paſs the river, nor ſubſiſt on the other ſide where was nothing but deſolation[b]. In fine, the Welſh ſoldiers, tired with being expoſed to hunger, rains, and numberleſs hardſhips, returned to their homes, notwithſtanding all the duke's intreaties to the contrary[c]. The deſertion was ſo general, that there remained with the duke only one ſingle ſervant. Reduced to this ſad condition, he ſaw no other remedy than to conceal himſelf till he could take new meaſures. Unhappily for him, he choſe for his retreat the houſe of one Baniſter, who had been his ſervant, and to whom his father and himſelf had been very kind.

The king hearing of the diſperſion of the duke of Buckinghams's troops, iſſued out a proclamation againſt him and the marquis of Dorſet with ſome others of his adherents, or whom he ſuppoſed to be in league with him. But as the marquis had not yet appeared in arms, and ſo could not be ſtiled a rebel, he made uſe of another pretence to involve him in the ſentence. He ſaid, that having taken an oath at his coronation to puniſh vice and wickedneſs, he was obliged to puniſh the marquis of Dorſet, notorious for his debaucheries, who had ſeduced and raviſhed ſeveral virgins, been guilty of ſundry adulteries, and publicly kept Shore's wife. Then he promiſed a reward of one thouſand pounds ſterling, or a hundred pounds a year, to any perſon that ſhould bring the duke to juſtice; a thouſand marks, or one hundred marks a year, for the marquis; and ſo in proportion for the reſt that were named in the proclamation[d]. The villain Baniſter[e], not being able to reſiſt ſo ſtrong a temptation, betrayed his maſter to the ſheriff of Shropſhire[f], who cauſing the houſe to be ſurrounded by a company of armed men, ſeized the duke of Buckingham diſguiſed like a peaſant, and conducted him to Shrewſbury. The duke was deſirous to ſpeak with the king but could never obtain that favour. Some ſay he intended to kill him with a dagger which was found upon him after his death: but this is only conjecture. However it be, he was beheaded at Shrewſbury[g], without any legal proceſs, by the king's bare order. Thus, this lord, who had helped to take away the lives of the lord Haſtings, the earl of Rivers, and other priſoners at Pomfret, by an arbitary ſentence, periſhed himſelf in the ſame manner, contrary to all right, by the abſolute orders of him whom he had placed on the throne. On the other hand, we ſhall ſee preſently, that this very conſpiracy, formed by the duke of Buckingham, accomplice of all the king's ill actions whilſt he was but protector, proved the occaſion of that monarch's ruin. Is it poſſible not to perceive the direction of Providence in ſuch ſort of events!

Upon the firſt news of the diſperſion of the Welch army, the duke's friends, who expected him in the weſt, ready to take up arms the moment they ſhould hear of his paſſing the Severn, diſperſed themſelves. Some lurked among their friends, and others fled to ſanctuary. But the greateſt part embarked and ſailed to the earl of Richmond, perceiving there was no ſafety for them in the kingdom: the marquis of Dorſet was of this number.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Richmond, imagining that all went there to his wiſh, ſailed from St. Malo's the 12th of October, with five thouſand men and forty ſhips, furniſhed by the duke of Bretange. But the fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſome of the ſhips were driven on the coaſt of France, others returned to Bretange. The ſhip in which was the earl of Richmond, reſiſting the ſeas better than the reſt, arrived after the ſtorm upon the coaſt of Cornwell[h], where he ſaw the ſhore crowded with troops, who made him a ſignal to approach: but happily for him he reſolved not to land till his fleet had rejoined him, expecting they would be ſoon at the rendezvous. Mean time, they ſent to enquire whether the troops he ſaw were friends or enemies: the commander anſwered, he was poſted there by the duke of Buckingham, to wait for the earl of Richmond, and favour his landing. But the perſon ſent by the earl eaſily perceived the contrary, and informed his maſter of it, who finding his deſign was diſcovered, put to ſea and arrived at a port in Normandy. The truth is, the troops he ſaw on the coaſt of Cornwall were the militia of the country, poſted there by Richard, with intent to ſurpprize his enemy by that artifice.

The earl of Richmond heard in Normandy of the duke of Buckingham's misfortune. As after that there was no more appearance of purſuing his enterprize without taking new

[y] He ſent back Conway and Rame. Hall, fol. 38. Hollingſh.
[z] Towards Saliſbury, Hall, fol. 39. Stow. p. 463.
[a] Through the foreſt of Dean, Hall, fol. 39.
[b] This inundation was ſo remarkable, that for a hundred years after it was called the Great Water, or Buckingham's Water. It is ſaid to laſt ten days, and that men, women, and children were carried away in their beds with the violence of it, and that the tops of the mountains were covered with the waters. Hall, fol. 39. Hollingſhead, p. 1402.
[c] Hall ſays, he had enforced and compelled them into his ſervice againſt their wills, rather by lordly and ſtreight commandment, than by liberal wages and gentle retinour; which was the very occaſion why they left him deſolate, fol. 49.
[d] With him are named in the proclamation, ſir William Noreys, ſir William Knevet, ſir Thomas Bourghchier, of Barnes, ſir George Broun, John Cheyne, John Noreis, Walter Hungerford, John Ruſh, and John Harecourt. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 204.
[e] His name was Rauf Baniſtre, king Richard gave him for his reward the manor of Ealding in Kent. See Compl. Hiſt. p. 532, note.
[f] John Mitton. Hollingſhead, p. 1403.
[g] So ſays Hollingſhead, p. 1403, but Hall, fol. 40. and Stow, p. 465. ſay it was at Saliſbury.
[h] At Pool, in Dorſetſhire. Hall. Hollingſh.

meaſures, he returned to Bretange, where he found the marquis of Dorſet, with the reſt that had made their eſcapes out of England. Though this deſign ſeemed entirely blaſted, he deſpaired not of better ſucceſs another time. The fugitives told him, Richard was extremely hated in England, which he took for a good omen. On the other hand, the duke of Bretange promiſed him to continue his aſſiſtance. So, reſolving to make a freſh attempt, he ſolemnly ſwore on Chriſtmas-day, in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would marry the princeſs Elizabath, daughter of Edward IV. or, in caſe ſhe died, Cecily her youngeſt ſiſter. Then all the Engliſh there preſent ſwore allegiance to him, conſidering him as king of England by right, though he was not in fact. From thenceforward the ſtrict enquiry made in England after thoſe that were concerned in the plot, forced great numbers to retire into Bretange, ſo that the reſort of the Engliſh was very great for ſome time.

Mean-while, Richard having freed himſelf from this danger more happily than he had reaſon to expect, ordered ſeveral perſons to be ſeized, ſome of whom were immediately ſacrificed to his vengeance[i]. Of this number was ſir Thomas St. Leger his brother-in-law, who married his ſiſter Anne, widow of the duke of Exeter. In order to avoid the uſual formalities of the courts of juſtice, he commiſſioned ſir Ralph Aſhton to exerciſe the office of vice-conſtable, with ſo extenſive a power that he could condemn and execute upon the ſpot all perſons whatever, guilty or ſuſpected of high-treaſon, without having any regard to any appeal[k].

By virtue of this commiſſion, Aſhton, who was probably a man after the king's own heart, came into the weſtern counties, where he ſignalized his zeal by the bloody executions of ſuch as were found guilty, or only ſuſpected of having favoured the conſpirators. Thus were ſpent the firſt ſix months of the reign of Richard III. This ambitious prince was no ſooner on the throne but he had occaſion to perceive with what difficulties he ſhould preſerve a crown ſo ardently deſired, and by ſo many unlawful practices procured.

[1484] In January this year, the king ſummoned his parliament[l]. This was done at a very ſeaſonable juncture. The duke of Buckingham's conſpiracy ſeeming entirely ſtifled by the death of that lord and the retreat of the earl of Richmond, there was not in the kingdom any perſon in condition to oppoſe him. So the parliament, conſiſting no doubt of repreſentatives devoted to the king, declared Edward IV's iſſue illegitimate[m], and confirmed Richard's irregular election, with his pretended right to the crown. This act was abſolutely neceſſary to the king's ſecurity. Beſides, the parliamement thereby avoided the trouble of enquiring after the fate of Edward V. whom all England had for ſome months acknowledged as king.

Then an act of attainder was paſſed againſt Henry earl of Richmond and all his adherents, by virtue whereof all the eſtates were forfeited to the king[n]. By this act, which declared all thoſe rebels and traitors that were concerned in the duke of Buckingham's and the earl of Richmond's conſpiracy, all the late executions were in ſome meaſure juſtified, becauſe ſuch as had ſuffered were conſidered as guilty of the crime condemned by the act[o]. By good fortune none of them diſcovered that the counteſs of Richmond was concerned in the plot; whether ſhe had truſted but few perſons, or her confidents had eſcaped into Bretange. However, Richard thinking it hardly poſſible for the earl of Richmond to form an enterprize without his mother's, knowledge, ordered the lord Stanley her huſband to keep her confined, to prevent her from any future attempts. He had then a perfect confidence in the lord Stanley, whom he had made high-conſtable, after Aſhton as vice-conſtable had been inſtrumental in his deſigns. It his likely he did not think the lord Stanley a proper perſon to exerciſe the ſeverities for which he had commiſſioned Aſhton, and no doubt that was the reaſon why he did not make him high-conſtable till every thing relating to that commiſſion was finiſhed.

Richard had reaſon to believe, that after all the rigours exerciſed upon the parties concerned, the conſpiracy was entirely cruſhed[p]. But Thomas Hutton, who was returned from his embaſſy to Bretange, told him the ſame plot ſtill ſubſiſted, and the duke of Bretagne had promiſed the earl of Richmond the continuance of his aſſiſtance. He gave him the names of thoſe conſpirators who were with the earl, and informed him they had frequent conferrences together, and were very buſy: It was eaſy to conclude from thence, that the earl of Richmond had not loſt all hopes, and had ſtill in England correſpondencies whereon he founded the execution of his deſigns. And yet ſince the death of the duke of Buckingham, the flight of the marquis of Dorſet, and the execution of ſeveral of the ſame party, Richard ſaw no one in the kingdom that ſeemed to be able to withſtand him. So, concluding the danger muſt come from abroad, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions to hinder his enemies from being aſſiſted by foreign princes.

Laſt year he confirmed the alliance of England with Caſtile; and in June this year did the ſame thing with regard to Portugal. Probably the whole ſtorm was to come from theſe two quarters, ſince the king of Portugal and the queen of Caſtile, were both deſended from Philippa and Catherine, daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and conſequently might have pretended to the crown of England. Mean-while, the readineſs wherewith they had renewed their alliance with England, ſuffered not the king to ſuſpect them of having any ſuch thought.

Maximilian, archduke of Auſtria, who governed the Low-Countries in the name of his ſon Philip, being ſon of Leonora of Portugal, grand-daughter of Philippa of Lancaſter, might have alſo claimed the crown of England, or aſſiſted the earl of Richmond. This conſideration made Richard reſolve to ſend him embaſſadors under colour of renewing the truce of commerce between England and the Low-Countries. But it is likely, the embaſſadors had inſtructions to ſound whether there was any project at that court with reſpect to England.

Though Richard did not ſeem to have occaſion to fear any thing from France, under a minority diſturbed with inteſtine diviſions, he had taken care however to ſend embaſſadors to Charles VIII. to deſire the prolongation, or at leaſt confirmation of the truce.

There remained only Bretange and Scotland that could give him any uneaſineſs. He did not queſtion that the duke of Bretange had already aſſiſted, and was ſtill inclined to aſſiſt the earl of Richmond. For that reaſon he thought nothing ſhould be ſpared to gain that prince to his intereſt.

Francis II. duke of Bretange, being old and infirm, was entirely governed by Peter Landais his treaſurer, and committed to him the ſole management of his affairs. This favourite, who was the ſon of a taylor, uſed his power ſo inſolently, that he drew upon himſelf the hatred of all the Bretons. This very year 1484, the great men combining together againſt him, would have ſeized him in the duke's palace but miſſing their aim, ſaw themſelves expoſed to the favourite's vengeance, who cauſed them to be declared guilty of high-treaſon. Mean-while, as the whole country was againſt him he believed it proper to ſupport himſelf by ſome foreign aid. To that end he ſent in his maſter's name embaſſadors to Richard, on pretence of making a truce with him, which was accordingly concluded in June at Pomfret, where the king then was, and which was to laſt till the 24th of April following.

[i] Sir George Brown, ſir Roger Clifford, and four others, were executed at London: ſir Thomas St. Leger, Thomas Rame, with many more, at Exeter. Hollingſhead.

[k] By this commiſſion which is to be ſeen in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 205 may be known the office and authority of high-conſtable of England: he was thereby empowered——" ad audiendum et examinandum, ac procendum contra quas cumque perſonas de crimine læſæ noſtræ regiæ magiſtratis ſuſpectas et culpabiles, tam per viam examinationis teſtium quam aliter, prout vobis melius viſum fuerit ex officio mero ſeu promoto. Nec non in cauſis illis judicialiter et ſententialiter juxta cauſas, exigentiam, et delinquentium demerita, ſine ſtrepitu et figura judicii appellatione quacumque remota, quandocumque vobis videbitur precedendum, judicandum, et finali executioni demandandum," etc. This commiſſion is dated at Coventry, October 24.

[l] It met at Weſtminſter, January 23. Cotton's Abridg. p. 709.

[m] Though Rapin, in the reign of Edward V. ſays that Commines was miſtaken in ſaying, the marriage of Edward IV. with Eleanor Talbot, or Butler, daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury and relict of the lord Butler of Sudeley, was objected to prove the illegitimacy of his children; yet we find it was urged in this bill, without any mention at all of his pre-contract with Elizabeth Lucy. See Cotton's Abridge. p. 712.

[n] Hall ſays, that not content with his prey, Richard laid on the people a great tax and tallage, fol. 42.

[o] The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That whereas the ſubjects of this realm had of late been burthened with a new impoſition, called a Benevolence, the ſame ſhould not thenceforth be exacted. 2. That every juſtice of the peace ſhall have power to admit a priſoner, arreſted for felony, to bail: and that no officer ſhall ſeize the goods of a priſoner, arreſted for felony, till he is attainted. 4. That no perſon ſhall be impannelled upon juries, but what hath twenty-ſhillings freehold, twenty-ſix ſhillings and eight pence copyhold at leaſt. 4. That wine and oil veſſels ſhall contain as follows: every tun ſhall hold two hundred and fifty-two gallons; a pipe, one hundred and twenty-ſix gallons; a tertian, eighty-four gallons; a hogſhead, ſixty-three gallons; a barrel thirty-one gallons and a half; a runlet, eighteen gallons and a half. Statut. 1 Richard III. cap. 2, 3, 4, 13.

[p] He ordered ſir William Collingburn of Lydiard in Wiltſhire, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for aiding the earl of Richmond, and writing a ſatyrical dyſtich upon him and his favourites, viſcount Lovell, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, and ſir William Cateſby:

The Rat, the Cat, and Lovell our Dog.
Rule all England under a Hog.

alluding to Lovell's arms, and to one of Richard's ſupporters being a wild boar. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingſhead, p. 1. 1406.

At

But this was not the only commiſſion theſe ambaſſadors were charged with. There are two records in the collection of the Public Acts, whereby it appears, that Richard had promiſed to ſend the duke of Bretagne an aid of a thouſand archers. Now this could be only for the above-mentioned occaſion, ſince the duke of Bretagne had then no war upon his hands. As the duke did nothing of himſelf, very likely, to obtain this aid Landais had put the king in hopes, he would deliver up the earl of Richmond. And indeed the ſequel plainly ſhewed, he had entered into ſome ſuch engagement. Thus Richard thought himſelf ſo ſecure from Bretagne, that inſtead of fearing the duke would aſſiſt the earl of Richmond, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of having his enemy very ſoon in his power.

As he might alſo be apprehenſive that the king of Scotland, deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of Somerſet, would countenance the mal-contents in placing the earl of Richmond on the throne of England, he believed he ought to ſecure himſelf too from that quarter. To that end, he negociated with James III. a truce concluded in September this year, and which was to laſt from the 29th of that month, to the ſame day of the year 1487. At the ſame time he concluded the marriage of his neice Ann de la Pole, daughter of his ſiſter Elizabeth and the duke of Suffolk, with the duke of Rothſay, the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon.

All theſe precautions appeared ſo juſt, that he ſeemed to be ſcreened from all danger. However, to rob the earl of Richmond of all hopes of accompliſhing his deſigns, the prince of Wales, his ſon, dying in April this year[q], he declared his nephew the earl of Lincoln his preſumptive heir, intending to have the declaration ratified by the parliament. The earl of Lincoln was ſon of Elizabeth his ſiſter[r], and brother of Ann, who was to marry the prince of Scotland.

Moreover, not to neglect any thing that might give his enemies an advantage, he ſent an ambaſſador of obedience to pope Innocent VIII. lately elected to the papal throne. He had omitted this compliment to Sixtus IV. Innocent's predeceſſor, as appears in the collection of the public acts. But his fear of incenſing the pope, and affording ſome pretence to the mal-contents in the kingdom, and particularly the clergy, made him diſpatch his embaſſadors to Rome.

Shortly after, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee that Charles VIII. king of France deſired a ſafe-conduct for embaſſadors he intended to ſend to him. This very thing ſeemed to concur in his favour. Mean while, the earl of Richmond was ſtill full of life; and ſo long as that prince was out of his power, he could not think himſelf thoroughly fixed on the throne. This was the chief, or rather the ſole cauſe of all his trouble and care.

The truce with Bretagne being to laſt but till the 24th of April 1485, Richard took occaſion from thence to ſend embaſſadors to the duke to cauſe it to be prolonged. That was the pretence of the embaſſy. But the embaſſadors had orders to treat of another more important affair with Landais, prime-miniſter and abſolute maſter of the duke, who was fallen into a kind of lethargy, which rendered him unfit for public affairs. And that was to perſuade this miniſter to deliver up the earl of Richmond.

Landais had not wanted the fore-mentioned thouſand archers. It was therefore neceſſary, in order to obtain what the king deſired, to make a new treaty which might be ſo advantageous to the duke and the favourite, as to cauſe them to overlook all their ſcruples upon that ſubject. As for the duke, Argentré affirms, he ſaw among the records of Bretagne, Richard the third's letters patent, whereby he gave to duke Francis the earldom of Richmond with all its dependencies, as enjoyed by his anceſtors, with the ſole reſervation of its reverſion to the crown in caſe the duke died without iſſue. With reſpect to Landais, as the negociation was more ſecret, it is not well known what reward he expected for his intended ſervice. Thus much is certain, Richard made him very advantageous offers. But as he was a man not to be ſatisfied with bare promiſes, there was often occaſion to ſend expreſſes to the king. Theſe delays, which, as Argentré poſitively affirms, were upon the miniſter's account, proved the earl of Richmond's ſecurity. Though he was then in Bretagne, he was entirely ignorant of what paſſed at the duke's court. But the biſhop of Ely, who though abſent had good ſpies about Richard, being informed that the biſhop of Leon, embaſſador of Bretagne, was treating very privately with the king, warned the earl of Richmond that he was not ſafe in the duke of Bretagne's dominions. This advice coming from ſo good a hand, put the earl upon ſeriouſly thinking of freeing himſelf from the impending danger. As he knew Landais to be a perſon capable of committing the vileſt actions, he reſolved to retire into France, and for that purpoſe ſent privately to king Charles for a paſſport[s], which was readily granted him. Mean while, informed as he was of Landais's ill deſigns, he did not queſtion that he had ordered him to be narrowly watched. So the difficulty of eſcaping was not ſmall, eſpecially as he was ſurrounded with a great number of Engliſh, in reſpect of whom it was very hard to conceal the ſecret, and very dangerous to reveal it. To remedy this inconvenience, the duke of Bretagne being at that time recovered of his illneſs, the earl took occaſion to ſend the principal lords of his retinue to congratulate him upon it[t], ordering them to take with them all their ſervants, under colour of doing him the more honour. His aim was not only to be more alone at Vannes, but chiefly to remove from his keepers all ſuſpicion of his deſiring to eſcape, whilſt he had many hoſtages at the duke's court. Accordingly, this artifice ſucceeded to his wiſh, ſo that two days after he departed from Vannes in diſguiſe, attended by five perſons only. As ſoon as he was out of the town he left the great road, and riding acroſs the fields and through by-ways, without ſtopping any where, ſafely arrived at Angers, capital of Anjou. This ſpeed was abſolutely neceſſary; for otherwiſe he would have been infallibly taken. Thoſe who were charged to watch him, hearing of his eſcape, purſued him ſo cloſely, that they came upon the borders of Bretagne but one hour after him. In a few days the duke being informed that the earl was retired under an apprehenſion of ill treatment, ſeemed very angry with Landais for giving him occaſion to fear, not knowing doubtleſs what his favourite was negociating with the king of England. Then he gave all the Engliſh in his dominions leave to go to the earl with his compliments and offers of ſervice. The earl of Richmond received theſe civilities with ſigns of the utmoſt gratitude, and deſired the duke's meſſenger to tell him, he would have all his favours in everlaſting remembrance. Thus the earl of Richmond eſcaped, as it were miraculouſly, out of Richard's ſnares. This was the ſecond time he had been thus happily delivered. The Engliſh belonging to his retinue, thought themſelves no leſs fortunate than he, to be freed by the duke's generoſity from his unworthy miniſter, who not long after atoned on a gibbet for all the ill actions his avarice had prompted him to commit.

The earl of Richmond making but a ſhort ſtay at Angers, went to Charles VIII. then at Langeais, who received him very civilly. However, as the court of France was not yet free from troubles, it was no favourable juncture for the earl to procure the aſſiſtance he could no longer expect from the duke of Bretagne. Nevertheleſs, as the young king ſeemed well inclined to him, he deſpaired not to obtain ſome aid of that prince, when the diſturbances at his court were appeaſed.

Whilſt his affairs were in this ſtate of uncertainty, he ſaw the earl of Oxford[u] arrive, whom king Edward IV. had confined in the caſtle of Hammes in Picardy. This lord who had been one of the principal friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, hearing in priſon that the earl of Richmond pretended to the crown, had wrought ſo effectually upon the governor of Hammes[w], that he had perſuaded him to releaſe him and declare for the earl: he even brought him along with him to ſalute that prince, and offer him his ſervice. The advantage of having the earl of Oxford in his party, was very beneficial to the earl of Richmond in England. Several other lords privately ſent him word that he might depend upon their aſſiſtance, when they ſhould ſee a proper ſeaſon to declare againſt Richard.

Mean while, the king had daily notice that ſomething was contriving againſt him in favour of the earl of Richmond; but could not diſcover the authors of the plot, what ſpies ſoever he employed. Beſides, he knew no Engliſh lord powerful enough, as he thought, to form or execute an enterprize of that nature. The lord Stanley was the only perſon he could miſtruſt, becauſe he was huſband to the counteſs of Richmond. That alone rendered him ſuſpected, though otherwiſe he had no proof againſt him. So, to ſecure himſelf from that ſide. Stanley deſiring permiſſion to retire upon

[q] At the Caſtle of Middleham in Yorkſhire. Buck. p. 534.
[r] And John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. His name was alſo John. See Dugdale.
[s] By Chriſtopher Urſwike. Hall, fol. 46.
[t] The duke of Bratagne was then, for recreation and change of air, on the borders and confines of France. Ibid. Holling head, p. 1408.
[u] John de Vere.
[w] John Blunt, and alſo Sir John Forteſcue, governor of the town of Calais. Hall, fol. 47.

George

his own eſtate, he required him to leave his ſon[x] at court as a ſort of hoſtage. Indeed his ſuſpicions were but too juſt, ſince that very lord proved afterwards the principal inſtrument of his ruin.

Richard knew he was not beloved in England. On the other hand, he knew there were certain motions among the people, which, though ſecret, could not but be dangerous. However, he could not prevent the miſchief he dreaded, without knowing wherein conſiſted the plots of his enemies, and the principal authors: upon this therefore he laid out all his pains. At length, by planting ſpies in the country, he came to find, that the projects in favour of the earl of Richmond were founded upon his promiſe to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. This diſcovery made him perceive, the Yorkiſts were not far from an union with the Lancaſtrians, ſince they conſented to the marriage. It was manifeſt that ſuch an union could not but occaſion his ruin, ſince in that caſe he would have only a few friends of his houſe to rely on, all the reſt declaring for his brother's family. Finding therefore that the plot which was contriving againſt him, reſted upon a more ſolid foundation than he had imagined, he applied himſelf wholly to break the earl of Richmond's meaſures, by preventing the fatal marriage. He found no better way to accompliſh his ends, than to marry himſelf the princeſs deſigned for his enemy. But the execution of ſuch a project was clogged with ſeveral difficulties, which to a prince leſs ſcrupulous than himſelf, would have appeared inſuperable. The firſt was, he had a wife already, whoſe conſtitution afforded no ſigns of her leaving this world. But he deſpaired not to ſurmount that obſtacle, either by a divorſe, or ſome other leſs lawful means. The ſecond difficulty was, to draw Elizabeth out of the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, where ſhe was with the queen her mother. Beſides, it was no eaſy taſk to perſuade the queen dowager to give her daughter to the murderer of her ſons. Laſtly, the pope's diſpenſation to marry his neice muſt be obtained. But this obſtacle ſeemed inconſiderable in compariſon of the others, well knowing it was not impracticable to adjuſt that affair with the court of Rome.

To begin the execution of this ſtrange project, he ſent ſeveral perſons to the queen dowager, to inſinuate to her, that he wiſhed to live in friendſhip with her, and to ſhew her marks of his good will: that he confeſſed he had dealt too rigorouſly with her; but to repair in ſome meaſure the injury he had done her, he intended to aſſign her an honourable penſion, and give her two brothers ſuch poſts as they ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied with. Moreover, he would take care of her daughters, and help them to marriages ſuitable to their quality. But as the queen would hardly be induced to credit his promiſes, after having been ſo cruelly deceived, the perſons he employed hinted to her, that this alteration proceeded from the death of the prince of Wales. That the king being now childleſs, and without hopes of having any iſſue, his intereſts were no longer diſtinct from thoſe of his brother's family; and therefore he could do nothing more advantageous to himſelf and his houſe, than to marry his neices into the moſt conſiderable families in England. In fine, ſhe was told, the king's deſign was, that after his death, the princeſs Elizabeth ſhould aſcend the throne; what he had done in favour of the earl of Lincoln his nephew being eaſily revokable, ſince it had not yet paſſed into an act of parliament.

Theſe laſt inſinuations made deep impreſſion in the queen's mind. Her intereſt made her imagine, what was ſaid to be very probable. On the other hand, ſhe was heartily tired of her ſanctuary, which was properly a priſon, from whence ſhe could not ſtir without being liable to greater miſchiefs. She had an extreme love for her brothers, as ſhe had plainly ſhewn in the life-time of the king her huſband; and the hopes Richard gave her concerning them, were very pleaſing to her. In fine, ſhe conſidered that the plot in favour of the earl of Richmond having miſcarried by the duke of Buckingham's death, ſhe could expect for herſelf and daughters only a ſtill more rigorous fate, if by her denial ſhe ſhould farther incenſe the king. Theſe conſiderations cauſing her to forget the grievous outrages received from that prince, ſhe was ſo exceſſively blind, as to put her five daughters into his hands. Moreover, ſhe wrote to the marquis of Dorſet her brother, to adviſe him to relinquiſh the earl of Richmond and throw himſelf into the king's arms. The marquis, as inconſiderate and no leſs ambitious than the queen his ſiſter, flattering himſelf with the hopes of honours and perferments, privately withdrew from Paris, in order to paſs into England. But the earl of Richmond cauſed him to be purſued with ſuch diligence, that he was brought back to Paris, and, by ſtrong reaſons, perſuaded to ſtay with the earl.

As ſoon as Richard had his neices in his power, he thought of means to execute another part of his project: and that was to be rid of his queen, in order to marry his neice. The hiſtorians that ſpeak moſt favourably of his conduct ſay, he made the queen die with vexation, by ſhewing an averſion for her which ſhe did not deſerve, and by grievouſly mortifying her every day. Others ſpeak plainer, and affirm, he haſtened her death by poiſon. Some add, he privately acquainted the archbiſhop of York with certain ſecret infirmities of the queen, which rendered her very diſagreeable to him. This was on purpoſe that the archbiſhop might tell her again, which ſhe thought would cauſe her to languiſh away, and ſhorten her days. It is ſaid farther, that the archbiſhop, after hearing the king's diſcourſe, told ſome of his friends the queen had not long to live: and indeed, ſhe died preſently after. Her fate would have been more worthy of pity, if her death had not been obſerved to be a manifeſt judgment upon her, for marrying the murderer of the prince of Wales her firſt huſband, ſon of Henry VI. Richard ſhewed an extraordinary ſorrow for his loſs, and made a pompous funeral for his deceaſed queen. But this feigned grief was not capable of undeceiving the people, who openly accuſed him of murdering his queen[y], as he had done his nephews.

Notwithſtanding the extreme ſorrow he expreſſed in public, the queen was no ſooner in her grave, but he had the aſſurance to make his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth, and offer her marriage. But ſhe ſo anſwered him, as ſhewed her abhorrence of ſuch an union, and deſired him never to mention it more[z]. Richard being ſenſible it was no proper ſeaſon to uſe violence, was ſatisfied for the preſent with this firſt ſtep, till time ſhould furniſh him with a more favourable opportunity to preſs the execution of his project. Mean while, as he daily became more odious, many lords and gentlemen went over and offered their ſervice to the earl of Richmond. Others took the ſame courſe, to avoid the perſecutions of that bloody prince, if unhappily he came to ſuſpect them. Thoſe that remained in the kingdom where no better affected, and waited only a favourable opportunity to declare againſt him.

Richard hearing that the earl of Oxford and the governor of Hammes were gone to the earl of Richmond, ſent orders to the governor of Calais to beſiege that caſtle, and reduce it to his obedience. The order was ſo readily executed that the earl of Oxford, who was marching to relieve that place, arrived not in the neighbourhood till after that capitulation[a]. However, he reaped this advantage by it, that he brought away the garriſon for the earl of Richmond.

[1485] After the earl of Richmond's attempt, Richard had fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips to oppoſe his paſſage, in caſe he endeavoured to make another deſcent. But the beginning of this year the truce with Bretagne being prolonged for ſeven years, and France ſhewed no great willingneſs to aſſiſt his enemy, he believed he might ſave the charge of a fleet, which he now conſidered as uſeleſs. Accordingly the ſhips were unrigged and laid up in the ſpring.

This proceeding greatly encouraging the earl of Richmond, he earneſtly ſolicited the court of France for ſome aid. King Charles's miniſters at length ſeriouſly conſidering his requeſt, believed it could not but be advantageous to France to cheriſh the troubles in England. It was ſolely with this view, that they promiſed the earl an aid of two thouſand men, with ſhips to tranſport them, and gave him a ſum of money. Philip de Commines ſays, he never ſaw ſuch wretched troops, which is a clear evidence with what intent the court of France granted the earl this inconſiderable ſupply. Beſides he was required to leave hoſtages in France that ſatisfaction ſhould be made for what was expended by the court. The earl having reaſon to miſtruſt the marquis of Dorſet, embraced this opportunity to leave him in hoſtage at Paris with Sir Thomas[b] Bourchier. Then he repaired to Roan, where the troops that were lent him were ordered to aſſemble.

[x] George Stanley lord Strange, Idem, fol. 49.

[y] Buck will have it, that her great grief at the death of the prince of Wales, her only ſon, threw her into a conſumption, which carried her off in a very little time. Her name was Ann, ſecond daughter and coheir of Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick. She died March 16, and was buried with due ſolemnity at Weſtminſter. Standford, p. 430.

[z] Buck ſays there is an original letter under Elizabeth's own hand, in the cabinet of the earl of Arundel and Surry, written to the duke of Norfolk, wherein ſhe deſires him to be a mediator for her marriage with the king, who (ſhe ſaid) was her joy and maker in the world; and that ſhe was his in heart and thought; withal inſinuating that the beſt part of February was paſt, and that ſhe feared the queen would never die. p. 568.

[a] It however ſtood out ſome time after his arrival, and Thomas Brandon found means to introduce thirty men into the caſtle. Hall, Hollingſhead.

[b] Hall calls him Sir John, ſo doth Hollingſhead.

By

When he came to Roan, he received the diſagreable news of the queen's death, and of Richard's deſign to marry the princeſs Elizabeth his niece, and to give Cecily her younger ſiſter to one of his favourites. His meaſures being broken by that marriage, which was repreſented to him as ready to be accompliſhed, he conſulted upon this occaſion with the lords that attended him. The reſult of their conſultation was, that ſince he could have no hopes of eſpouſing one of Edward the Fourth's marriagable daughters, he ought to think of ſome other. For that purpoſe, he was adviſed to gain to his intereſt Sir Walter Herbert, a perſon of great power in Wales, by an offer of marrying his younger ſiſter, the eldeſt being already married to the earl of Northumberland. The reſolution being taken, he diſpatched an expreſs to Sir Walter Herbert[c] to make the propoſal. Happily for the earl, the meſſenger found the roads ſo narrowly watched, that he durſt not venture to purſue his journey to Herbert. It is extremely probable, if this affair had ſucceeded according to the earl of Richmond's deſire, he would have been forſaken by all the friends of Edward the Fourth's family, who were very numerous. For, they had engaged in his party, only out of hopes of his uniting the two houſes of York and Lancaſter by his marriage with the princes Elizabeth.

Not many days after, he received letters from England[d], acquainting him, that if he would make haſte and land in Wales, he could not have a more favourable opportunity. That all the nobility of the country were for him[e]. That he would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, and a good ſum of money which he had privately collected[f] to ſupply his occaſions: that in the reſt of the kingdom every one was diſpleaſed with the king, who daily rendered himſelf more odious. In fine, that the preſent juncture was the moſt favourable, as it did not appear that Richard imagined him ſo ready to depart, ſince there were no extraordinary preparations in hand.

This good news obliged the earl to haſten his departure, without ſtaying for ſir Walter Herbert's anſwer. So coming to Harfleur, were his ſhips waited for him, he embarked his troops[g], and ſet ſail the laſt day of July. He arrived the ſixth of Auguſt at Milford-Haven[h] in South-Wales and next day came to Haverford[i], where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants.

From that place he ſent an expreſs to the counteſs his mother, to inform her of his arrival and deſign to march towards London, deſiring her to aſſemble all his friends, that they might join him upon his rout with as many troops as poſſible. This rout was to be very long, ſince having no town upon the Severn at his command, he was neceſſarily obliged to croſs almoſt all Wales, to get to Shrewſbury to the head of that river, where he was told he ſhould be received. So making but a ſhort ſtay at Haverford, he began his march to North-Wales, in order to reach Shrewſbury before the king was ready to diſpute his paſſage.

Richard hearing the earl of Richmond was landed at Milford-haven with ſo few troops, did not imagine he would be able to make any great progreſs. However he ſent orders to ſir Walter Herbert to raiſe the militia of the country, thinking that Herbert might eaſily ſtop him till he was himſelf ready to march. But Herbert having been privately gained by the earl's friends, ſuffered him to paſs unmoleſted, without offering to make the leaſt oppoſition.

Some days after, ſir Rice ap Thomas, a man of very great power in Wales, met the earl upon his rout, and offered his ſervice, which was gladly accepted[k]. He had with him a good body of Welſhmen. It is not ſurpriſing that all Wales ſhould declare for the earl, ſince he was of Welſh extraction, and of one of the ancienteſt families of the country.

The earl of Richmond's army being greatly increaſed by the juction of ſir Rice ap Thomas, and ſeveral Welſh gentlemen[l], and the whole country ſupplying him in his march with all neceſſaries, he arrived in a few days at Shrewſbury, where he was received without oppoſition[m].

The king had very juſtly ſuſpected the lord Stanley of being a ſecret friend to his ſon-in-law. Stanley had indeed aſſured the earl of Richmond he would favour him to the utmoſt of his power. But as he was forced to leave his ſon in hoſtage with the king, he could not openly eſpouſe his cauſe without endangering his ſon's life. For that reaſon, he pretended to take the king's part, and having levied about five thouſand men, poſted himſelf at Litchfield, as if he intended to oppoſe the earl of Richmond's march. On the other hand, ſir William Stanley[n] aſſembled likewiſe a body of two thouſand men, inſinuating that it was with the ſame view.

The king was then at Nottingham, where at the firſt news of his enemy's landing he had given orders to aſſemble his forces[o]. He at firſt conſidered the earl of Richmond's attempt as a ſort of bravado, which he hoped to make him quickly repent. But when he heard that ſir Walter Herbert had ſuffered him to paſs without oppoſition, that ſir Rice ap Thomas had joined him, that all Wales had taken his part, and that he was marching to Shrewſbury, he perceived, the affair was going to become more important. So, without heſitations, he reſolved to give him battle before he had made greater progreſs, and his army was reinforced. He wiſely judged, if on this occaſion he ſhewed the leaſt fear, it would certainly cauſe the whole kingdom to declare againſt him. On the contrary, his firmneſs was capable of keeping in awe ſuch as were inclined to ſide with his enemy. Meanwhile he had every day the mortification to hear his officers and ſoldiers deſerted to the earl. He was ſtill in hopes the lord Stanley and his brother would join him with their troops, though the little correſpondence they kept with him, gave him but too much cauſe to ſuſpect them of treachery. Be this as it will, having received certain advice that the earl of Richmond intended to march towards London, he reſolved to expect him upon his rout between Leiceſter and Coventry, in order to put a ſpeedy end to their quarrel by a battle.

Though the earl of Richmond's army was not conſiderable, he was no leſs deſirous to engage, becauſe he expected that the lord Stanley and his brother would not fail him on occaſion. With theſe hopes, he advanced to Litchfield, from whence upon his approach the lord Stanley retired to Atherſton. Whilſt his army was upon the march, he came privately to Stafford, where he had a conference with ſir William Stanley, in which were concerted meaſures, the effects whereof will preſently be ſeen.

The earl being come to Litchfield, heard that the king was at Leiceſter. So, perceiving he could not poſſibly proceed to London without fighting, he reſolved to march directly to his enemy[p]. Whilſt he was on the road to Tamworth, he happened to be behind his company, and attentively muſing upon his affairs miſtook his way, and loſt the track of his army. He roved about till night, not daring to enquire the way to Tamworth for fear of addreſſing one of Richard's party. At laſt, not being able to find the road, he was forced to paſs the night at a village, without knowing where he was, or daring to enquire. However, next morning he found means to get to Tamworth, where his army was in great pain for him, not knowing what was become of him. To excuſe ſuch a blunder, which, had it been known, muſt have done him great injury, he pretended he had been to confer with ſome private friends who did not care to appear openly. That very day, he went with few attendants to Atherſton, where he had a long conference with the lord Stanley[q]. On the morrow hearing that Richard had left Leiceſter to meet him, he advanced to ſave him ſome part of the way. The two armies, met at Boſworth, ſo near one another, that there would be no avoiding a battle, ſuppoſing either of the two leaders had deſired it. But they were both very far from ſuch a thought. The 22d of Auguſt was the day famous for the battle which decided the quarrel of the two contending houſes.

Richard perceiving his enemy to advance drew up his army, conſiſting of between twelve and thirteen thouſand men. He gave the command of the van to the duke of Norfolk, and led the main body himſelf, with his crown on his head, either to be better known, or to put his troops in mind they were

[c] By a meſſenger ſent to Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and not to ſir Walter Herbert, ſays Hall, fol. 50.

[d] By the hands of Morgan Kydwelly. Hall.

[e] Particularly ſir Rice ap Thomas, a man of great intereſt, and John Savage a famous captain. Ibid.

[f] By Reginald Bray. Ibid.

[g] Which conſiſted only of two thouſand men, as is ſaid above. Hall, Hollingſhead.

[h] One of the moſt ſpacious and ſecure ports in Europe; it contains ſixteen creeks, five bays, and thirteen roads, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral names.

[i] Called now Harford-Weſt. It is a county of itſelf, and is governed by a mayor, a ſheriff, and two bailiffs.

[k] Henry promiſed to make him chief governor of Wales. Hall, fol. 5

[l] John Savage, Arnold Butler, Richard Griffith, John Morgan, &c. Ibid.

[m] Here ſir George Talbot, with his ward the young earl of Shrewſbury, who was then a minor, came to him, and brought him two thouſand men. Hall, fol. 52. Stow, p. 468.

[n] Rapin calls him William Strange.

[o] He ſent to John Howard duke of Norfolk, and to his ſon Thomas earl of Surrey, to Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, &c. to bring him their ſervants and tenants: and ordered ſir Robert Brackenbury to come to him, with ſir Thomas Burchier, ſir Walter Hungerford, and ſeveral other knights and eſquires. Hall, Hollingſhead.

[p] In his march he was joined by ſir Walter Hungerford, and ſir Thomas Bourchier, who deſerted king Richard. Hall.

[q] The ſame day ſir John Savage, ſir Brian Sanford, ſir Simon Digby, and many others, left Richard, and came to him. Hall, Stow,

fighting for their king. The earl of Richmond, who had but five thouſand men, drew up his army likewiſe in two lines, of which the earl of Oxford commanded the firſt, and himſelf the ſecond [r]. An hiſtorian has recited the ſpeeches of the two leaders to the ſoldiers before the fight. But as it is not very certain that they were really ſpoken, and as beſides they contain nothing very particular, I ſhall paſs them over in ſilence.

Whilſt the two armies were preparing for battle, the lord Stanley, who till then had continued at Atherſton, poſted himſelf with his troops over againſt the ſpace between the two armies; and his brother, who was come from Stafford, took his ſtation on the other ſide, oppoſite to him. Richard had been hitherto in doubt, whether the lord Stanley was for or againſt him, becauſe he had not yet made any public demonſtration in favour of the earl of Richmond. But when he ſaw them in that poſt, it was eaſy to perceive, he was not there to aſſiſt him, ſince he had not given him notice of his deſign. Mean-while, willing to know for certain what he had to fear or hope, he ſent him orders to come and join his army. Stanley anſwered, he would come when it was convenient. This anſwer not ſatisfying the king, he commanded his ſon to be immediately put to death. But his generals repreſented to him, that though the lord Stanley's behaviour was very doubtful, and even gave cauſe to ſuſpect him, he had not yet however declared for the earl of Richmond: that it was not improbable, he was meditating ſome great action in favour of his ſovereign, or perhaps intended to ſtand neuter during the fight, in order to join the conqueror. That in both theſe caſes, it was better to defer examining his conduct till after the event, than to provoke him by putting his ſon to death, to give the earl of Richmond an aſſiſtance capable of making victory incline to his ſide: that after all, in the king's preſent circumſtances, the death of the young lord Strange, could procure him no advantage. Theſe arguments ſeemed to the king of ſufficient force to cauſe him to revoke his orders. But he was guilty of an unpardonable error in remaining doubtful as to the two brothers, who plainly enough diſcovered their deſign. As his army was ſtill ſuperior to the forces of the earl of Richmond and the two brothers together, he ſhould have oppoſed to theſe laſt two bodies equal to theirs, with orders to attack them the moment they offered to ſtir. He would thereby have debarred them of the advantage of taking their time to declare, as they afterwards did. Such an overſight in ſo able a prince as Richard, cannot be looked upon but as proceeding from a particular direction of Providence, who had determined his deſtruction.

The two armies approaching one another, the battle began with a ſhower of arrows diſcharged from both ſides, after which the royal army moved forward to come to cloſe fight. The lord Stanley, who till then had been only a ſpectator, perceiving the duke of Norfolk widened his line to the left, in order to ſurround the earl of Richmond's troops, gave him not time to execute his deſign. On a ſudden he poſted himſelf on the right of the earl's to receive the front of the king's firſt line. The motion cauſing the duke of Norfolk to halt in order to recloſe his line which was too much extended to the left, the fight ceaſed for ſome moments. But preſently after, both ſides, being more upon an equality, by the lord Stanley's joining the earl, fought with great ardor.

Mean-while, Richard being impatient to know what paſſed at the firſt line, ſpurred his horſe towards the place where they were engaged. At the ſame time, the earl of Richmond quitting his ſecond line, where he had taken his poſt, was advanced as far as the foremoſt ranks of the firſt, to encourage his troops by his preſence, being ſenſible that the ſucceſs of the day would in great meaſure be determined by the fight of the two firſt lines. Richard perceiving him, inſtantly rode to attack him. He ſlew ſir William Brandon, the earl's ſtandard-bearer, who had interpoſed in his way. Sir John Cheney having taken Brandon's place to oppoſe the king's furious efforts, was overthrown to the ground. The earl of Richmond avoided not the combat. But if we may judge by the manner wherein the hiſtorians relate theſe particulars, he ſhewed no great eagerneſs to join his enemy, contenting himſelf with ſtanding in a poſture of defence; and willingly ſuffered his people to come between them, and hinder them from too cloſely approaching each other.

At the very time that Richard was ſingling out the earl of Richmond to end at once their important quarrel, it was decided very much to his diſadvantage from another quarter. Sir William Stanley following the example of the lord Stanley his brother, and ſeeing that the left of the earl of Richmond's firſt line began to give ground, openly declared againſt the king, by flanking his troops, who were employed in fighting their enemies in front, and vigorouſly repulſing them. This ſo ſeaſonable an attack at ſo critical a moment, having cauſed an extreme diſorder in the right of the king's firſt line; they were ſeen ſuddenly to retreat towards the main body, and the left quickly followed their example. This haſty retreat ſtruck ſuch a terror in the main body, that they almoſt all took to flight, without expecting the enemy. The earl of Northumberland alone, who commanded one of the wings ſtood without motion, having firſt ordered his troops to throw down their arms, to let the enemies ſee they had nothing to fear from him. Richard perceiving the day was loſt, and not being able to think of flying, or running the hazard of falling into the hands of the earl of Richmond, ruſhed into the midſt of his enemies, where he ſoon met with the death he deſired. Thus fell the uſurper in a more glorious manner than his crimes ſeemed to deſerve. He wore but two years and two months the crown, he had purchaſed by ſo many ill actions.

The battle laſted about two hours, including the time ſpent in the purſuit of the run-aways [s]. As moſt part of the king's army fled without fighting, there were not ſlain on the ſpot above two thouſand men [t] on his ſide. The earl of Richmond loſt but a hundred, of whom ſir William Brandon was the only perſon of note. He was father to Charles Brandon afterwards duke of Suffolk. On the king's part, the duke of Norfolk loſt his life valiantly fighting for him who had made him a duke [u]. He would doubtleſs have gained more honour and glory, had he employed his valour for a prince who had better deſerved than Richard, that a man ſhould hazard his life for his ſake. The earl of Northumberland was taken into favour by the conqueror, having perhaps held intelligence with him before the battle. It ſeems at leaſt, that it may be inferred as well from what he did in the beginning of the flight, as from certain verſes found that very morning by the duke of Norfolk, on his tent-door, intimating that the king was ſold [w]. The earl of Surrey, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, was taken priſoner, and ſent to the Tower of London, but ſhortly after obtained his pardon and liberty. Some of Richard's adherents were treated with the ſame lenity, others had the good fortune to eſcape. But Cateſby, miniſter and confident of Richard, who had ſo baſely betrayed the lord Haſtings, being made priſoner, was executed two days after at Leiceſter with ſome others of the ſame ſtamp, who had been the uſurper's inſtruments.

Richard's crown being found by a ſoldier was brought to the lord Stanley, who went immediately and placed it on the earl of Richmond's head, congratulating him upon his victory and ſaluting him king. From that time Henry kept the regal title and acted always as ſovereign, as if that bare ceremony had given him an undoubted right. Richard's body was found among the ſlain ſtark naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown acroſs a horſe, with the head hanging on one ſide and the legs on the other, and ſo carried to Leiceſter [x]. The body lay two whole days expoſed to public view, after which it was interred without any ceremony in one of the churches of that city. Some time after, Henry VII. his enemy and ſucceſſor, ordered a more honourable monument to be erected for him, on account of Elizabeth his queen, who was of the houſe of York [y].

[r] Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and ſir John Savage the left. Hall, fol. 54.—Between the two armies there was a morais, which the earl of Richmond left on his right hand, to ſecure him on that ſide, and in ſo doing he had the ſun at his back, and in the faces of his enemies. Hall, Hollingſhead.

[s] The battle was fought about three miles from Boſworth, an ancient market town in Leiceſterſhire. The exact ſpot of ground is frequently more and more diſcovered by pieces of armour, weapons, and eſpecially abundance of arrows-heads found there of a long and large proportion. There is a little mount cast up, on which Henry VII. is ſaid to make his ſpeech to his ſoldiers. Camden in Leiceſt.

[t] Hall ſays, there were a few above a thouſand ſlain. But Stow ſays, there were four thouſand.

[u] The other perſons of note that loſt their lives, were, Walter, lord Ferrers of Chartley, ſir Richard Ratcliff, Robert Brackenbury, ſir William Conyers, ſir Richard Clarendon. Hall, Stow.

[w] The verſes ſaid to be written on the tent-door were theſe:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy maſter is bought and ſold.

John Howard duke of Norfolk, ſon of ſir Robert Howard, as is ſaid above, left behind him Thomas earl of Surrey, and five daughters.

[x] He was brought in that manner to Leiceſter, behind a purſuivant at arms, called blaunch ſanglier. Hall. Stow.

[y] He was buried in St. Mary's, belonging to a monaſtry of the Grey-Friars. Henry VII. put over him a tomb of various-coloured marble adorned with his ſtatue in alabaſter. This monument ſtood till the diſſolution

Richard III. was ſirnamed Crook-back, becauſe he was ſo in reality: moreover, one of his arms was almoſt withered, received but little or no nouriſhment. As to the defects of his mind, if we believe moſt hiſtorians, they were ſo great and ſo numerous that it would be difficult to find in hiſtory a prince of ſo ill a character. It is certain he had a boundleſs ambition, which often cauſed him to commit actions unbecoming a Chriſtian prince. To this paſſion alone muſt be aſcribed his treachery and cruelty, ſince he was treacherous and cruel only with reſpect to the acquiſition or preſervation of his crown. He has not been the ſole prince whom ambition has led into the like exceſſes. The hiſtorians who write in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. have ſo aggravated the heinouſneſs of his actions, that one cannot help obſerving in their writings a ſtrong deſire to pleaſe the monarchs then on the throne: nay, very probably they have aſcribed to him ſome actions upon no very good foundation; for inſtance, his murdering with his own hand Henry VI. and the prince of Wales. Their great deſire to blacken this prince made them overlook his good qualities, which ought not to have been paſſed over in ſilence. Be this at it will, without pretending either to juſtify his ill actions, or to condemn him in general, as ſome have done, one ſhould blame him for what is blame-worthy, and at the ſame time acknowledge what deſerved praiſe. The crimes he was guilty of in procuring or keeping the crown are, as I ſaid, effects and conſequences of his immoderate ambition, by which he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded. But their being produced by that paſſion does not in the leaſt leſſen their heinouſneſs. As to the reſt, he had a great deal of ſenſe, and a very ſolid judgment, qualities that might have been an honour to him, had they been uſed to better purpoſes. We may judge of his good ſenſe and penetration by his precautions to ſecure himſelf from the aſſaults of his enemies. Theſe precautions could not be more juſt, if Divine Providence had not been pleaſed to render them fruitleſs, as it ſometimes does with reſpect to ſeemingly the beſt concerted deſigns. On ſeveral occaſions he ſhewed an uncommon valour, and particularly in the battle where he was ſlain: this cannot be denied him without injuſtice. He expreſſed great concern that juſtice ſhould be impartially miniſtered to all his ſubjects without diſtinction, provided the preſervation of his crown was not concerned; for in that reſpect he made no ſcruple to trample upon all the rules of right and equity. This natural inclination for juſtice, but combated by his ambition, may afford ſome occaſion to preſume, he would perhaps have proved a good king, had he been able to fix himſelf ſo firmly in the throne as to have feared no revolution[z]. At leaſt, this cannot be ſaid to be improbable. The emperor Auguſtus, who was guilty of ſo many cruelties to arrive at the empire, affords a memorable and well known inſtance of ſuch a change, and it would not be impoſſible to find other examples. But as Richard was taken out of the world before he had given ſigns of any amendment, his ill actions have effaced whatever there might be commendable in him. There is one hiſtorian however, who has endeavoured to vindicate this prince: but as he has ſet no bounds to this vindication, and laboured to make him entirely innocent, he has not acquired much credit, eſpecially as he was often obliged, in order to attain his ends, to advance facts not ſtrictly true. He has however a place in the collection of the Engliſh hiſtorians; but no modern author has thought fit to take him for guide[a].

Richard left but one natural ſon, who was yet a minor when the king his father died. Some months before, he had made him governor of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the marches of Picardy, belonging to the crown of England[b]. With Richard III. ended the Angevin kings, ſirnamed Plantagenets[c], who ſince Henry II. the firſt of this race, had poſſeſſed the crown of England from father to ſon, during the ſpace of three hundred and thirty years. Richard was the laſt king of this houſe, but not the laſt male as ſome have affirmed, ſince the earl of Warwick his nephew, ſon of the duke of Clarence his brother, was ſtill alive. That young prince was the ſole branch of the male iſſue of Edward III. which had been ſo numerous, but was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the late civil war. This war, commenced thirty years before, was at length ended by the battle of Boſworth, after deſtroying above one hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, and a great number of princes of the two contending houſes. Philip de Commines mounts the number to fourſcore; but it is a miſtake or exaggeration of that author, as it is eaſy to ſee by the genealogical table of the poſterity of Edward III.

Let us cloſe the hiſtory of the Plantagenets with a brief recapitulation of the moſt memorable incidents that happened to the kings of this race, whilſt on the throne of England. In this ſummary of the fourteen foregoing reigns, it will be ſeen not without aſtoniſhment perhaps, that the happineſs and glory enjoyed by this race for above three hundred years, were almoſt nothing in compariſon of their misfortunes[d].

Henry II. the firſt king of this houſe, was the greateſt of all the Engliſh monarchs with reſpect to extent of dominion. Beſides the kingdom of England, he poſſeſſed in France, Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limoſin, Perigord, Angoumois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Normandy, to which he joined alſo Bretagne by the marriage of one of his ſons with the heireſs of that duchy, and laſtly crowned all with the conqueſt of Ireland. But with all this grandeur he was ever unhappy. His conteſt with Becket, the vexatious perſecutions from pope Alexander III. the rebellion of his queen and ſons, and the unfortunate ſucceſs of his laſt war with France, ſuffered him not to enjoy a moment's repoſe.

Richard I. rendered his name famous in the eaſt by the conqueſt of the iſle of Cyprus, by the taking of Acra, and by a great victory over the Saracens. But the fame he acquired in that expedition was a dear purchaſe to Chriſtendom, and particularly to England, by the prodigious quantity of men and money exported from thence, without the Chriſtians of Paleſtine reaping any great advantages. Richard himſelf at his return into Europe underwent the rigours of a very grievous and long impriſonment, from which he could not be freed without an exorbitant ranſom, which quite drained his kingdom. In ſhort, after a ſeveral years ſtruggle with Philip Auguſtus to very little purpoſe, he unfortunately periſhed by an arrow at the ſiege of Chaluz, undertaken from his greedy deſire of money.

John Lackland enjoyed not a moment's happineſs during his whole reign. Perſecuted by the king of France, then by pope Innocent III. and laſtly, by his own ſubjects, his reign was nothing but a continual train of misforunes. He loſt all the provinces poſſeſſed by his anceſtors in France: after which Innocent III. deprived him of his crown, and reſtored it to him upon ſhameful and diſhonourable terms. In fine, he had the great mortification to ſee his barons in arms againſt him, and to die at a time when all England was paying allegiance to a foreign prince.

Henry III. a prince of very narrow ſpirit, lived, in a continued ſtate of ſubjection, though ſeated on a throne, one while a ſlave to his favourites and miniſters, another while to the imperious will of the pope: at length, ſtripped of all his authority by his own ſubjects, he remained ſome time captive to his greateſt enemies; and he was entirely indebted to a victory fortunately gained by the prince his ſon, for his reſtoration and the tranquility he enjoyed the two laſt years of his life.

Edward I. rendered his name famous by the conqueſt of Scotland. But after ſhedding torrents of blood in that unjuſt quarrel, he had the mortification to loſe that acquiſition,

lution of the abbies under Henry VIII. when it was pulled down and utterly defaced; ſince which his grave being overgrown with weeds and nettles, is become very obſcure and not to be found; only the ſtone coffin, wherein his corpſe lay, was made a drinking-trough for horſes at the White-horſe inn in Leiceſter.— Richard was not above three or four and thirty years old when he was killed. He gave five hundred marks a year to Queen's-college in Cambridge. Sanford. p. 434.

[z] His enemies ſeem to own, that excepting his cruelties to gain and keep the crown, one might judge him to be a good king: particularly in his care to check vice and promote ſobriety and virtue; witneſs his circular letters to the biſhops, and in his concern for the good government and eaſe of his ſubjects, as may be ſeen in his proclamation againſt the rebels in Kent. See Compl. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 576. My lord Verulam ſays of him, that he was in military virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the Engliſh nation, and likewiſe a good law-maker. He founded the ſociety of heralds, and made them a corporation, etc. See the charter in Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 215.

[a] George Buck, eſq. has endeavoured to repreſent Richard III. as a prince of much better ſhapes (both of body and mind) than he had been generally eſteemed. His work, conſiſting of five books, is inſerted in the collection of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

[b] In his patent he is called John of Gloceſter. See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 265.

[c] i. e. A broom-ſtalk. The reaſon for this ſirname antiquaries are at a loſs to find out, and give no better than this: Fulk, the firſt earl of Anjou of that name, being ſtung with remorſe for ſome wicked actions of his, in order to atone for them, went in pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and before the holy ſepulchre was ſoundly ſcourged with broom-twigs which grow in great plenty there. From whence he ever after took the ſirname of Plantagenet, or Broom-ſtalk, which was continued by his noble poſterity. Buck, lib. i.

[d] It were to be wiſhed, that ſo good a hiſtorian as Rapin had been more ſparing of God's judgments; ſuch remarks at beſt being a ſign of great weakneſs. But when they are built on falſities in fact, as is ſometimes the caſe, they are inexcuſeable. Of this we have an inſtance even in Rapin himſelf: ſee note [x] p. 575, Vol. I. As for the long liſt he has given of God's judgments upon the houſe of Plantagenet, it contains nothing extraordinary, nothing but what is very common in this world, and what might eaſily be matched out of the hiſtories of ſeveral other nations.

and to die before he had recovered it. His conqueſt of Wales was the moſt real advantage procured for the kingdom by any king of England.

The reign of Edward II. is remarkable only for that prince's ill conduct and misfortunes. He is the firſt inſtance of a king of England depoſed by authority of parliament. Happy, if the fury of his enemies had ſtopped there! but, with an unparallelled barbarity, he was made to ſuffer the moſt cruel death that could poſſibly be deviſed, and which bore no proportion to the indiſcretion he was guilty of.

Edward III. was one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, as well for his perſonal qualities as for his victories in France, and the famous treaty of Bretigny, which reſtored to him with intereſt the provinces John Lackland had ſuffered to be loſt. But his reign, though glorious, was not free from misfortunes. His minority was ſullied by the tragical death of Edward II. his father, and of the earl of Kent his uncle. To puniſh theſe horrid outrages, he was forced to keep his own mother in priſon as long as ſhe lived. Toward the end of his days, he had the mortification to ſee himſelf ſtripped of all he had re-conquered upon France, without hopes of recovery. In a word, he ruined, as I may ſay, his own reputation and died at a time when his ſubjects began to loſe their former eſteem for him.

Thus far it is eaſy to ſee that the race of the Plantagenets had enjoyed no great ſhare of happineſs. But their misfortunes, which were blended with ſome proſperities, were very inconſiderable in compariſon of what that race afterwards ſuffered. When a man takes a view of what happened to the poſterity of Edward III. he ſees nothing but diſaſters, tragical or untimely deaths, hatred, animoſity, revenge, civil, wars, cruelties unheard of among princes ſprung from the ſame ſtock. England had never ſeen ſo terrible a deſtruction of her inhabitants, nor had the ſcaffold been ever dyed with ſo much noble and royal blood as during the hundred years between the death of Edward III. and that of Richard III. Let us briefly run over the ſeveral branches of Edward III's family, in order to ſee their calamities.

Edward the Black Prince, one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever was born, died in the forty-ſixth year of his age, having firſt buried his eldeſt ſon Edward but ſeven years old.

Richard II. his other ſon, who mounted the throne after his grandfather, was depoſed, impriſoned, and barbarouſly murdered.

Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. died in a foreign country, in the flower of his age. He left but one daughter, whoſe marriage into the houſe of March was the occaſion of all the calamities England was afflicted with for thirty years together.

The poſterity of John of Gaunt, Edward fourth's ſon, were far from being happy. Henry IV. ſucceſſor of Richard II. paſſed his whole reign under continual apprehenſions of loſing a crown acquired by extraordinary methods, and preſerved by the violent death of Richard II. whom he cauſed to be murdered in priſon.

Henry V. one of the moſt illuſtrious kings of England, after ſo great a progreſs in France as to be declared regent and heir of that kingdom, enjoyed that conſiderable advantage but two years, or rather had only a foretaſte of what he had ſo eagerly deſired. He died in the flower of his age, leaving a ſon nine months old, who afterwards proved very unfit to complete the work his illuſtrious father had ſo glorioufly begun.

The dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloceſter, died all three without iſſue. Gloceſter was long expoſed to the fury of his enemies, and at laſt ſacrificed to their vengeance.

Henry VI. ſon of Henry V. loſt all that the king his father had acquired in France. After which he was ſtripped of his royalty, impriſoned, reſtored for a ſhort ſpace, and at laſt murdered by a prince ſprung from the ſame ſtock with himſelf.

Edward his ſon, prince of Wales, died after the ſame manner, and by the ſame hand.

In ſurveying the other branch of the houſe of Lancaſter, namely that of Beauford-Somerſet, hardly ſhall we find a prince but what loſt his life in battle, or on the ſcaffold.

The houſe of York, of whom Edmund de Langley, fifth ſon of Edward III. was head, was ſtill leſs favoured. Some unfortunate ſtars ſeemed to be continually ſhedding their malignant influences upon that family: excepting Edmund de Langley himſelf, firſt duke of York, all the princes his deſcendants died a violent or untimely death.

Edward duke of York, his eldeſt ſon, was ſlain in the battle of Azincourt.

Richard earl of Cambridge loſt his head on a ſcaffold.

Richard, third duke of York, and his ſon Edmund earl of Rutland, periſhed in the battle of Wakefield.

George duke of Clarence was afterwards condemned to die in a butt of Malmſey.

Edward IV. after enjoying the crown of England ſome years to which he had a better title than the houſe of Lancaſter, died indeed a natural death, but in the two and fortieth year of his age.

Edward V. and Richard his brother were ſmothered in their bed.

Edward prince of Wales, ſon of Richard III. was taken out of the world in the eleventh year of his age.

Richard III. was killed at the battle of Boſworth.

In fine, we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the hiſtory, Edward earl of Warwick, ſon of the unfortunate duke of Clarence, and the only ſurviving male of the houſe of York, end his days by the hand of the executioner.

Nothing more remains to complete the account of the diſaſters that befel the poſterity of Edward III. but to take notice that Thomas of Woodſtock, earl of Gloceſter, ſeventh ſon of that monarch, died a violent death in priſon at Calais.

Were not all theſe misfortunes which fell on Edward III's poſterity the effects of the divine vengeance extended to the fourth generation for the barbarous murder committed on the perſon of Edward II.? at leaſt it is difficult not to ſee in theſe events the tragical death of Edward II. revenged upon Richard II. that of Richard upon Henry VI. that of Henry upon Edward V. and that of Edward upon Richard III.

THAT Richard III. coined money, appears by an indenture whereby he contracts with Robert Brackenbury for the coinage both of gold and ſilver, of the ſame value and denomination with the money of 5 Edward IV. Dr. Nicolſon deſcribes one of his groats, as inſcribed with characters of the like ſhape with thoſe of Henry VI. and Edward IV. weighing about two penny-weights three grains, which was the exact ſtandard of Richard III's groats. Others in the poſſeſſion of the late archbiſhop of York and Mr. Thoreſby, on which the face ſide wants the outer circle, the letters of the inſcription which reach to the extremity of the coin being generally imperfect, ſo that there was reaſon for the proviſion made by act of parliament in the next reign, that the new money ſhould have a circle about the outermoſt parts. That coin which Speed gives of Richard II. is thought rather to belong to this king, by the word AGLIÆ inſtead of ANGLIÆ, in whoſe reign that way of writing was uſed. the author of Num. Brit. Hiſt. has two pieces of this king, inſcribed RICHARDVS REX ANGLI, reverſe CIVITAS EBORACI. Another RICARDVS REX ANGL. reverſe CIVITAS LONDON. The ſhortneſs of this king's reign makes his coin ſo very rare that Thoreſby obſerves he had ſeen a ſeries of ancient monies from Edward the Confeſſor to the preſent times, Richard III. excepted, which he had not chanced to light upon. Speed's caſe was the ſame, ſo that he was forced to leave a blank for the king's money.

THE

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London, Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

KING HENRY.VII.

Goldar Sculpt.

From an Antient Picture in the Royal Collection.

Publishd as the Act directs May 19 1747

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XIV.

The Reign of HENRY VII. with the State of the Church, from the Beginning of the Reign of HENRY IV. 1399, to the End of the Reign of HENRY VII. 1509.

19 HENRY VII.

[1485] THE battle of Boſworth being ended by the flight of the royal army and death of king Richard, Henry cauſed Te Deum to be ſung on the place, all the troops falling on their knees to return God thanks for his victory. Preſently after, the whole army, as it were by inſpiration, made the air reſound with the cry of "Long live king Henry!" which was not diſagreeable to him; for it was a ſort of military election, which might have ſerved him for foundation to pretend to the crown, though he had no other title. Mean-while he was embarraſſed by the uncertainty he was under, whether he ſhould keep to this election, or build his title upon a more ſolid foundation. He was however to determine without delay, either to reject the title given him by his army till the parliament ſhould confirm it, or accept it, and aſſert his right independently of the conſent of the eſtates.

He had three titles or foundations whereon he could ground his right. The firſt was, his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter by Margaret his mother, daughter of a duke of Somerſet. The houſe of Lancaſter had been poſſeſſed of the crown above ſixty years; and this poſſeſſion had been confirmed by many acts of parliament: but on the other hand, ſeveral parliaments had afterwards condemned this poſſeſſion as a continual uſurpation, and adjudged the crown to the houſe of York, as deſcended from Lionel third ſon of Edward III. This queſtion, conſidered originally and independently of the circumſtances which moved the parliaments to come to ſuch oppoſite determinations, could not have been decided in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, if the laws and cuſtoms of the realm had been followed. But, if ſetting aſide the uſual practice, it ſhould be conſidered with reſpect to the acts of parliament, it could not but be doubtful, ſince the pro and con were equally ſupported by the ſame authority. It might alſo be objected to Henry, that indeed ſundry parliaments had decided the point in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, but it did not follow that the houſe of Somerſet could receive any advantage from that deciſion. The Somerſets were indeed deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter, but by a baſtard branch, which could pretend to the crown only by virtue of their legitimation. Now it was a queſtion yet undecided, whether the act of legitimation, and Richard II's ſubſequent letters-patent, gave to that branch, derived from a baſtard born in adultery, the right to ſucceed to the crown, though mentioned neither in the act of parliament, nor in king Richard's letters. Beſides, even upon ſuppoſition of this right another query ſtill aroſe, namely, whether the poſterity of this legitimated baſtard were to have the preference of the deſcendants of the daughters, born in wedlock, of whom there were ſeveral in Caſtile, Portugal, and Germany. To leave theſe points to the examination of the parliament ſeemed therefore too dangerous for Henry. But on the other hand, he was not ignorant that in the deciſion of the differences between the houſe of Lancaſter and York, the parliaments had not ſo much regarded the arguments of either party, as the circumſtances of time and things. Now he could never have a more favourable juncture than the preſent, ſince he had juſt delivered England from a tyrant univerſally hated. Henry IV. his predeceſſor, had done more for the Engliſh, when for reward the crown was ajudged to him, in prejudice of the houſe of March.

Henry's ſecond title was his intended marriage with Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. which he had ſworn. But here no leſs difficulties occurred. If he relied upon this title, he was to reſolve either to reign only in right of his wife or to confound together the title of both houſes. In the former caſe he would have relinquiſhed his own leave to the houſe of York a title which had all along been conteſted and have owned that houſe's right for the ſole foundation of his mounting the throne; beſides, he conſidered, that in caſe Elizabeth happened to die without iſſue, all her rights would of courſe devolve to her next ſiſter, and he thereby be excluded from the throne upon the death of his queen[a]: that ſuppoſing he could get the parliament to adjudge him the crown during life, he ſhould only have a perſonal right which would not deſcend to his children by a ſecond wife.

In the latter caſe, on ſuppoſition of the confuſion of the titles of both houſes by means of the projected marriage, purſuant to the intention of thoſe who had invited him into England, this confuſion indeed might be advantageous to the children born of this marriage: but if unhappily there ſhould be none, and his death fall out before Elizabeth's, he would leave the poſſeſſion of the crown to the houſe of York, which his averſion for that houſe would not ſuffer him to behold even at a diſtance, without extreme concern. But if, on the contrary, Elizabeth ſhould die before him, he foreſaw it would prove occaſion of renewing the troubles of the kingdom, ſince, as ſhe reigned in her own right, her ſiſter or neareſt relations might pretend to ſucceed her.

Henry's third title was, that of the ſword or conqueſt, which his late victory ſeemed to give him. But he conſidered this victory was entirely owing to the aſſiſtance of the people of England, and therefore gave him at moſt but a right of conqueſt over the vanquiſhed party. Beſides, as he could ſupport himſelf only by the ſame aſſiſtance, he had reaſon to fear that in reſting upon this pretended title, he ſhould loſe his beſt friends, ſince ſuch a proceeding might be conſtrued as a ſettled deſign to rule with arbitrary power. He knew William the Conqueror had wiſely avoided that rock, by rejecting the title of the ſword, till he ſaw himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed in the throne.

Theſe were difficulties conſiderable enough to merit Henry's mature deliberation before he reſolved. But on the other hand, there was no medium to take. He was neceſſarily either to accept the title given him by the army, and thereby engage to proſecute his rights independently of the parliament's approbation, or by rejecting it to ſhew he miſtruſted his own right and expoſe himſelf to a troubleſome examination. After weighing the reaſons on both ſides as far as the time would permit, he reſolved at laſt to rely upon the title of the houſe of Lancaſter. So taking for granted that the army in ſaluting him king, had only given him his due, he determined to aſſert the Lancaſtrian claim, without any mixture of that of York, and without ſubmitting it even to the examination of the parliament[b]. To that end he reſolved to be crowned before he ſummoned a parliament, and to defer his marriage till he had obtained an act to adjudge him the crown as his own by inheritance. He determined therefore to aſſume the title of king, and to iſſue out orders as ſuch, ſuppoſing that the crown was fallen to him of full right, though Margaret his mother was ſtill alive, and ought to precede him. Notwithſtanding all the reaſons which rendered his title dubious, he believed there were others ſtrong enough to ſupport it, eſpecially at a time when his victory was capable of deciding all the queſtions in his favour. This reſolution was the fountain of all the troubles of his reign.

Mean-while, though he affected to be convinced of the goodneſs of his title, he diſtruſted it in his own mind, know-

[a] The caſe would be the ſame, ſuppoſing the queen left iſſue, for the crown would upon her death fall to her eldeſt ſon or daughter.

[b] Or as the lord Bacon expreſſes it, he reſolved to reſt upon the title of Lancaſter as the main, and to uſe the other two, that of marriage and that of battle, but as ſupporters, p. 579.

Henry VII

ing if it came to be confeſſed, the reaſons whereon he ſhould ground it were of no great weight, unleſs ſupported by force of arms. In this ſituation he continued almoſt his whole life; always unconcerned in appearance, and yet terryfying himſelf with the leaſt thing, and dreading that every little accident would be of dangerous conſequence. The houſe of York was a perpetual terror to him; he knew that they who had called him into England were not enemies to that houſe, but only to the perſon of Richard III. So the rights of the two houſes remaining ſtill doubtful, as having been decided only by the ſword, he was very ſenſible that his could be maintained but by the ſame way, or by his precautions to prevent all future deciſions of that kind.

Upon theſe conſiderations it was, that the next day after the battle[c], he ſent a detachment of horſe, under the command of ſir Robert Willoughby, to the caſtle of Sheriff-Hutton[d], to take from thence the earl Warwick, and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince was ſon and heir to George duke of Clarence, who was drowned in a butt of malmſey. After the death of the duke his father, Edward IV. his uncle cauſed him to be carefully educated, and created him earl of Warwick, a title enjoyed by his mother's father[e]. He was unwilling to make him duke of Clarence, leſt that ſhould preſerve the memory of an unhappy brother, whom he had ſacrificed to his jealouſy. When Richard was on the throne, he ordered this young prince his nephew to be confined in the caſtle above named, knowing how likely he was one day to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the crown. After the uſurper's death, the earl of Warwick ſeemed to have room to expect ſome favour from his ſucceſſor, but it proved juſt the contrary: ſo far was Henry from releaſing him, that he made him cloſe priſoner in the Tower, a rigour proceeding only from his jealouſy and inward conviction that his title was not ſo undoubted as he affected to believe. But this was not all: it will hereafter be ſeen that he put this unhappy prince to death by the hand of the executioner, therein ſtill more tyrant than the tyrant himſelf, from whom he boaſted to have delivered the kindom.

The princeſs Elizabeth, whom Henry was to marry, was kept in the ſame caſtle by the late king's order, who did not think fit to leave her at liberty to chuſe a huſband, intending to marry her himſelf. Henry reſolving to repair to London with all poſſible diligence thought it not proper to leave the princeſs at ſo great a diſtance, leſt ſhe ſhould be told that ſhe had no need to mix her rights with thoſe of another: wherefore ſhe was deſired to come and remain with the queen her mother at London. His deſign was to make it believed he intended to eſpouſe her very ſoon, though he was determined to defer his marriage till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

A few days after, Henry ſet forward by eaſy journies to London, taking care to avoid all appearance of uſing the right of conqueſt. He was received in all places with loud acclamations, the people conſidering him as their deliverer, and as going by his marriage, to put an end to all the calamities occaſioned by the civil wars. He made his entry into London with great ſtate[f]. However, the people had not the ſatisfaction to ſee him as he paſſed through the city, becauſe he was carried all the way in a cloſe chariot till he came to St. Paul's. His hiſtorian aſcribes this conduct to a motive of grandeur and ſecurity, as if having been proſcribed in the reign of Richard III. he diſdained to fawn upon the people, leſt they ſhould think he expected all from them. But I do not know whether this is better grounded than what the ſame hiſtorian adds, that Henry cauſed Richard's ſtandards taken at Boſworth[g], to be brought into St. Paul's church, that the people of London might not forget that he had juſt gained a battle, and was entering the city as a conqueror. When a prince has acquired a reputation for politics, ſomething myſterious, ſuitable to the notion formed of him, is diſcovered in his moſt indifferent actions.

Next day Henry aſſembled a council[h] of all the perſons of diſtinction in the court and city, before whom he ſolemnly renewed his oath to marry the princeſs Elizabeth. This declaration was abſolutely neceſſary at the preſent juncture, becauſe of a rumour that he was contracted to Ann, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Bretagne, and had not acted with ſincerity when he promiſed to marry the eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. Beſides, though his deſign was not to derive his right from this marriage, it was however proper the people ſhould think ſo, till he had obtained his deſire of the parliament, for fear meaſures ſhould be taken beforehand to obſtruct it. Indeed, he was reſolved to perform his promiſe, but was bent not to conſummate his marriage before his coronation, leſt his queen ſhould be crowned with him, and her title ſupported by that junction. Nay, he had reaſon to fear that in caſe his nuptials were celebrated before the parliament met, ſome clauſe in favour of the houſe of York might be inſerted in the act to ſettle the ſucceſſions.

About the middle of September, the city of London was afflicted with a diſeaſe then unknown, which threw the patients into a prodigious ſweat, and carried them off in four and twenty hours. Thoſe that died not within that ſpace were almoſt ſure of recovering. Happily, it laſted but till the end of October; however, it ſwept away multitudes of people before proper remedies were found[i]. The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate cordials, which, without too much increaſing the heat, helped nature to expel the humours that cauſed the extraordinary ſweatings.

About this time the new king made the earl of Oxford[k] conſtable of the Tower, who had always been attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, and after his eſcape out of the caſtle of Hammes, joined him at Paris, and had ſince done him ſignal ſervices, particularly at the battle of Boſworth.

Some time after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, notifying, that he had concluded a truce for one year with the king of France, from the laſt day of September. It was no ſmall advantage to ſhew the people that Charles VIII. acknowledged him for king, even before he was declared ſo by the parliament.

The coronation-day approaching, it was neceſſary to ſettle the places and claims of thoſe who were to officiate at the ceremony. For that purpoſe, it was requiſite to create a lord high-ſteward. But as this office for ſome time had been enjoyed only by princes of the blood, and there were none then in the kingdom, the king, not to raiſe jealouſies among the great men, cauſed it to be executed by commiſſioners[l].

Mean while, he would no longer delay to ſhew his gratitude to three lords who had faithfully and effectually ſerved him in his greateſt diſtreſſes. Theſe were Jaſper earl of Pembroke, his father's brother, Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, and ſir Edward Courteney. The firſt had been a father to him in his youth, and delivered him from the ſnares of Edward IV. when he was concealed in Wales. After that, he was his conſtant companion in Bretagne, and had helped him to overcome all the difficulties which occurred in his undertakings. In return for his ſervices, Henry gave him the title of duke of Bedford, vacant ever ſince the death of the famous duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V. The lord Stanley, who had been very ſerviceable to the king at the battle of Boſworth, was created earl of Derby. Sir Edward Courteney, who had ventured to engage in his party, and to favour in the weſtern counties, the duke of Buckingham's plot, was honoured with the title of earl of Devonſhire[m], Henry thought not proper to diſpenſe his favours to others, being willing, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, to reſerve his creations till the fitting of the parliament.

The coronation had been fixed to the 30th of October, and the parliament was not to meet till the 7th of November, Hence it is evident, that Henry did not mean to bring his title into queſtion, or leave to the parliament's care any more than to confirm his coronation, without ſuffering the foundations to be examined. The examples of Edward IV. and Richard III. had taught him, that the beſt way to gain the parliament's approbation, was to take poſſeſſion. In-

[c] Before his departure from Leiceſter, Hall. Stow.
[d] In Yorkſhire.
[e] Richard Neville.
[f] On a Saturday the 27th of Auguſt; and as he had alſo obtained the victory upon a Saturday, he counted out of fancy, and choſe afterwards that day as a day proſperous to him. The mayor and companies of London went out to meet him at Shoreditch. Bacon, p. 479.
[g] There were three, on one of which was the image of St. George, on the ſecond was a fiery dragon upon white and green ſarcenet, the third was of yellow tartan, on which was painted a dun cow. Hall, fol. 1. Hollingſhead, p. 1425.
[h] In the biſhop of London's palace, where he lodged for ſome time. Bacon.
[i] Two mayors, and ſix alderman died of it within one week. Hall, fol. 3.
[k] John Vere.
[l] Jaſper earl of Pembroke, the earls of Oxford and Northampton, the lords Stanley and Fitz-Walter, Robert Morton, maſter of the rolls, ſir Thomas Brian, chief-juſtice of the King's-bench, ſir Humfrey Starkey, chief baron of the exchequer, and ſir Richard Croft, treaſurer of the houſhold. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 277.
[m] The baronets made at this creation, were theſe, ſir Gilbert Talbot, ſir John Cheney, ſir William Stonar, ſir William Troutbeck, ſir John Mortimer, ſir Richard Croſby, ſir John Forteſcue, ſir Edward Bedingfield, ſir Thomas Cokeſey, ſir James Baſkerville, ſir Humfrey Stanley, ſir Richard de la Bere. Stow, p. 471.

[n] Hall

deed there is a great difference between debating, whether a prince who claims a crown has a right to pretend to it, or whether he is to be dethroned when in actual poſſeſſion. The former of theſe things may be done by reaſons, arguments, and ſtudied ſpeeches: The latter requires an army ready to give weight to the reaſons. So Henry may be ſaid to ſet the crown himſelf on his head, ſince he alone decided his right, without the authority of the parliament, who would have had much to ſay, if they had examined or been at liberty to examine, by what title Henry aſcended the throne. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by cardinal Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury, who ſuppoſing Henry's right to be indiſputable, thought it not proper to enquire into the validity of this title [n]. The ſame day Henry inſtituted a guard of fifty archers [o] to attend him and his ſucceſſors for ever, covering with a pretence of grandeur and majeſty, a precaution, which in all appearance he believed neceſſary in the preſent juncture.

The parliament met eight days after the coronation. Henry's ends in calling a parliament were chiefly four. The firſt was to be declared king de jure, as he was already king de facto, and to ſecure the crown to his poſterity, by an act in form. The ſecond, to reverſe the attainders of all his party [p]. The third, to attaint thoſe who had expreſſed a great animoſity againſt him, and moſt zeal for the late king. The fourth and laſt was to ſhew, that though he had by his ſole authority placed himſelf on the throne, to prevent his title from being queſtioned, he intended however to govern the kingdom like his predeceſſors, by way of parliaments, and not to aſſume a deſpotic power. This ſtep was abſolutely neceſſary to a prince whoſe title was ſo dubious, and who aſcended the throne without being called to it in the uſual way.

It was requiſite for the people's ſatisfaction and the king's ſecurity, that the parliament ſhould ſettle the crown upon him by an expreſs act; otherwiſe obedience to him might not be thought indiſpenſable. Though he had been powerful enough to cauſe his authority to be owned without ſuch an act, his heirs were not certain to be always in ſo favourable a ſituation. Mean while, it was not eaſy to pen the act. Henry would not hold the crown either by the people's election, or by the parliament, or by the princeſs he was to marry. He did not even intend that Elizabeth ſhould ſhare in the royalty, otherwiſe than any other foreign queen. Nevertheleſs, in the beginning of the reign, it was proper, the people ſhould not know too much, but have ſome cauſe to believe, the king reſted upon all theſe titles. The reaſon was, the Engliſh were extremely jealous of the authority of their parliaments, and generally much better affected to the houſe of York than to that of Lancaſter. Wherefore the king finding the parliament diſpoſed to do whatever he could deſire, intimated or dictated himſelf the words of the act, namely, "That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, "and abide in the king, and the heirs of his body, perpetually "ſo to endure, and in none other." Which ambiguous words left it undecided, whether he had prior right, which was doubtful, or was only king in fact, which could not be denied. As for the limitation of the entail, he was contented it ſhould go no further than to himſelf and to the heirs of his body, leaving the reſt to be decided by the law in caſe his line came to fail. Thus by not mentioning the houſe of York, the act left it undetermined whether that houſe was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the heirs of the new king. In this obſcure and ambiguous manner did the parliament draw and paſs the act, which was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull. But Henry took care to have all his titles inſerted in the bull, namely, his diſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, his marriage with Edward the Fourth's eldeſt daughter, his victory at Boſworth, and the act of parliament: To which might be added alſo the papal bull of confirmation. All theſe titles joined together, are a clear evidence of his uncertainty, with reſpect to his right, and of his trouble cauſed by that uncertainty.

The act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion being paſſed, it was moved for another to reverſe the attainders of the king's friends, whilſt only earl of Richmond. But ſeveral of the attainted perſons were actually members of the houſe of commons, elected by the favour they had found with the people ſince the revolution. There were likewiſe ſome in the houſe of lords. It was therefore repreſented to be incongruous, that theſe perſons ſhould give their votes in an affair which particularly concerned them, and be judges in their own cauſe. The king was troubled, that the acts paſſed in the late reign ſhould be deemed valid, and his friends wanted to be purged of the crime of eſpouſing his quarrel. He concealed however his concern, and only inſinuated, that he wiſhed the judges to be conſulted upon the affair. The judges being met [q], gave it as their opinion, that the members attainted by courſe of law, ſhould abſent themſelves till their attainders were reverſed.

But whilſt they were debating upon this queſtion, another was moved with reſpect to the king himſelf, who was of the number of the attainted, having been declared traitor and rebel by an act of parliament. This queſtion was much more embarraſſing than the other. The king could not be diſjoined from the parliament without a diſſolution, neither was it probable that he would ſubmit to a parliamentary examination. In this puzzling caſe, the judges unanimouſly reſolved, "That the crown takes away all defects and ſtops in blood: "and that from the time the king aſſumed the crown, the "fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of "blood diſcharged." This deciſion, more conformable to politics than to the laws, eſtabliſhed a principle that might be attended with terrible conſequences.

This affair being ended, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king by the name of the duke of Gloceſter, and againſt his principal adherents. Of this number were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouch, ſir Richard Ratcliff, ſir William Cateſby [r], all miniſters or favourites of Richard III. of whom ſome were killed at Boſworth field, others executed ſince the battle. If the plots which were afterwards formed againſt Henry himſelf had taken effect, he would doubtleſs have been ſerved in the ſame manner, with all his adherents. So dangerous is it to carry ſeverity too far in caſes of this nature. Accordingly we ſhall ſee hereafter, that Henry perceiving the conſequences, cauſed an act to be paſſed to prevent the abuſe of ſuch a precedent. The deſign of the preſent act was to ſatisfy the king's vengeance, and procure him the forfeited eſtates of the attainted. Theſe confiſcations brought him in immenſe ſums, which rendered the demand of a ſubſidy unneceſſary in this firſt parliament, eſpecially as the nation was in peace or truce with all the neighbouring princes.

After the king was revenged of his enemies, and had filled his coffers, he publiſhed the royal proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any plot againſt him before he came to the crown, or borne arms for the late king, provided they ſubmitted themſelves by ſuch a day. His firſt deſign was to procure this general pardon to be paſſed in parliament, but recollecting it was an act of Grace, he choſe rather that it ſhould wholly flow from himſelf. Many who were apprehenſive of being proſecuted, readily came and took the oath of allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon. But others choſe to remain in ſanctuary, till the character of the new king was more known. The lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's favourites, took this laſt courſe.

Before the parliament broke up, Henry was pleaſed to reward ſome of the companions of his exile, by creating them peers of the realm. The lord Chandos of Bretagne was made earl of Bath; ſir Giles D'Aubeney received the title of baron D'Aubeney, and ſir Robert Willoughby that of lord Brooke. At the ſame time the king reſtored Edward Stafford to the dignity of duke of Buckingham, forfeited by his father's attainder, and to all the poſſeſſions belonging to his family, confiſcated in the late reign. This was a piece of juſtice he could hardly refuſe to the ſon of a lord who had loſt his life in his ſervice, and been the firſt author of his advancement to the throne.

The parliament being diſſolved about the end of November, Henry ſent into France, Oliver King, archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay king Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the fleet which brought

[n] Hall and Hollingſhead ſay, king Henry was crowned by the whole aſcent, as well of the commons as of the nobility, fol. 2. p. 1425.

[o] Under a captain by the name of Yeoman of the Guard. There are at preſent a hundred in daily waiting, and ſeventy more not in waiting, and as one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up out of the ſeventy.

[p] And among the reſt of Henry lord Clifford, who had been concealed, and obſcurely brought up in the mountaineous parts of Cumberland, and at Lanborow in Yorkſhire, ever ſince the battle of Towton. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. i. p. 343.

[q] In the exchequer chamber, which is the council chamber of the judges. Bacon, p. 581.

[r] And Robert Middleton, William Barkley, Robert and James Harrington, Robert Brackenbury, Richard Charleton, Thomas Pilkinton, Walter Hopton, Roger Wake, William Sapcote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geoffrey St. Germaine, Richard Watkyns, Richard Revell, Thomas Pulter, John Walche, Andrew Rat, William Brampton, John Kendal, ſecretary to Richard III. and John Buck a relation of George Buck, the author of the life of Richard III. This John Buck was a creature of the duke of Norfolk, and loſt his head at Boſworth. Hollingſh. p. 1425. Compl. Hiſt. p. 582.

which

Henry VII

him to England. Whereupon the marquis of Dorſet, and ſir John Bourchier, left as pledges at Paris, had leave to return home. At the ſame time, Henry gave his envoy power to prolong the truce with France, if he found king Charles's council inclined.

Probably his want of ready money to pay the king of France, put him upon ſending to the city of London to borrow ſix thouſand marks. His demand met at firſt with gteat difficulties, becauſe he was not yet well known. However, he obtained at laſt two thouſand pounds[s], which he thankfully received, and punctually repayed afterwards. He often borrowed money in this manner, in the courſe of his reign, and always paid at the day. His view was to eſtabliſh his credit in that powerful city, that he might uſe it upon any preſſing occaſion.

About the end of the year, he called to his privy-council John Morton, biſhop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox[t]. He lay under great obligations to Morton, particularly for his intelligence of what was plotting againſt him in Bretagne, and had a great value for Fox, knowing him to be a perſon capable of doing him great ſervice, and of a temper very like his own. In time, Morton was made archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, prime miniſter, and at laſt cardinal. As for Fox, the king made him firſt, lord keeper of the privy-ſeal, then biſhop of Exeter: After that he tranſlated him to Bath and Wells, from thence to Durham, and laſtly to Wincheſter, the richeſt biſhopric in England. Theſe two prelates, with Urſwick, the king's chaplain, were almoſt always employed in the moſt important commiſſions, embaſſies, and negociations. Henry loved to employ eccleſiaſtics, becauſe he had always church-preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from ſmaller to more conſiderable ſees. Herein he found his own profit; for by tranſlating biſhops from one ſee to another, he made the more vacancies, and conſequently the firſt-fruits which accrued to the king, were greatly multiplied [u]. Never did prince more ardently ſeek occaſions to heap up riches. Avarice was his predominant paſſion, influenced even his meaner actions, and cauſed him to take many falſe ſteps, as will be manifeſt hereafter.

The events of this reign have ſuch a connection with thoſe of ſome other ſtates, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew the ſituation of the affairs of divers princes. Otherwiſe the motives of Henry the ſeventh's conduct would be but imperfectly known, who made in his time a great figure in Europe, though not ſo much by his arms as policy. I ſhall begin with Bretagne.

I have elſewhere obſerved, that Peter Landais, favourite of the duke of Bretagne, entirely governed that prince, who was old and infirm, and very much impaired in his underſtanding: that ſeveral lords of Bretagne had made a league againſt that miniſter, and intended to ſeize him: but having miſſed their aim, were expoſed to the vengeance of the favourite, who had cauſed them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of this year, 1485, Landais, in the name of the duke his maſter, levied an army to execute the ſentence, and the lords on their parts took up arms in their defence. While Bretagne was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a battle, the condemned lords cauſed it to be repreſented to thoſe who ſerved Landais, that in the preſent affair, the intereſt not of their common maſter the duke, but of only his unworthy favourite, was concerned: that it was unjuſt to ſhed the blood of their countrymen in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriouſly abuſed his maſter's confidence: that therefore, to appeaſe at once the troubles of Bretagne, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms, namely, to rid themſelves of the miniſter, after which, not a man would refuſe to render due obedience to the duke. The lords of the duke's party deeming this expedient very reaſonable, were of opinion that it was for the intereſt of the country and the duke himſelf, that Landais, ſole cauſe of the troubles, ſhould be ſacrificed to the good of the public. Landais hearing that the lords of the two armies were contriving ſomething againſt him, cauſed a declaration to be drawn, wherein the duke ordered that all perſons of his own army, who held intelligence with the proſcribed lords, ſhould be deemed traitors and rebels. But this only ſerved to haſten his ruin. The chancellor who was in the plot againſt him, refuſed to ſeal the declaration, and informed the lords of it, who reſolved to have no further regard for the favourite. So, without giving him time to take other meaſures, they went in a body to the palace, and ſeized Landais in the duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him on condition they would ſpare his life: but that was not their intention. On the contrary, they brought him to a ſpeedy trial, and convicting him of a thouſand crimes, made him atone for them on the gallows, before the duke was informed of the ſentence. How much ſoever the duke was troubled at the death of his favourite, he could not help granting the lords of the two armies letters of pardon. Thus Bretagne would have been reſtored to her former tranquillity, had not the duke imprudently concerned himſelf with the troubles of the court of France, which proved the ruin of himſelf and dukedom. This is what muſt now be ſhewn, ſince it was the occaſion of the war which broke out between Charles VIII. and the duke of Bretagne, and wherein Henry VII. was concerned. Lewis XI. king of France, dying in the year 1483, left the government of the perſon of Charles VIII. his ſon and ſucceſſor, to his daughter Ann, wife of Peter de Bourbon lord of Beaujeu. Charles was fourteen years old, and conſequently of age according to the ordinance of Charles V. But as he had been ill educated [w], the king his father thought him uncapable of governing. The moment Lewis XI. was in his grave, Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, refuſed to acknowledge Ann of Beaujeu for the king's governeſs; affirming a woman had no right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The eſtates being aſſembled at Tours in January 1484, ended the diſpute by their authority. They confirmed the late king's will, and ordered that the duke of Orleans ſhould be preſident of the council in the king's abſence.

Whilſt the ſtates of France were aſſembled, the lords of Bretagne made their firſt attempt upon Landais before mentioned, which proved unſucceſsful. The ſentence which was given againſt them creating a dread of the favourite's revenge. they applied to Ann of Beaujeu to obtain the king her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landais ſeeing his enemies had recourſe to the lady Ann, thought he could not do better than rely on the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans. To that end, he entreated him to come to the court of Bretagne, putting him in hopes, the duke would give him in marriage Ann his eldeſt daughter and preſumptive heir. The duke of Orleans had eſpouſed againſt his will, Joanna daughter of Lewis XI. but had made againſt this forced marriage a ſecret proteſtation, which he meant to uſe in order to annul it at a more favourable juncture. So, pleaſed with the hopes Landais had inſpired him with, he came to Bretagne, where he was extremely careſſed. But he could make no long ſtay there, being obliged to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed in June this year. Probably whilſt he was in Bretagne, he concerted meaſures with the duke and his favourite to diſturb the government of Ann of Beaujeu, who was become abſolute miſtreſs of the king her brother's perſon and affairs.

Shorlty after, the duke of Orleans forming a league againſt the court, and retiring to Boiſgency, demanded that the ſtates of France might be aſſembled. He intended to annul the regulation, with reſpect to the government of the king's perſon. But Ann of Beaujeu cauſed the king to march againſt him with ſuch expedition, that he was forced to accept of ſuch terms as were granted him, becauſe his friends were not yet ready to aſſiſt him. By the agreement, the earl of Dunois and Longueville, who was conſidered as the chief adviſer, was baniſhed to Aſt in Piedmont, a town belonging to the duke of Orleans, with a command not to ſtir from thence without the king's expreſs licence.

The duke of Orleans being thus compelled to diſmiſs his troops, cauſed the greateſt part to liſt in the duke of Bretagne's army againſt the condemned lords. On the other hand, Ann of Beaujeu ſent likewiſe to the barons part of the king's troops. Landais's death, which happened ſoon after, was not capable to make the duke of Orleans deſiſt from his projects. He ſtood in need of the duke of Bretagne to ſupport him againſt the court, and even hoped one day to marry his daughter. On the other ſide, the duke of Bretagna having been greatly perſecuted by Lewis XI. and knowing Ann of Beaujeu was of the ſame character, and followed the ſame maxims, believed he could not do better than reſt upon the aſſiſtance of the duke of Orleans. So, after ſome private negociations, theſe two princes formed

[s] Which was levied of the companies, and not of the wards. Stow, p. 471.

[t] The reſt of his privy-council were, John Vere earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley earl of Derby, ſir William Stanley lord chamberlain, Robert Willoughby lord Brooke, ſteward of his houſhold, Giles lord Daubeney, John lord Dynham, ſir Reginald Bray, ſir John Cheney, ſir Richard Guilford, ſir Richard Tunſtall, ſir Richard Edgecombe, ſir Thomas Lovell, ſir Edward Pownynges, ſir John Riſley, &c. Hall. fol. 3.

[u] This is a miſtake, the firſt-fruits were paid to the pope, and not to the king till Henry VIII. threw off the papal authority.

[w] And was of a very infirm conſtitution. P. Daniel. tom. vi. p. 573.

a league

a league together, into which came John de Chalon prince of Orange, nephew to the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Dunois, the duke of Lorrain and ſeveral other princes and lords. Some time after the earl of Dunois returned into France without leave, and withdrew to his ſeat at Partenay in Poictou. The king was yet ignorant of the duke of Orlean's deſigns. But the earl of Dunois's return convincing him ſome plot was contriving in favour of that prince, who was gone to Blois, he ſent him a poſitive order to repair to court. The duke obeyed upon a ſecond ſummons; but next day, being informed ſome ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into Bretagne, where he was quickly followed by the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois. This was in the beginning of the year 1486. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in the Netherlands.

Since the death of Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian of Auſtria her huſband had been involved in troubles, on account of the guardianſhip of Philip her ſon, become ſovereign of the Low Countries by the death of the ducheſs his mother. Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, had willingly received him for guardian: but Flanders and Hainault refuſed to obey him as ſuch.

The obſtinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to make peace with Lewis XI. upon theſe terms: that the dauphin Charles, ſon of Lewis, ſhould marry Margaret daughter of Maximilian, as ſoon as they were of ſuch an age: that Margaret ſhould have for dower, Artois, French Comté, Macon, Auxerre, and be educated at the court of France. Purſuant to this treaty, Lewis kept thoſe provinces which he had already ſeized, and took Margaret home, till the marriage could be conſummated.

In 1483, Maximilian ſucceſsfully made war upon the Liegeois. That ſame year Hainault owned him for guardian of his ſon Philip.

In 1484, The Flemings ſtill perſiſting in their refuſal to acknowledge Maximilian for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, lord of Ravenſtein, was the chief. Their obſtinacy occaſioned between them and Maximilian a war, in which Charles VIII. took part by aſſiſting the Flemings.

This war ended in January 1485, in a treaty, importing, that the Flemings ſhould acknowledge Maximilian for guardian of his ſon, upon the expreſs condition that he ſhould not remove him from Flanders till of age. The treaty being ſigned, Maximilian made his entry into Gaunt, where a few days after was a ſedition, but which was happily appeaſed. During the reſt of the year, the Low Countries enjoyed a tranquillity which afforded Maximilian time to take a journey into Germany, to be elected king of the Romans. Let us now ſpeak of the Spaniſh affairs.

Henry IV. ſirnamed the Impotent, king of Caſtile, died in 1474, leaving only a daughter called Joanna, who was univerſally believed to be ſuppoſitious. For which reaſon, Iſabella ſiſter to Henry, and Ferdinand prince of Arragon her huſband, took poſſeſſion of the throne of Caſtile. They had a fierce war to maintain againſt Alphonſo king of Portugal, who being affianced to Joanna, ſuppoſed daughter of Henry IV. pretended to the crown of that kingdom. The war ended in 1479, to the advantage of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who compelled Alphonſo to deſiſt from his pretenſions. By the treaty upon that occaſion, it was agreed that Alphonſo, the king of Portugal's grandſon, ſhould marry Iſabella daughter of Ferdinand, when the parties were of age to conſummate the marriage.

John king of Arragon died that ſame year, leaving to his ſon Ferdinand the kingdom of Arragon, with a war to maintain againſt France, the occaſion whereof was this. King John had mortgaged to Lewis XI. Rouſſillon and Cerdagne for three hundred thouſand crowns. Afterwards, the inhabitants of Perpignan revolted from the French, whoſe dominion did not pleaſe them. Upon the news, John came to Perpignan, to try to perſuade them to remain in ſubjection to the French, till he could redeem Rouſſillon by payment of the mortgage. But whilſt he was labouring to appeaſe them, Lewis XI. cauſed the place to be beſieged, and John himſelf was ſhut up. The ſiege laſted four months, and at laſt, Ferdinand ſon of John, coming to his relief, obliged the French to retire. Shortly after, John being gone from Perpignan, Lewis ordered the place to be re-inveſted, and after a long ſiege became maſter of it. From that time the king of Arragon pretended, the king of France ought to reſtore Rouſſillon, without receiving the money lent, either becauſe of his expence in protecting his ſubjects, or becauſe the French had levied large ſums upon the mortgaged countries. But the king of France did not think himſelf obliged to this reſtitution, unleſs he was paid the three hundred thouſand crowns he had lent.

In 1485, Charles VIII. ſent an embaſſador to Ferdinand, who refuſed to receive him, without a poſitive power to reſign Rouſſillon and Cerdagne.

About the latter end of that year was born Catherine daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who was afterwards queen of England, and will have a great ſhare in this hiſtory. Ferdinand and Iſabella had ſeveral other children, namely, Iſabella affianced to the prince of Portugal, John born 1477, and Joanna born in 1479.

I ſhall cloſe this digreſſion with the affairs of Scotland. James III. continued to govern his kingdom with oppreſſion and violence, regardleſs of the affection of his ſubjects. I have before obſerved, the duke of Albany his brother ſurrendered Dunbar to the Engliſh, and after the death of Edward IV. retired into France, where he ended his days at a tournament. From that time the Engliſh kept poſſeſſion of that place, though Richard III. promiſed to reſtore it. This promiſe being unperformed when Henry VII. aſcended the throne of England, James reſolved to recover Dunbar by force of arms. For that purpoſe, about the end of this year, or perhaps the beginning of the next, he beſieged and took the town. The ſeaſon, and the important affairs which Henry had in the beginning of his reign, permitted him not to prepare for its relief.

Such was the poſture of the affairs of the ſtates with whom Henry VII. had any concerns during the courſe of his reign. It is time now to return to our hiſtory.

[1486] How great an averſion ſoever the king might have in his mind to the houſe of York, he had too ſolemnly promiſed to marry the princeſs Elizabeth not to perform his word. Beſides, this marriage was neceſſary to amuſe the Engliſh, who ſtill flattered themſelves, that the king's intention was to confound his rights with thoſe of the houſe of York, notwithſtanding his precautions to hinder her being mentioned in the act of ſettlement. The nuptials were ſolemnized the 18th of January, with much greater demonſtration of joy on the people's part, than on the king's. There was much leſs ſatisfaction expreſſed on the days either of the king's entry or coronation: which was a clear evidence of the people's affection for the houſe of York, and particularly for the family of Edward IV. But this was not to be thought very ſtrange. The houſe of Lancaſter, of which there remained no branch but what was deſcended from the daughters, had been forgot during the reigns of the kings of the houſe of York. Though Henry reſted upon his deſcent upon the houſe of Lancaſter, he was known to be grandſon of a Welſh gentleman, and his mother to be ſprung only from a baſtard of that houſe, whom the credit of his father, and the circumſtances of the times, had cauſed to be legitimated. As for the princes and princeſſes deſcended from the lawful daughters of John of Gaunt, as they happened to be in Portugal, Caſtile, and Arragon, and where unknown in England, it was not ſurpriſing there was no great inclination for them. Henry did not like to ſee the people's joy for his marriage. He perceived Elizabeth had a greater ſhare in it than himſelf, and that conſequently he was thought really king only in right of his queen. This conſideration inſpired him with ſuch a coldneſs for her, that he never ceaſed to give her marks of it ſo long as ſhe lived. He deferred her coronation two whole years, and doubtleſs, would have done ſo for ever, if he had not thought it prejudicial to him to perſiſt in refuſing her that honour. Nay, perhaps he would have dealt with her, as Edward the confeſſor had formerly done by his queen, daughter of earl Goodwin, had not the deſire of children cauſed him to overcome his averſion. He had conceived ſo mortal a hatred to the whole houſe of York, that he loſt no opportunity to humble the Yorkiſts, behaving always to them not as a juſt king, but like the head of a party. In the courſe of his hiſtory will be ſeen divers proofs of his diſinclination to that houſe.

The day before the king's marriage was ſolemnized at London, his envoy at Paris had concluded with the court of France a three years truce, which was to expire January the 17th, 1488-9. Charles VIII. who began to form projects againſt Bretagne, willingly conſented to the truce, to tie up the hands of the king of England, and to hinder him from aſſiſting that dukedom. On the other ſide, Henry, who was ignorant of his deſigns, believed it could not but turn to his advantage to live in a good underſtanding with that monarch, becauſe he thereby rendered himſelf more formidable to his domeſtic enemies, who could no longer expect any diverſion from that quarter.

Shortly after, the king made Thomas Stanley earl of Derby high conſtable, and William Stanley his brother lord cham-

Henry VII

berlain. Theſe, of all the kingdom, were the two perſons the king was moſt indebted to, ſince they enabled him to gain the victory of Boſworth, which procured him the crown. The lord D'Aubeny was made governor of Calais for ſeven years.

Henry and Elizabeth being ſprung from the ſame ſtock, namely Edward III. had wanted a diſpenſation to marry, becauſe they were couſins in the fourth degree, It was the biſhop of Imola, Legate à Latere in England and Scotland, that had granted the diſpenſation by virtue of his commiſſion, which empowered him to grant that favour to any twelve perſons he ſhould pleaſe. The king thought at firſt this diſpenſation was ſufficient, and without farther reflection conſummated his marriage. Afterwards he conſidered, occaſion might be taken from thence to queſtion the validity of his marriage, and to maintain that a power granted for twelve perſons in general, could not be extended to ſovereigns. To prevent therefore any ſuch objection, he deſired the pope Innocent VIII. who then ſat in the papal chair, to grant him a diſpenſation immediately from himſelf, and peculiarly adapted to his caſe. Whereupon the pope ordered a bull to be drawn accordingly. But as the bull was dated March the 13th, about two months after the marriage, and mentioned not the conſummation, or the legate's diſpenſation, Henry deſired to have another with theſe two articles inſerted, which was granted him the July following. This ſhews how careful he was to prevent whatever would afford his enemies a pretence to diſturb him. But a precaution he took at the ſame time, makes this appear ſtill plainer.

With the firſt diſpenſation he received a bull confirming the act of ſucceſſion made by the parliament. The pope declared, "He had heard, that though the crown of England was fallen to Henry, not only by conqueſt and an unqueſtionable hereditary right, but moreover by the unanimous conſent of the nobles and people, and by an act of parliament[x]; and though undoubtedly and rightfully it belonged to him and the heirs of his body, yet, to put an end to the troubles which had long diſtracted the kingdom, he was deſirous to marry Elizabeth of York, eldeſt daughter and heir of king Edward IV. of glorious memory: that therefore having conſidered, with his brothers the cardinals, his intention in the ſpirit of charity, he had granted the diſpenſation neceſſary for marriage, and pronounced the children that ſhould be born of it lawful, and capable of ſucceeding to their father and mother; that he had granted this favour, not at the requeſt of Henry or Elizabeth, or any other in their name, but of his own motion, certain knowledge, and pure generoſity, as it was more largely expreſſed in the letters of diſpenſation, to which he gave the ſame force as if they were inſerted word for word in theſe preſents: that therefore he decreed, declared, and pronounced lawful, the ſucceſſion of the children iſſuing from this marriage, and confirmed the act of parliament concerning king Henry's title, and the ſucceſſion of his children ſupplying by his apoſtolical authority all defects of right or fact that might therein occur.

"That of his own motion and by his authority, he admoniſhed and required all the people of England and all the ſubjects of king Henry of what rank ſoever, to obey that prince, and expreſly forbad them to raiſe diſturbences about the ſucceſſion, or upon any other account whatſoever, or to infringe in any manner the diſpenſation, declaration, and act of parliament.

"That he pronounced ipſo facto excommunicate all perſons that ſhould raiſe any ſuch diſturbances, or infringe the aforeſaid, letters and acts, to be abſolved only by the holy ſee, or ſuch as ſhould be empowered by her, unleſs at the point of death.

"That if Elizabeth ſhould happen to die before Henry without iſſue, he decreed, agreeable to the aforeſaid act of parliament and confirmation, that the children of Henry by any other lawful wife ſhould ſucceed him by hereditary right, pronouncing excommunicate, as above, all perſons that ſhould oppoſe the ſucceſſion of his children. Granting on the contrary his benediction and plenary indulgence for all their ſins to thoſe who ſhould, in that caſe, aſſiſt Henry or his poſterity.

"Moreover, he enjoined all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, deans, archdeacons, curates, rectors, priors, and ſuperiors of monaſteries, upon the penalties expreſſed in the holy canons, to excommunicate publicly, and to pronounce excommunicate, whenever they were required all perſons that ſhould breed any diſturbances upon that account, or oppoſe in any manner whatever the execution of the ſaid acts, notwithſtanding all conſtitutions and ordinances apoſtolical to the contrary," &c.

Nothing ſhews more how much Henry was himſelf convinced of the weakneſs of his title, than his procuring the pope's confirmation. This precaution was not only needleſs, but even unlawful, ſince it was directly againſt the ſtatutes of Præmunire, of which the Engliſh were ſo jealous. Accordingly, he had taken care to have it ſaid in the bull, that the pope granted the diſpenſation of his own motion, and without any previous requeſt; a clauſe evidently falſe. It is certain, the bull of diſpenſation ran in expreſs terms, that the pope granted it upon what was repreſented to him by Henry and Elizabeth. Beſides what the pope affirmed, that the crown of England was fallen to Henry by hereditary right, that heap and confuſion of the other titles, namely, the conſent of the nobles and people, the act of parliament, the king's marriage with Elizabeth; all this, I ſay, correſpond ſo exactly with Henry's uncertainty concerning his title, that doubtleſs, it proceeded not from the pope's own knowledge, but rather from the king himſelf, who had as it were dictated how the bull ſhould be worded. In fine, the pope would never have thought of confirming the act of ſettlement, if he had not been requeſted. But it was not convenient the king ſhould appear to have deſired ſuch a bull, ſince nothing could be more diſagreeable to the Engliſh. For taking ſuch a ſtep, even before the ſtatute of Præmunire was enacted, king John entirely loſt the affection and confidence of his barons, with the crown which he meant to ſecure by that expedient. Henry III. was like to undergo the ſame fate for taking precautions of this nature. Accordingly, it will hereafter be ſeen, that this bull was not capable of hindering the king's being frequently moleſted, The Engliſh were not, as formerly, ſuch bigots as to imagine the pope's authority could give Henry a title which he really had not.

Though the king had happily attained his ends, with reſpect to the act of ſettlement and ſucceſſion, he knew however what the parliament had done was not agreeable to the ſentiments of the people. He had been called into England to deliver the nation from the tyranny of Richard III. and not to diſpoſſeſs entirely the houſe of York. This is ſo true, that in caſe the Yorkiſts had not joined with him, in order to preſerve the crown in that houſe, by his marriage with Elizabeth, the Lancaſtrians would never have been able to raiſe him to the throne. The queen, widow of Edward IV. the duke of Buckingham, the lord Stanley, were not friends of the houſe of Lancaſter, though private enemies to the perſon of Richard. To theſe, however, Henry was chiefly indebted for his greatneſs. If the people had been conſulted, and at liberty to chuſe a ſovereign, Richard III. indeed would have been diſpoſſeſſed, but Elizabeth placed on the throne, and the earl of Richmond left in his exile in Bretange. Henry therefore was conſidered only as the inſtrument of their deliverance from the dominion of a tyrant. But as it was reaſonable to reward him, the giving him a ſhare of the royal dignity, by means of his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, was thought a great recompence. And if it was readily agreed that his right from the houſe of Lancaſter ſhould be united with Elizabeth's, it was rather to avoid freſh troubles by that expedient, than out of a belief of the lawfulneſs of his title. He had himſelf gladly accepted the propoſal, and upon that foundation it was that he formed his enterprize; otherwiſe he would have doubtleſs met with leſs aſſiſtance and much greater oppoſition. But he had no ſooner gained the battle of Boſworth, but he formed the deſign of reigning in his own right only, and excluding entirely the houſe of York, wherein he deceived the expectation of the Engliſh, and abuſed their confidence. This is what he had always in his thoughts, though he concealed his uneaſineſs with all poſſible care.

As the houſe of York had moſt adherents in the northern counties, Henry reſolved to take a progreſs into thoſe parts. He hoped that his preſence, with ſome acts of grace and favour he might have occaſion to diſpenſe, would be capable of producing a good effect. With this view, he departed towards the middle of the ſpring, and kept his Eaſter at Lincoln. During his ſtay in that city, he heard the lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's favourites, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, brothers, who had refuſed to accept of the general pardon, were gone out of ſanctuary[y], but to what place was unknown. As he was ignorant what their deſign could be, he continued his journey to York. Shortly after, he received more certain intelligence concerning the fugitives. He was told the lord Lovel was advancing towards York at the head

[x] ——"Non modo jure belli ac notorio & indubitato proximo ſucceſſionis titulo, verum etiam omnium prælatorum, procerum, magnatum, nobilium totiuſque ejuſdem regni Angliæ plebis electione & voto, necnon decreto ſtatuto & ordinatione ipſius Angliæ regni trium ſtatuum in ipſorum conventu, parliamento noncupato. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 297.

[y] At Colcheſter, where they had been ever ſince the battle of Boſworth, Hall, fol. 4.

At

of three or four thouſand men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worceſterſhire before the city of Worceſter. This news gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. He ſaw himſelf in that part of the kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was not eaſy to raiſe forces. Beſides, he had reaſon to fear the lord Lovel had correſpondents in York, and among the nobility of the county, conſequently there was no time to loſe. He muſt ſpeedily reſolve either to quit York, or take ſome courſe to oppoſe the rebels. In this ſtrait, he choſe to ſeem unconcerted, perceiving that flight could not but produce a very ill effect. So, without ſhowing any fear, he armed ſuch of his followers as were moſt proper to bear arms, and commiſſioned ſome truſty friends to raiſe men in and about York with all poſſible diligence. He was ſo fortunate, and ſo faithfully ſerved as to aſſemble in a ſhort time three thouſand men, of whom he gave the command to his uncle the duke of Bedford. But theſe troops were ſo ill armed, and in ſuch diſorder, that they were not much to be relied on. Beſides, they were raiſed in a county where the inhabitants were not well affected to the king. For this reaſon, Henry expreſly charged the duke of Bedford to avoid fighting if poſſible, till reinforced, and to proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms. This precaution ſucceeded to his wiſh. The duke of Bedford approaching the mal-contents, ordered the proclamation to be publiſhed in terms denoting great ſuperiority and confidence. It had, however, little effect on the rebels. But the lord Lovel, their commander, fearing they would accept of the pardon, forſook them firſt. He retired all alone, and hid himſelf in Lancaſhire, at his friend ſir Thomas Broughton's, and ſhortly after paſſed into Flanders to the ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy. His army being without a leader, ſubmitted to the king's mercy. The Staffords who were beſieging Worceſter, hearing what paſſed in the north, raiſed the ſiege, and abandoning their troops, took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a little village near Abington. But that church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged in the king's-Bench not to be ſufficient ſanctuary for traitors. So the two brothers being taken thence by force, Humphrey, the eldeſt, was ſent to London to be executed at Tyburn; but Thomas, as being ſeduced by his brother, was pardoned. This rebellion, the firſt in this reign, was like a blaze which laſted not long. It was quenched with the blood of one ſingle perſon. We ſhall ſee hereafter, others which coſt the king more to extinguiſh the flames.

On the 3d of July, the Scotch embaſſadors, who had been ſome time in London, concluded a truce with Henry, which was to end that day three years.

Cardinal Bourchier, archbiſhop of Canterbury died about this time. The king, deſigning to procure the archbiſhopric for dr. Morton biſhop of Ely, gave him the cuſtody during the vacancy, thereby declaring his intention, that no other biſhop might make an intereſt for the nomination. Accordingly Morton was elected ſome time after, but received not the pope's bull till December.

July the 22d, John de Bouteillier, lord Maupertuis, embaſſador of Francis II. duke of Bretagne, concluded at London with the king, a truce, or rather a prolongation of the truce, which ſtill ſubſiſted between England and Bretagne, till the death of one of the two princes. But the trade between the two nations, which was ſettled by ſeveral articles of the treaty, was to laſt till the death of the ſurvivor.

September the 20th, the queen was delivered[z] of a prince, though ſhe had been but eight months with child. The king would have the new born prince called Arthur, in memory of the famous Britiſh monarch, of whoſe race he deſired to be thought. The family of the Tudors being Britiſh or Welſh, it was not unlikely that Henry deſigned, by naming his ſon Arthur, to inſinuate his being deſcended from that illuſtrious monarch. It is certain, however, this report was not ſpread, nor genealogies forged to confirm it, till after the time we are ſpeaking of. Thoſe who governed the ſtate during Henry the Sixth's minority, were very far from this opinion, ſince, after the death of Catherine of France, the prince's mother, they ordered Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII. to be ſent to the Tower for preſuming to marry the queen. Nay, ſome affirm, he was beheaded.

The king's proceeding to deprive the houſe of York of their right, had very much diſſatisfied the people, who expected quite another thing. They who had called in Henry had been in hopes, that the titles of the two houſes being mixed by his marriage with Elizabeth, there would be no more diſtinction between Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, but all might equally expect the places in the king's diſpoſal. Theſe hopes were further confirmed by the birth of prince Arthur, in whoſe perſon were united the litigious rights of the two houſes. But it was ſeen with extreme concern, that the king ſtill conſidered the houſe of York as rivals and enemies, and that his jealouſy reached to the queen herſelf, whoſe intereſt ſhould have been as dear to him as his own. For, not content to ſhew by his continual coldneſs, and by ſeveral mortifications, the little kindneſs he had for her, he had given her a very ſenſible mark of it, in deferring her coronation, as if ſhe had been unworthy to ſit on the throne with him. Nay, after ſhe had brought him a ſon, her coronation was no more talked of than when they were firſt married. This conduct plainly ſhewed, the houſe of York was ſtill odious to him, and that he feared to take any ſtep which might give the people occaſion to believe ſhe had ſome right to the crown. It was impoſſible but this affectation ſhould cauſe great concern in the Yorkiſts, who were much more numerous than the Lancaſtrians.

The diſcontent being almoſt univerſal, ſome malicious perſons ſpread a report, that the king intended to put to death the earl of Warwick, priſoner in the Tower, and the only remaining male of the houſe of York. Their deſign was, no doubt, to compare Henry with Richard III. who had taken away the lives of his two nephews to ſecure the crown, and to intimate to the people, that in changing kings, they had only received one tyrant for another. Moreover, it was openly rumoured, that one of Edward the IVth's ſons was ſtill alive, having as it were miraculouſly eſcaped his uncle's cruelty. All this plainly tended to ſound the people's inclinations. The king himſelf, whether he was the author of the rumour, as his hiſtorian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage[a], was not ſorry the people ran after a phantom, becauſe it hindered them from too firmly adhering to the perſons of the houſe of York, which really exiſted. Mean while, as the eagerneſs wherewith the people ſwallowed the falſe report, was a clear evidence how ready they would be, if a favourable opportunity offered, to liſt againſt the king, ſo it gave occaſion to the project I am going to ſpeak of.

A certain Oxford prieſt, Richard Simon, perceiving the people's joy at the falſe report of one of Edward the IVth's ſons being alive, took it into his head to put upon the world for Richard duke of York, brother of Edward V. a young man named Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, whom he trained up in his houſe, and believed proper to act ſuch a part. He was about the duke of York's age[b], of good natural parts, and in all his behaviour had ſomething grand, and above his birth. Simon had ſcarce begun inſtructing his pupil, when another rumour was ſpread, that the earl of Warwick had made his eſcape out of the Tower. The news, though falſe, cauſed among the people ſo general a joy, that the prieſt thought fit to alter his project, and make Simnel paſs for the earl of Warwick. Simnel's age agreed better with the earl's and the circumſtance of his eſcape was ſuitable to the plot. His pupil was to be well inſtructed for that purpoſe, ſince he was not to perſonate a young man taken out of his cradle in his infancy, and concealed in ſome private place, but a prince well known, and brought up in the court of Edward IV. The earl was about twelve years old when impriſoned by Richard III. Simnel therefore was to learn to talk pertinently of Edward's court and to know particularly the lords and ladies that frequented it, as well as the king and queen. This gives occaſion to preſume, that the prieſt was himſelf inſtructed by perſons well informed, and that the plot was ſuggeſted to him. For, though he had the aſſurance to form ſuch a deſign, it is not likely he could inſtruct his pupil in many particulars, which he was neceſſarily to know. At leaſt, it is certain, the king imagined the queen his mother-in-law, and other friends of the houſe of York, were the real authors of the contrivance, and only made uſe of the prieſt as an inſtrument to execute their deſigns. The queen-dowager was extremely intriguing. It was ſhe that had ſet on foot the project in favour of the king when in Bretagne, and thereby ſhewn her credit with the Yorkiſts. Beſides, ſhe could not but be very much diſpleaſed with the king's coldneſs to her daughter, and his refuſing to have her crowned. This alone was ſufficient to cauſe the king to ſuſpect her. But perhaps, there was more than bare ſuſpicion.

Be this as it will, Simon or thoſe that employed him, not thinking proper to produce Simnel firſt in England, where he might be examined too cloſely, and by perſons too knowing, judged it convenient that he ſhould act his firſt ſcene in Ire-

[z] At Wincheſter, Hall, fol. 5. Stow, p. 471.

[a] The lord Verulam only ſays, "Neither was the king's nature and cuſtoms greatly fit to diſperſe theſe miſts, but contrariwiſe, he had a faſhion rather to create doubts than aſſurance." p. 583.

[b] About fifteen years old. Bacon, p. 583.

Sir

land, where Simon the prieſt accompanied him. In all appearance, ſome meaſures had been taken for his reception in that country. Since Henry's acceſſion to the throne, he had very much neglected the affairs of that iſland, reckoning that being maſter in England, the Iriſh were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the duke of Bedford governor of Ireland, in the room of the earl of Lincoln, nephew of Richard III. but had continued the ſame deputy, the ſame chancellor, and all the reſt of the officers placed there by Richard. So, the duke of Bedford being ſtill in England, Thomas Fitz-Gerald earl of Kildare, commanded in Ireland as deputy, and his brother was chancellor [c].

It is more than probable, that the earl of Kildare was in the plot, and had even begun to take meaſures to cauſe Lambert Simnel, the pretended earl of Warwick, to be acknowledged in Ireland. Ever ſince June laſt, Henry had received notice that ſomething was contriving againſt his ſervice in that country, though he knew not the particulars. Upon this information, he ſent for the deputy to court; but the earl found means to cauſe the council of Ireland to write to him, that the deputy's preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in the iſland. Simnel being arrived at Dublin, addreſſed himſelf to the earl of Kildare as earl of Warwick, and informed him how he eſcaped out of the Tower. If the earl of Kildare had not been in the plot, or at leaſt wiſhed the thing to be as Simnel related it, he would doubtleſs have ſeized the pretender. It was his duty, as he commanded in Ireland in the king's name. But inſtead of taking that courſe, he left him of liberty, and ſo ordered it, with his brother the chancellor's help, that the arrival of the pretended earl of Warwick was divulged without their appearing to be concerned. They would firſt ſee how the people would be affected with the news. The impreſſion it made, was as great and as ſudden, as the authors of the plot could deſire. When it was known in Dublin, that the earl of Warwick was arrived, the people expreſſed ſo great a joy, that the deputy and chancellor believed there was no danger in acknowledging the pretender. So, after a conference with their friends and confidents, they ſolemnly waited upon him at his lodgings, and conducted him with great pomp to the caſtle, where he was treated like a prince [d]. Simnel received the reſpect that was paid him with a countenance and carriage that by no means favoured of the meanneſs of his birth. In a few days he was proclaimed in Dublin king of England, and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. The Iriſh regarded not the attainder of the duke of Clarence, his pretended father, having newly learnt by the example of Henry himſelf, that the advancement to the throne cancels all defects.

The news of ſo unexpected an event made the king very uneaſy, becauſe it ſtruck upon that ſtring, which he ever moſt feared; namely, his title, of the goodneſs whereof he was not himſelf thoroughly ſatisfied. Indeed, the victory of Boſworth had given him an opportunity to decide the queſtion himſelf in his favour. But he was very ſenſible, that if the titles of the two houſes came once more to be put in the balance, he ſhould want a ſecond victory to confirm his, whilſt the houſe of York would have reaſons more than ſufficient, if their affairs took a proſperous turn. In the next place, Ireland, where the pretended earl of Warwick was retired, was a country wholly devoted to the houſe of York, and conſequently it was not eaſy to attack the rebels there. For that purpoſe it would be neceſſary to lead thither a numerous army, which could not be done without immenſe charge. In fine, it was to be feared, the flames which began to appear in Ireland, would reach England, and that there was a ſecret correſpondence between the Iriſh and Engliſh. In this perplexity, he called a council of his moſt intimate friends [e], privately to conſult with them upon what was to be done in the preſent emergency. It is to be preſumed, that he told them, the queen-dowager his mother-in-law had raiſed the ſtorm, whether he had any proof, or it was only a ſuſpicion thought by him to be well-grounded.

Be this as it will, preſently after the council, he ordered his mother-in-law to be confined in the nunnery of Bermondſey in Southwark. Moreover he ſeized all her eſtate, which was very conſiderable. But as he did not care to diſcover to the public the reaſon of that rigorous uſage, becauſe he could not perhaps give ſufficient proof of her crime, he cauſed it to be reported, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for delivering her daughters into the hands of Richard III. This pretence rendered his action ſtill more enormous with the people. They could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the queen-dowager ſhould be ſo ſeverely puniſhed for a fault, which might rather be deemed a weakneſs than a premeditated malice. In the next place it could not be conceived, why the king had ſo long neglected to enquire into this pretended crime. In the third place, ſince he had married her daughter, he ſeemed to have owned that ſhe was innocent, or at leaſt had forgiven her. Laſtly, all knowing her to have been one of the principal inſtruments of his advancement to the throne, they could not but abhor his ingratitude. This ſevere uſage was thought to be a plain indication of a ſettled deſign, to uſe all pretences to complete the ruin of the houſe of York and its adherents. But it was not only compaſſion for the queen's ſufferings, which gave riſe to theſe reflections; her example ſtruck terror into all the kingdom, there being very few families but what were guilty, either of having aſſiſted Richard III. or of not having oppoſed him. When it was conſidered therefore, that the king's mother-in-law was reduced to this ſad condition, for not having been willing or able to reſiſt the tyranny of the late king, every one was afraid of being called to account for the like crimes, which were ſuppoſed to be buried in oblivion. Notwithſtanding all this, the queen-dowager was confined to the day of her death, which happened not till ſome years after [f].

It was thought at firſt that the queen-dowager's misfortune proceeded from the cauſe publiſhed by the king. But it was quickly perceived to be the effect of the decrees of the ſecret council called by the king upon Simnel's affair. Shortly after, purſuant to another decree of the ſame council, the king ordered the true earl of Warwick to be ſhewn in public, who was led through the principal ſtreets of London, and then conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's, where multitudes were aſſembled to ſee him. There, all had time allowed them to view him attentively. Nay, he was made to talk with them that knew him beſt, and particularly with ſuch as were known to be well affected to the houſe of York; after which, he was again conveyed to the Tower. But the Iriſh maintained that the earl of Warwick ſhewn at London, was an impoſtor, and their's at Dublin the true earl. They even took occaſion from thence to exclaim againſt the king, for proſtituting the ceremony of a proceſſion to ſuch an impoſtor. The king fearing the miſchief would gain ground, thought to ſtop it, by proclaiming a general pardon to all that ſhould quit the rebels, and by promiſing a reward to thoſe that ſhould diſcover the ſecret of the plot. At the ſame time he ſent orders to guard the ports, that the mal-contents of England might not paſs over and join their friends in Ireland. But all this was not capable to break the meaſures of his enemies.

It was not only in Ireland that troubles were preparing for him. The readineſs wherewith ſome Engliſh lords and gentlemen embraced the opportunity to endeavour his ruin, plainly ſhewed, the conſpiracy had been laid ſome time before in England. Indeed, it is not likely, a ſingle prieſt ſhould have formed ſuch a project, without imparting it to perſons, more able than himſelf to accompliſh it. Be this as it will, John earl of Lincoln, declared by Richard III. his uncle, preſumptive heir of the crown, was the firſt that openly appeared to maintain the intereſt of the pretended earl of Warwick. He was ſon of John de la Pole earl of Suffolk, and Elizabeth ſiſter of Edward IV. and Richard III. The earl however ſeemed to act contrary to his own intereſt in ſiding with the earl of Warwick, who was nearer the throne than himſelf. But as probably he was not ignorant, the perſon in Ireland was a cheat, he did not queſtion that he ſhould eaſily deſtroy him, when he had made him his inſtrument to dethrone Henry. So, upon the firſt news of Simnel's being received and proclaimed king of Dublin, he embaaked for Flanders to concert with the ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy the means to accompliſh his undertaking.

Since the death of Charles duke of Burgundy, Margaret of York his widow, ſiſter of Edward IV. and Richard III. lived in Flanders where her dower was aſſigned her. As ſhe had no children by the duke her huſband, ſhe carefully attended the education of the archduke Philip, ſon of Maximilian of Auſtria, and Maria of Burgundy her daughter-in-law. She had with extreme concern ſeen the revolution which reſtored the houſe of Lancaſter to the throne, in prejudice of the houſe of York. She would however have been patient, if Henry VII. in uniting the two houſes by his marriage with Elizabeth, had held the balance even, and diſpenſed his favours impar-

[c] Sir James Ware ſays, the earl was called Gerald Fitz-Gerald, and the chancellor, Thomas.

[d] They alſo ſent meſſengers to England, to deſire the moſt conſiderable perſons, whom they knew to be well affected to the houſe of York, to ſupply the young pretended king with money. Hall, fol. 7.

[e] At the Charter-houſe at Shene, Bacon, p. 584, now called Richmond. Hall, fol. 7.

[f] She was buried at Windſor, by her huſband king Edward IV. She compleated the founding of queen's college in Cambridge, begun by Margaret, king Henry VIth's queen. Hall, fol. 4. Bacon 85.

This

tially to the friends of both parties. But ſhe altered her mind, when ſhe ſaw Henry delayed marrying her niece till the crown was adjudged to himſelf without any mixture of the title of the houſe of York. She could not ſee without trouble, that even after his marriage he refuſed to let Elizabeth be crowned, an honour no queen of England had been debarred of ſince the conqueſt; and that the birth of a ſon had not induced him to do her that juſtice. So, perceiving his hatred of the whole houſe of York was implacable, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to have any regard for him. On the contrary, ſhe believed, ſhe might without ſcruple labour his ruin. Indeed, it is certain whether this princeſs was concerned in the prieſt's and Simnel's plot before Ireland declared for him. It is however very likely, ſhe had helped to conduct it with the queen-dowager, the earl of Lincoln and ſome other friends of the houſe of York. For, the earl of Lincoln's voyage into Flanders, upon the firſt news of Simnel's arrival in Ireland, gives occaſion to preſume, he held private intelligence with the ducheſs of Burgundy, and from her expected the ſucceſs of the enterprize. The lord Lovel, who was in Flanders before him, was likewiſe in the plot as well as ſir Thomas Broughton, who ſtaid in England to ſend them notice of what was tranſacting there.

Whether the ducheſs of Burgundy contrived the plot herſelf, or was only informed of it by the earl of Lincoln, ſhe readily embraced an opportunity, which inſpired her with hopes of defeating Henry's eſtabliſhment. Having adviſed with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, and ſome other fugitives, ſhe promiſed to furniſh them with two thouſand veteran German ſoldiers, under the command of Martin Swart, an officer of note, with whom they ſhould paſs into Ireland to ſtrengthen the new king's party. She did not at all doubt but theſe ſuccours coming from a foreign country would encourage the Yorkiſts to take up arms in England. In this ſituation were the king's affairs about the end of the year 1486. But before we proceed to the occurrences of the next year, we muſt briefly ſee what had paſſed in the neighbouring countries, eſpecially in France and Bretagne during the courſe of this year.

I left the duke of Orleans in Bretagne with the prince of Orange and the earl of Dunois. Theſe princes were no ſooner in that country, but many of their friends came and joined them, and even brought them ſome troops. The duke of Bretagne was old and infirm both in body and mind. Since the death of Landais he did not know who to truſt with the adminiſtration of his affairs, as he could not conſider his barons but as ſo many enemies, though he granted them a pardon. The duke of Orleans finding him thus embarraſſed, gained ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he governed Bretagne as if he had been the ſovereign. The advantage he enjoyed in that country, where almoſt every thing was in his diſpoſal, drew thither many Frenchmen, who came to offer him their ſervice. Mean while the duke of Bretagne aſſembled the ſtates, and cauſed his elder daughter Ann to be declared heireſs of the duchy, and in caſe ſhe died without iſſue, it was decreed, the younger ſiſter Iſabel ſhould ſucceed her.

The lords of Bretagne newly reconciled to their ſovereign, perceiving the duke of Orleans ruled abſolutely in the duke's name, and that the French flocked to him in ſwarms, began to entertain ſuſpicions of their prince. They were afraid he had ſent for all theſe ſtrangers to help him to be revenged of them for their outrage upon his favourite. In this belief, they aſſembled at Chateaubriant to conſult what was to be done to prevent the danger with which they thought themſelves threatened. They were headed by the lord of Rieux marſhal of Bretagne. Charles VIII. who was apprehenſive the duke of Orleans intended to make uſe of the duke of Bretagne's forces to raiſe freſh troubles in France, thought it his intereſt to cheriſh the Britiſh lords' diſcontent. He hoped thereby to hinder the duke of Bretagne from aſſiſting the duke of Orleans. To that end, he ſent to the barons aſſembled at Chateaubriant, Andrew d'Epinay, commonly called the cardinal of Bourdeaux, with an offer of his protection. The officer was gladly received by many of them, ſome of whom perhaps were already gained by the court of France. Others foreſeeing the inconveniences that might follow were for rejecting it. They alledged the ſeveral attempts of Charles's predeceſſors to become maſters of Bretagne, and how dangerous it was to admit the French into the country. In fine, to prevent this miſchief, it was agreed, that a treaty ſhould be made with the king of France, to determine the number of men he was to find them, and to ſet bounds to his pretenſions. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſigned with the cardinal a treaty, importing that the king ſhould ſend them an aid not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thouſand foot, that he ſhould not take or beſiege any place, neither make any demands upon the duchy before duke Francis's death. Charles ratified the treaty, but, as he afterwards ſhewed, not with deſign to obſerve it.

The cardinal of Bourdeaux being returned to the king, told him, that during his ſtay at Chateaubriant, he had learnt that the prince of Orange was ſecretly treating of a marriage between Maximilian of Auſtria, and Ann, eldeſt daughter and heireſs of the duke of Bretagne. This diſcovery obliged king Charles to form the project of ſeizing Bretagne, if perhaps it was not quite formed already. The poſture of the affairs of Europe was extremely favourable. Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Arragon and Caſtile, little regarded the preſervation of Bretagne. Beſides, they were then employed in their wars with the Moors of Granada. But though Charles might have feared that Ferdinand would enter into ſome league for the duke of Bretagne's defence, he had an infallible way to prevent him: and that was, to reſtore him Rouſſillon, which was of much leſs conſequence than Bretagne to the crown of France. Henry VII. who had a manifeſt intereſt to oppoſe that enterprize, was embarraſſed with affairs that probably would hinder him from meddling with thoſe of others. It was preciſely at the time when the earl of Warwick began to appear in Ireland. As for the Low-Countries, Charles had not ſo much to fear from thence. Philip the ſovereign was ſtill a minor. Maximilian his father and guardian, who governed theſe provinces in his name, was but little regard. Though he had made peace with the Flemings, there was however a mutual diſtruſt, which would not ſuffer him to ſend his forces out of the country. Beſides, the war with France was renewed this year on account of Terouenne, ſurpriſed in full peace by the governor of Douay. In ſhort. Though Maximilian was the emperor's ſon, and choſen king of the Romans in February this year, he was always in extreme want of money, his new dignity having made no addition to his power [g].

[1487] In the beginning of this year Henry concluded with Maximilian a treaty wholly relating to trade, and which was only proviſional, till certain articles could be ſettled, upon which the Engliſh and Flemings with difficulty agreed. The trade between England and the Low-Countries was ſo neceſſary for the ſubjects of both princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being ſufferers. But for that very reaſon each ſtrove to reap ſome advantage from the ſituation of affairs, which rendered the treaties very difficult.

The biſhop of Exeter being tranſlated to Wincheſter, the king promoted to the vacant ſee, Richard Fox, who was already keeper of the privy-ſeal. Of all the courtiers, he was the perſon in whom the king placed the moſt confidence, next to the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Mean while, Henry was not eaſy ſince the earl of Lincoln's retiring into Flanders. He knew the ducheſs of Burgundy to be haughty and enterprizing [h], and powerful enough to aſſiſt ſuch as would attempt to diſturb him. The earl of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, preſently after Simnel's arrival in Ireland, left him no room to queſtion, there was a deſign formed between that earl and the ducheſs of Burgundy, to ſupport the pretended earl of Warwick. So, fearing the ſtorm would divide and fall upon him both from Flanders and Ireland, he reſolved to have two armies, under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, to be ready at the ſame time to oppoſe the deſcent of the Flemings and the Iriſh, if they ſhould think of attacking England. Mean while, as he was not afraid of an invaſion before ſummer, he reſolved to improve the leiſure the winter ſeaſon afforded him, in taking a progreſs into the eaſtern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. There was moſt danger from thoſe parts, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. When he was come to St. Edmunſbury, he heard, that the marquis of Dorſet was haſtening to clear himſelf of ſome imputations laid to his charge, and to offer his ſervice. But the king believing that after what he had lately done to the queen-dowager, the marquis her brother could have no great affection for him, refuſed to receive him, and ſent the earl of Oxford to meet him with orders to carry him to the Tower. He let him know however, that after the troubles were appeaſed he ſhould willingly hear him, and if he cauſed him to be arreſted, it was purely to provide for his own ſafety, by preventing his hearkening to thoſe that might give him ill advice [i]. Then he came to Norwich [k], from whence he

[g] This year, on November 27, king Henry granted Bernard Andrews, his poet laureat, an annuity of ten marks, Rymer's. Fœd. tom. 12, p. 317.

[h] The lord Bacon obſerves, ſhe had the ſpirit of a man, and the malice of a woman, p. 385.

[i] Adding, that he ſhould always be able (when he cleared himſelf) to make him reparation. Bacon, p. 586.

[k] Where he kept his Chriſtmas. Hall, fol. 9.

went in pilgrimage to our lady of Walſingham[l], after which he returned to London[m].

It was not till the beginning of May, that the earl of Lincoln, the lord Lovel, and Martin Swart, ſailed for Ireland, with two thouſand Germans raiſed by the ducheſs of Burgundy at her own expence. Preſently after their arrival at Dublin, they proceeded to the coronation of the pretended king, which was performed with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the reſt of the great officers, He was crowned with a crown taken from the head of the virgin's ſtatue in St. Mary's church, There were but two or three biſhops that refuſed to acknowledge the new king[n]. The hiſtory of Ireland ſays, that the pretended ſovereign ſummoned a kind of parliament, where the clergy granted the pope a ſubſidy, for fear the court of Rome ſhould take occaſion from theſe proceedings to trouble them.

The coronation being over, a great council was held to conſult what was next to be done. Their ſucceſs in Ireland, where not a ſword was drawn for Henry, made them expect great matters in England. The leaders fancied they were in a much better condition to overthrow Henry, than Henry himſelf was when he paſſed into England to overthrow Richard III. They ſcarce doubted of ſucceſs, being ſure as they imagined, the Engliſh for the moſt part would riſe in their favour. However, ſome were for making Ireland the ſeat of the war. They alledged, as the chief reaſon, that Henry would never venture to come over in perſon, or in caſe he quitted England, his abſence would occaſion in the kingdom inſurrections which would greatly promote the affairs of the new king. Had this advice been taken, Henry would have been very much embarraſſed. In that caſe, he muſt have had two ſtrong armies on foot, one to ſubdue Ireland, the other to keep all quiet in England. It is eaſy to ſee that at ſuch a juncture it would not have been prudent to leave England without troops, both by reaſon of the correſpondents the rebels might have there, and the neighbourhood of the ducheſs of Burgundy, who would not have taken advantage of ſuch a neglect. Accordingly, Henry, as I obſerved, had already reſolved to have two armies. But others on the contrary repreſented that Ireland was not able to pay the German troops, much leſs maintain a long war. That beſides the ſtanding upon the defenſive in Ireland was not the way to dethrone Henry, but the attacking him in England, where it was likely, they would meet with many friends. This advice was ſtrengthened by another reaſon, which was not alledged, but however was the real motive thereof, namely, that the Germans and Iriſh were in hopes of making their fortunes in England, whereas in Ireland, they had ſcarce wherewithal to ſubſiſt. So it was reſolved to paſs immediately into England, in the ſame veſſels that had tranſported the Germans. Mean while, Henry hearing of the earl of Lincoln's arrival in Ireland, with the foreign troops, was no longer embarraſſed, ſince he had only to defend himſelf from one quarter. So, giving orders that all his forces ſhould aſſemble near Coventry, he repaired in perſon to that city, which lies in the center of the kingdom, till he had certain advice of the deſigns of his enemies.

Some time after he heard that Simnel was landed in Lancaſhire[o], in company with the earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the lord Lovel and the German general. Sir Thomas Broughton joining the rebels with a ſmall body of Engliſh, they all marched together towards York, without committing any act of hoſtility in their rout, in order to draw the people to their ſide. But they found themſelves deceived in their expectation. Not a man, except what Broughton had brought, took up arms in their favour the Engliſh not liking at all to receive a king at the hands of the Iriſh and Germans. The earl of Lincoln, who commanded the army, had reſolved to avoid fighting, in expectation of being joined by great numbers of mal-contents. But ſeeing the people's coldneſs, he thought he ſhould come to a battle as ſoon as poſſible, leſt his army, which was but eight thouſand ſtrong, ſhould diminiſh inſtead of increaſing. So changing his rout on a ſudden, he marched towards Newark, in hopes to become maſter of that place before the king ſhould arrive.

Mean-while, Henry was advanced as far as Nottingham, where he held a council of war. He had yet drawn together but ſix thouſand men, and for that reaſon ſeveral adviſed him to decline fighting till the reſt of the troops which were expected, had joined him. But he was of another opinion. As he could not believe that the earl of Lincoln had formed ſuch an enterprize, without aſſurance of being aſſiſted, he judged it requiſite to give him battle without delay. Two days after he ſaw his army reinforced with five or ſix thouſand men[p], whereupon all the reaſons againſt the reſolution he had taken entirely vaniſhed. As ſoon as he had reviewed the new troops, he detached ſeveral parties of light-horſe to diſcover the earl of Lincoln's deſigns; and being informed he was advancing towards Newark, reſolved to prevent him. To that end he marched with ſuch expedition, that he encamped between the enemies' army and Newark. The earl of Lincoln advanced that day to a little village called Stoke, where he encamped on the ſide of a hill. Next morning, being June 6th [q], Henry offered him battle, leaving only in the plain a ſpace to ſerve for the field, But he was debarred of one great advantage, in that the ground being narrow, would not allow him to extend the front of his army, which was more numerous than that of the enemy. For which reaſon he was forced to draw up his army into three lines, having taken care to place in the firſt all his beſt troops to the number of ſix thouſand men. Probably the earl of Lincoln had deſignedly choſen that ground, in hopes, that if he could defeat the king's firſt line, they would fall foul on the reſt of the army, and put them in diſorder, as it happened to Richard III. in the battle of Boſworth. And indeed, it was the king's firſt line only that fought. They ſtood for three hours the efforts of the Germans, who being uſed to war, and well diſciplined fought with great order, and inſpired the Iriſh with courage. At length the earls of Lincoln and Kildare[r], and Martain Swart, being ſlain on the place, and moſt of the Germans killed or wounded, the Iriſh took flight, not being able alone to reſiſt the Engliſh. It is ſaid, there were at leaſt four thouſand killed on the ſide of the rebels, and half the king's firſt line. Which ſhews with what obſtinacy it was fought on both ſides[s].

Among the priſoners were found the new king of Ireland, become Lambert Simnel as before, and the prieſt his companion and inſtructor. Henry, either out of generoſity or policy, was pleaſed to give Simnel his life, and to honour with the office of turn-ſpit in his kitchen the perſon that had boldly aſpired to the throne, and even worn a crown. Some time after he was preferred to be one of the king's, falconers, in which office he died. As for the prieſt, he was immediately committed cloſe priſoner, and heard of no more. Some imagine he was privately put to death, others, that the king was pleaſed to ſpare his life, in order to learn the moſt ſecret circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and perhaps to confront him with the guilty, if there was occaſion. However it does not appear in hiſtory, that Henry made any diſcovery by that means: at leaſt, there was nothing divulged. If the queen-dowager was in the plot, ſhe could not be more rigorouſly puniſhed than ſhe was already, unleſs ſhe was brought to the ſcaffold. As for the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe had no occaſion to fear any proceedings againſt her. It is ſaid the king was extremely ſorry for the death of the earl of Lincoln, which robbed him of the ſatisfaction of knowing all the particulars of the plot. As for the lord Lovel, ſome ſay he was drowned in attempting to ſwim the Trent; others affirm, he was ſlain in the battle. Some again report, that he ſpent the reſidue of his life in a cave. Be this as it will, he appeared no more from that time.

Preſently after the battle, the king marched to Lincoln, where he made ſome ſtay, and then went to York. In his way, were tried many perſons accuſed of holding intelligence with the rebels. It is true, moſt of them were puniſhed only by fines, the king's ſole aim being to fill his coffers: and therefore he choſe rather that theſe trials ſhould be ended by commiſſioners of his own appointing, or by a court martial, than by the uſual courſe of juſtice, which was not ſo favourable to his deſign. For, in accuſations of this nature, the laws of

[l] This place was once famous throughout England for pilgrimages to the virgin Mary. For in thoſe days, whoever had not made a viſit and an offering to our lady of Walſingham, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. Camd. in Norfolk.

[m] By the way of Cambridge. Hall, fol. 9. Hollingſh. p. 1430.

[n] Namely, the archbiſhop of Caſhel and Tuam, and the biſhops of Clogher and Oſſory. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 332.

[o] He landed at the Pyle of Fowdrey, near Lancaſter. Hall, fol. 9.

[p] With them came George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, the lord Strange, ſir John Cheney, and of other knights and gentlemen at leaſt threeſcore and ten. Bacon, p. 587. Polydore Virgil hath a liſt of them. Vit. Henry, VII.

[q] Hall, Stow, and Hollingſhead, ſay it was the 16th; and ſir J. Ware the 20th.

[r] Sir James Ware ſays, it was Thomas Fitz-Gerald, who according to him is erroneouſly called the earl, that was killed.

[s] In this battle ſir Thomas Broughton is ſaid by our hiſtorians to fall alſo; but Camden ſays, it is a miſtake, and that he eſcaped to Witherſlack, a manor of his in Weſtmoreland, where he lived a good while incognito among his tenants, and where he died and was buried; his grave being known, and to be ſeen at this day. Camden. Lancaſh.

Martial

England admit of no medium between death and abſolute diſcharge, and the king would have neither. But commiſſioners and court martials are not ſo ſtrictly confined to the letter of the law [t], but judge in a more arbitrary manner. Therefore the frequent encroachment, of what is called in England the martial law, upon the privileges of the people, has been the cauſe of reducing it within juſt bounds, ſo that it cannot take place but by an act of parliament made for that purpoſe [u]. As for adminiſtering juſtice by commiſſioners, it is true the king has ſtill that prerogative, but then he ſeldom uſes it, and in certain caſes only by commiſſions of Oyer, and Terminer [w], as they are called. It is certain, Henry upon this occaſion diſcovered his covetous and ſelfiſh temper. He pretended to favour the guilty in ſparing their lives: but this clemency was more than balanced by his ſeverity, in ſtripping them of their poſſeſſions. The crime they were charged with was not of having aſſiſted the rebels, but of having raiſed and diſperſed a report ſome days before the battle, that the royal army was cut in pieces. The king ſuppoſing that ſuch a report was ſpread only to diſcourage his friends, and hinder them from bringing him troops, made ſtrict enquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of this new ſort of crime. As his ſole aim was to make an advantage of the fines and confiſcations, the perſons commiſſioned for judges were more ready and leſs ſcrupulous to favour his deſign, than if the lives of the parties accuſed had been at ſtake. It may be eaſily gueſſed the king made choice of the fitteſt perſons for his purpoſe. His hiſtorian ſays, that Henry's progreſs to Lincoln and York, was more like an itinerary circuit of juſtice, than a king's progreſs to viſit his counties.

When the king had drawn what he wanted from the guilty or ſuſpected perſons, he ſent for a papal commiſſion, to impower the archbiſhop of Canterbury to abſolve thoſe that had incurred the penalty of excommunication decreed by the bull before-mentioned. The pope in the commiſſion took for granted, that they who had attempted to diſturb Henry in the poſſeſſion of the crown, were ſtruck with remorſe, and therefore he was willing, from a motive of charity, to eaſe their conſcience. But it was evident, that this was only for a further ſupport of the king's title.

At the ſame time Innocent VIII. ſent a bull to reſtrain a little the privileges of ſanctuary. It ran, that if thieves, murderers, robbers, regiſtered as ſanctuary-men, ſhould ſally out and commit freſh offences, and enter again, in ſuch caſe they might be taken out of their ſanctuaries by the king's officers. That as for debtors who had taken ſanctuary to defraud their creditors, their perſons only ſhould be protected, but their goods out of ſanctuary ſhould be liable to ſeizure. As for traitors, the king was allowed to appoint them keepers in their ſanctuaries to prevent their eſcape. Certainly it was a greater abuſe to make churches ſerve to protect villains. It had been long complained of in England, and probably the king had applied for a reformation, but could obtain only what we have juſt ſeen. Alexander VI. confirmed this bull in 1493.

In the king's progreſs to Lincoln and York, he had frequent occaſion to perceive that his partiality to the houſe of York, and injurious treatment of his queen in refuſing to have her crowned, were the main ſprings of the people's diſcontent. So, contrary to his inclination, and with a ſole view to prevent future troubles, he reſolved at laſt to do her that juſtice. He came to London the beginning of November, where he made a triumphant entry. Next day he went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, and had Te Deum ſung for his victory over the rebels. He was very glad to render it as conſpicuous as poſſible, in order to ſtrike terror into his enemies. Then he commiſſioned the duke of Bedford to execute the office of high-ſteward at the queen's coronation, which was performed on the 25th of November, with the uſual ſolemnities. The queen then was one and twenty years old, and had now been married two years. So the king's affected delay of her coronation, could not but be deemed a conſequence of a ſettled deſign to humble the houſe of York, and the queen in particular, whom the king conſidered as his rival. Accordingly, as it was eaſily perceived that his reſolution to have her crowned immediately after Simnel's affair was the effect of his fear, he was not thanked for it, becauſe he was believed to do it with regret. He likewiſe releaſed the marquis of Dorſet, without examination, probably to give the people ſome ſatisfaction. He intended to have it thought an act of grace, and withal to leave the marquis in the fear of being ſtill called to an account. But it is to be preſumed, that ſince he was ſo little inclined to ſhew mercy to the Yorkiſts, he would not have diſcharged the marquis ſo eaſily, had there been proofs to convict him.

Towards the end of the year, Henry ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the pope, wherein the embaſſador that was ſpokeſman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his exceſſive encomiums of the king his maſter. His praiſes would have paſſed for extravagant, if his commendations of the pope had not made them ſeem very moderate.

During the king's ſtay at York [x], after the battle of Stoke, public diſturbances in Scotland gave him an opportunity to enter into a negotiation with James III. from which he hoped to reap ſome advantage. I have ſpoken of James's character in the reign of Edward IV. and ſhewn how odious he had rendered himſelf to his nobles, even to their being forced to hang his favourites. The war made upon him by Edward IV. and his danger of being dethroned, ſeemed to have ſomething moderated his paſſions, or at leaſt obliged him to ſhew them leſs. But the death of prince Alexander his brother, and of Edward IV. and the troubles in England during the reign of Richard III. giving room to believe he had nothing more to fear, he returned to his former courſes. Without reflecting on the riſk he had run, he entirely gave himſelf up to a new ſet of favourites, men of mean birth, and no leſs odious to the nation than the former. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the deſign he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his breaſt a violent deſire of revenge upon the great men who had offended him, he reſolved to diſpatch at once all thoſe whom he conſidered as his principal enemies. To that end he careſſed them exceedingly, and became very familiar with them, the better to ſurprize them. When by this diſſimulation he had drawn almoſt all of them to court, he communicated his deſign to the earl of Douglas, and told him, he did not intend to neglect ſo fair an opportunity of deſtroying all his enemies at once. Douglas feigned to approve his reſolution, but privately warned the lords of their danger, and retired with them from court. The king being diſappointed, reſolved to execute his deſign by open force, and levied troops for that purpoſe; but the lords likewiſe armed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, and nothing to be expected from an agreement with ſuch a prince, they found means to gain his ſon, by making him apprehenſive they were going to deliver Scotland to the king of England, if he would not put himſelf at their head. As ſoon as the prince had joined the lords, their party grew ſo powerful, that the king beginning to repent his enterprize, propoſed an agreement. But he was told there was no other way to a reconciliation, than the king's reſignation of the crown to his ſon. All hopes of peace vaniſhing upon that propoſal, James ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he diſpatched embaſſadors to the pope, and the kings of France and England, to deſire their aſſiſtance.

It was in September, whilſt Henry was at York, that the embaſſadors of Scotland came to him, under colour of treating of ſome differences concerning the fiſhery of the river Eſke. Henry, who had an admirable talent of turning all things to his advantage, thought this a good opportunity to be rid at once of the queen his mother-in-law and her two daughters, by marrying them in Scotland. For that purpoſe he ſent to king James, Richard Fox biſhop of Exeter, and ſir Richard Edgecombe, who agreed with him [y] upon the following articles, with their maſter's good pleaſure.

I. That purſuant to a former agreement, the marquis of Ormond, a Scotchman, ſhould marry Catherine, the third daughter of Edward IV.

II. That king James ſhould eſpouſe Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV. and mother to the queen of England.

III. That James duke of Rothſay, eldeſt ſon of the king of Scotland, ſhould marry another of Edward IVth's daughters.

IV. That the king of England ſhould reſign for ever to the king of Scotland the town of Berwick.

V. That, in order to ſettle the articles and conditions of the three marriages, commiſſioners on both ſides ſhould meet at Edinburgh the 24th of January next, and another aſſembly be held upon the ſame ſubject in May.

VI. That the two kings ſhould have an interview in July.

VII. Laſtly, That the truce concluded between the two kingdoms being to expire July the third, 1488, ſhould be prolonged to the 1ſt of September 1489.

[t] Martial law depends upon the juſt but arbitrary power and pleaſure of the king or his lieutenant. See Jacob ſub voce Martial law.

[u] The putting any man to death by martial law in time of peace was adjudged to be againſt Magna Charta, and murder. 3 Inſtit. 52. But temporary acts of parliament have of late enabled our kings to hold courts martial in time of peace. See 4 and 5 Will. and Ma. c. 13.

[w] Two old French words, ſignifying to Hear and Determine.

[x] Hall and Hollingſhead ſays, that it was during his ſtay at Newcaſtle, where he ſpent the reſt of the ſummer, fol. 11, p. 1432. Stow, p. 472.

[y] On November 28. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 329.

Beſides,

Henry 7th

As for the ſuccours which James expected from Henry, they were not mentioned in theſe preliminaries. Probably, king James's embaſſadors were ſatisfied with a verbal promiſe.

Henry ratified theſe articles the 20th of December, but the king of Scotland's ratification is not with Henry's in the collection of the Public Acts. Perhaps James was prevented by the troubles in his kingdom, which daily increaſed, and cauſed this project to vaniſh into air, as will be ſeen under the next year.

The war continued all this time in the Low-Countries between Charles VIII. and Maximilian, to the advantage of the firſt, whoſe troops ſurpriſed St. Omer and Terouenne. Some time after, Maximilian having cauſed the lord Ruffingheim to be carried away and conducted to Wilvorde, the priſoner found means to eſcape and retire to Gaunt. Upon his arrival, he excited the Gantois to revolt, and take up arms againſt Maximilian. This war was of very great conſequence with regard to the affairs of Bretagne, of which it is neceſſary at preſent to give a particular though brief account, becauſe they are to be the ſubject of the hiſtory of the five following years.

The king of France and the lords of Bretagne had treated together with very different views. The lords imagined, it was an excellent means to ſecure them from the deſigns of their duke; and Charles perceived, it was an infallible way to conquer Bretagne.

In the beginning of the ſpring 1487, Charles ſent four armies into Bretagne, from four different quarters. The firſt alone was ſix thouſand ſtrong, which exceeded already the number he had promiſed to find by the treaty. Upon news of the invaſion, the duke of Bretagne ſeeing himſelf forſaken by almoſt all his barons, retired into the center of his country, being accompanied by the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and ſome other French lords of the duke of Orleans's party. He ſtaid ſome time at Maletroit, where he very haſtily aſſembled an army of ſixteen thouſand men ill-armed, and undiſciplined, by reaſon of the long peace Bretagne had enjoyed.

The duke's court was in ſo great conſternation, that none knew what courſe to take to reſiſt ſo formidable an invaſion. Indeed, means were found to engage the lord D'Albert, then in Navarre, to take the duke's part, on promiſe of a marriage with the princeſs Ann, heireſs of Bretagne. The duke himſelf, and all the reſt of the lords, the duke of Orleans excepted gave it under their hands to procure him that marriage, but without intention to perform their word. The duke of Bretagne did not think him conſiderable enough for his daughter. The earl of Dunois deſigned to marry the young princeſs to the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Orange was privately labouring to procure this rich match for the king of the Romans. Thus the engagement was only intended to perſuade the lord D'Albert to withdraw two troops of men at arms, which he had in the French army, and ſend them into the duke of Bretagne's ſervice. Poor refuge upon ſo preſſing an occaſion!

Mean while, the French being joined in one body, advanced into the country, and laid ſiege to Ploermel. The duke of Bretagne immediately marched to the relief of that place, but had the mortification to ſee himſelf forſaken by his army, of which there remained not with him above four thouſand men. Surprized at this unexpected accident, he retired to Vannes. But the French, now maſters of Ploermel, purſued him ſo briſkly, that he was obliged to embark in great diſorder, and ſhut himſelf up in Nantz. The French taking advantage of this conſternation, took Vannes and Dinant, and then beſieged Nantz. Some time before the duke had ſent the earl of Dunois to England to deſire aſſiſtance. But though the earl had embarked four ſeveral times, contrary winds had ſtill hindered him from purſuing his voyage. Mean while, the marſhal de Rieux, head of the mal-contents, perceiving king Charles ſo ill obſerved the treaty, complained of it in ſtrong terms. But, inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldneſs.

Whilſt Charles was employed in the ſiege of Nantz, he heard the king of England had obtained a ſignal victory over his enemies, and the affair of the pretended earl of Warwick was entirely ended. 'Till then he had believed him ſo embarraſſed at home, that he had not vouchſafed to ſay any thing to him concerning the war with Bretagne. But when he knew him freed from his troubles, he ſent embaſſadors to try to divert him from any deſign he might have to interpoſe in that affair.

The embaſſadors found the king at Leiceſter, where they had their audience. They told him, that the king their maſter, conſidering him as his beſt friend, had ſent them to impart to him the ſucceſs of his arms in Flanders, and withal to congratulate him upon his victory over his rebellious ſubjects: That they were moreover charged to tell him, that the king their maſter was forced to enter into a juſt war with the duke of Bretagne, who had received the duke of Orleans, declared enemy of France, not to protect him, but ſolely with a view to aid him to raiſe commotions in the kingdom, by lending him the aſſiſtance of his arms: That the king of France could not omit taking proper meaſures to prevent his pernicious deſigns, and therefore this war with the duke of Bretagne was properly defenſive only, though he had cauſed an army to enter his dominions: That he that gave the firſt blow, was not to be deemed the aggreſſor, but he that gave the provocation: That the duke of Bretagne could not deny that he had harboured in his dominions, nay, in his very court, French rebels, and formed plots with them very prejudicial to France, without being able to complain of any injury: that therefore the king their maſter hoped from his wiſdom and juſtice, that before he concerned himſelf in the war, he would weigh the ill conſequences of a protection given to rebellious ſubjects, contrary to the law of nations, and the moſt ſolemn treaties, particularly by a Homager: That if he was obliged to the duke of Bretagne, on the other hand, he had not, doubtleſs, forgot the aid he had received from the king of France, when the duke of Bretagne had not only abandoned him, but was even going to deliver him to his enemy: That this aid was given contrary to the intereſt of France, ſince it would be better for her, that a tyrant, odious to all his ſubjects, ſhould reign in England, than ſuch a prince as himſelf: That therefore, the king their maſter hoped, he would not undertake the defence of the duke of Bretagne in ſo ill-grounded a quarrel, but on the contrary, aſſiſt his real friend, or, at leaſt, ſtand neuter.

The embaſſadors avoiding, as a rock, to ſpeak of their maſter's deſign to conquer Bretagne, the king thought not proper to mention it in his anſwer, though it was not difficult to perceive it through all their diſguiſes. He contented himſelf with telling them, that of all perſons he was moſt obliged to the king of France, and the duke of Bretagne. For which reaſon he was extremely deſirous to give them both real marks of his gratitude. That therefore he would, on the preſent occaſion, diſcharge the duty of a true friend by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very ſpeedily ſend them embaſſadors to offer his mediation.

Henry was not ſo blind, but he ſaw the king of France's intent. But unhappily for Bretagne, he was poſſeſſed with a notion, that Charles would never be able to execute his deſigns. His belief was founded upon the forces of Bretagne, which had hitherto ſucceſsfully reſiſted France; upon the natural levity of the French, who are eaſily diſcouraged by difficulties; upon the troubles the duke of Orleans could raiſe in the kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diverſion, the king of the Romans could make in Flanders. Purſuant to this notion, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he reſolved to become only mediator, without ſending any effective ſupplies to the duke of Bretagne. He did not doubt that king Charles would conſent to an accommodation, for fear of drawing upon him the arms of England. Indeed, it was evidently the intereſt of the Engliſh to prevent the ruin of Bretagne, and therefore Charles muſt have thought they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe his deſign. Accordingly, Henry building upon this foundation, that Bretagne could not be ſubdued, if England ſeriouſly eſpouſed her quarrel, and that Charles would not believe him ſo impolitic as to ſuffer that duchy to become a province of France, imagined he would readily accept of his mediation, and deſiſt from his enterprize. He hoped to reap from thence two conſiderable advantages. Firſt, the reputation of making peace between the two princes, to whom he was equally obliged. The ſecond was much more important to him. As he was naturally very covetous, and as the deſire of amaſſing riches was the chief end of all his projects, he perceived this affair would furniſh an occaſion to demand money of the parliament, under colour of aſſiſting Bretagne, and that he might keep the money without employing it[z].

Purſuant to this ſcheme, he ſent embaſſadors[a] to king Charles to offer his mediation, and in caſe it was accepted, the embaſſadors had orders to make the ſame offer to the duke of Bretagne. Charles was then employed in the ſiege of Nantz, and as he hoped to be ſoon maſter of the place, ſaw nothing more after that, capable of hindering him from

[z] Beſides, he was poſſeſſed with many ſecret fears touching his own people, and therefore was loth to put weapons into their hands. Bacon, p. 590.

[a] Chriſtopher Urſwick his chaplain. Ibid.

During

entirely conquering Bretagne. So, all his endeavours tended only to manage, that the king of England ſhould not aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne before the taking of Nantz. When the embaſſadors offered him the mediation of the king their maſter, he anſwered with great diſſimulation, he willingly conſented that the king of England ſhould act not only as mediator between him and the duke of Bretagne, but alſo as judge, and abſolute umpire of the peace. He was in hopes, either the duke of Bretagne would reject the propoſal, or if he accepted it, he ſhould poſſibly gain time till the taking of Nantz; after which he conſidered himſelf as maſter of Bretagne.

The embaſſadors imagining they had ſurmounted the greateſt difficulty, repaired to the duke of Bretagne, who was ſhut up in Nantz, and made him the ſame offer from their maſter. The duke of Orleans told them in the name of that prince, that at a time when his country was invaded, and ready to be ſwallowed up by the French, he expected rather an effective ſupply from the king of England, than a mediation, which muſt be fruitleſs, ſince nothing was more eaſy than to prolong the negotiation till Bretagne was loſt: that he intreated the king to remember the favours he had received in Bretagne, and conſider of what conſequence it was to England to hinder that dukedom from becoming a province of France. The embaſſadors returning with this anſwer to king Charles, he took occaſion to tell them, that for his part, he was very deſirous of peace, as plainly appeared by his propoſal, but was ſorry to find that the duke of Bretagne, beſet by the duke of Orleans, would never conſent, without being forced by the continuation of the war. This he artfully inſtilled into the embaſſadors, who at their return into England, told the king, it was proper to leave the duke of Bretagne in his preſent ill circumſtances, that he might be induced of himſelf to deſire the rejected mediation.

Mean-while, the ſiege of Nantz was vigorouſly carried on [b]. Charles, probably, would have at laſt taken the place, had not the earl of Dunois been detained in Lower Bretagne by contrary winds. Whilſt he was in thoſe parts, the inhabitants of the country hearing their duke was beſieged in Nantz, aſſembled to the number of ſixty thouſand men, with a reſolution to relieve him. The earl of Dunois percieving them in this diſpoſition, put himſelf at their head, and approached Nantz, the French not daring to attack the undiſciplined multitude. On the contrary, they contracted their quarters for their better defence, and ſo left the earl of Dunois free to throw ſuccours into the town. Which done, he ſuddenly retired, not deſiring to fight the French army with ſuch troops. This ſo ſeaſonable a relief, obliged the French to retire, in deſpair of taking the place. The raiſing of the ſiege confirmed Henry in his belief, that the conqueſt of Bretagne was too difficult for France. So, perſiſting ſtill in his reſolution to ſtand neuter, he had not even the thought of ſending ſuccours to the duke of Bretagne. He pretended however, to have his intereſt at heart, but it was only to procure a ſubſidy from the parliament, which he had ſummoned for the 9th of November. Mean while he ſent again the ſame embaſſadors to king Charles and the duke of Bretagne, under colour of being perfectly informed of the ſtate of the affair, in order to lay it before the parliament, though he knew beforehand what anſwer they were to bring back.

About this time Edward lord Woodville, the queen's uncle, deſired the king's licence to go and ſerve the duke of Bretagne with a troop of volunteers. Henry denied his requeſt, not thinking proper to aid one of the parties when he was offering them his mediation. Nevertheleſs Woodville ſailed from the Iſle of Wight, [of which he was governor] with four hundred men into Bretagne. This aid, though inconſiderable, made a great noiſe at the court of France. Charles publicly complained of it; but as Henry denied that the lord Woodville had carried theſe troops to the duke with his conſent, he was contented with that ſatisfaction. He was very careful, at ſuch a juncture, not to quarrel with Henry for ſo ſmall a matter.

Before the Engliſh embaſſadors arrived in Bretagne, there had been in that country a revolution prejudicial to the king of France's affairs. The lords of Bretagne who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his intention was to conquer the duchy, made their peace with the duke, and obtained a full pardon. The marſhal de Rieux, their head, was the laſt to comply. He would firſt be thoroughly convinced of the French king's deſigns, which yet he only ſuſpected. For that purpoſe, after privately treating with the duke of Orleans, he ſent a meſſenger to the king to tell him, that the duke of Orleans offered to quit Bretagne with all his followers, and therefore, ſince the French troops had entered Bretagne, only to expel that prince, he moſt humbly beſought him to recal them, purſuant to his treaty with the barons. Ann of Beaujeu, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the meſſenger, the king had gone too far to recede, and would ſee the end of the affair. This anſwer obliged the marſhal to follow the example of the reſt of the barons, and be reconciled to the duke, who gave him the command of his army.

Though Charles had raiſed the ſiege of Nantz, he continued his conqueſts elſewhere. Soon after, his troops took the town of Dol by ſtorm; whereupon the duke not thinking himſelf ſafe in Nantz, thought fit to retire to Rennes. He ſaw himſelf extremely preſſed, and yet did not hear that preparations were any where making for his relief. In this extremity, he was perſuaded by the prince of Orange, to promiſe Ann his eldeſt daughter to the king of the Romans, though he had already promiſed her to the lord d'Albret. The prince of Orange made him believe that Maximilian, finding himſelf concerned to defend Bretagne, would not fail to come to his aſſiſtance with a powerful army. But at this very time, the revolt of the Gantios diſabled that prince to do any thing for Bretagne.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, Henry's embaſſadors in Bretagne had frequent occaſions to be convinced that Charles was only amuſing the king their maſter, and intended to conquer that duchy. Henry knew it ſtill better than they but was willing their report ſhould ſerve for foundation to demand a ſubſidy for the defence of Bretagne, though he ſtill believed the affair might be adjuſted without drawing the ſword. His ſole aim was to make the parliament apprehenſive of the loſs of Bretagne, that they might more readily ſupply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his coffers.

The parliament met the 9th of November, juſt after the return of the embaſſadors. Care had been taken to divulge the report they had brought to the king, in order to prepare the commons to make a powerful effort in the defence of Bretagne. The archbiſhop of Canterbury [c], as lord chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, to this effect:

"That the king thanked his parliament for the acts paſſed in his favour at their laſt meeting; That he was ſo well ſatisfied of their affection, that he had made it a rule to himſelf to communicate to ſo good ſubjects all affairs, as well foreign as domeſtic, that might happen, and that one now occurred, concerning which he deſired to have their advice.

"That the king of France (as no doubt they had heard) was making fierce war upon the duke of Bretagne: That he alledged for reaſon the protection given by the duke of Bretagne to the duke of Orleans; but others gueſſed a very different motive: That both parties had applied to the king, one to pray him to ſtand neuter, the other to deſire a powerful aid: That the king having offered his mediation, found the French king ready to treat, but without diſcontinuing the war: That the duke on the contrary, though he was very deſirous of peace, and moſt wanted it, was averſe to a negotiation, not upon confidence of his own ſtrength, but upon diſtruſt of the French court's ſincerity: that after ſundry embaſſies tending to an amicable determination of this affair, the king had deſiſted from his mediation, becauſe he could neither remove the duke of Bretagne's diſtruſt, nor perſuade the king of France to ceaſe hoſtilities during the treaty: that this being the ſtate of the caſe, he deſired their advice, whether he ſhould ſend ſuccours to the duke of Bretagne, and enter into a defenſive league with him againſt France."

After thus ſtating the queſtion, he alledged ſeveral arguments pro and con, his aim being, under colour of leaving the parliament free to determine what they ſhould judge proper to make them ſenſible of the neceſſity of aiding Bretagne. This neceſſity was in effect ſo evident, that there was need but of a very moderate knowledge of the intereſts of the ſtate to ſee of what conſequence it was to England to prevent the conqueſt of Bretagne. However, it is worth noting, that the king knowing how much it concerned the Engliſh to defend Bretagne, alledged theſe reaſons by the mouth of his chancellor, only to obtain a ſubſidy, without intending however, to employ it in ſupport of the oppreſſed prince. This will plainly appear in his whole future conduct. The par-

[b] During this ſiege king Charles, the better to maintain his diſſimulation, ſent Bernard lord D'Aubigney to king Henry, earneſtly deſiring him to make an end in ſome manner or other of this war and controverſy between him and the duke of Bretagne. Accordingly, Henry diſpatched the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Edgecombe, and Chriſtopher Urſwick to France. Hall, fol. 13. Bacon, p. 590. Hollingſh. p. 1432.

[c] Dr. John Morton.

Henry 7.

liament, according to the king's expectation, failed not to adviſe him to undertake the defence of the duke of Bretagne, and granted him for that purpoſe as large a ſubſidy as had ever been given to any former king [d] on account of a foreign war [e].

As ſoon as the parliament broke up, Henry reſumed the way of negotiation with Charles, ſtill fancying that the terror of his arms would lead that prince to an agreement. The only means however to ſave Bretagne was to ſend thither a ſtrong aid, and declare war with France, according to the parliament's intention. But Henry had laid another plan, founded wholly upon his extreme deſire that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was content therefore with ſending embaſſadors to king Charles to notify to him the parliament's reſolution. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the war on the part of England ſhould be only defenſive, and ſolely with reſpect to Bretagne.

The court of France eaſily perceived by theſe proceedings, that the king of England had no great deſire vigorouſly to puſh the affair, ſince when he ſhould have been preparing for war, he contented himſelf with ſending embaſſies. So, Charles told the embaſſadors, that he was always ready to accept of the king of England for arbiter of the differences between him and the duke of Bretagne; but did not intend to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed with a treaty, which would only ſerve to give the duke time and opportunity to reſtore his affairs. That he ſhould be always willing to treat, provided it was not meant to require a truce deſtructive of his intereſts.

1488

[1488] The winter procured the duke of Bretagne a ceſſation of arms, which all the inſtances of the king of England had not been able to obtain, as it obliged the king of France to put his troops into quarters, and return to Paris. Moreover in March, this year, the marſhal de Riux retook Vannes and Dinant, and garriſoned Ancennis and Chateaubriant. On the other hand, the lord D'Albret's two troops of men at arms deſerted the French ſervice, and joined the duke's army. But this little tnrn of fortune was of no long continuance. In April the king took the field again, and having retaken Ancennis and Chateaubriant, razed them to the ground. After that, he marched to Fougeres, and beſieged at once that place and St. Aubin du Cormier,

Mean time, the lord D'Albret having accepted the propoſal made him in the beginning of the war, came into Bretange to ſerve the duke with a thouſand horſe. Upon his arrival, he preſſed the duke to perform his promiſe concerning the marriage. The duke, who had privately promiſed his daughter to Maximilian, being greatly embarraſſed, put the young princeſs upon declaring, ſhe would never eſpouſe the lord D'Albret, though ſhe was not then above eleven years old. This oppoſition gave the duke a pretence to elude D'Albret's purſuits, till the princeſs's obſtinacy could be conquered.

Mean while, the unfortunate duke finding himſelf little able to reſiſt the French, and receiving aſſiſtance neither from Maximilian nor the king of England, ſent the earl of Dunois to Charles to ſue for peace. Charles did not think fit to return a poſitive anſwer. He was willing firſt to ſee the ſucceſs of his two ſieges. On the other hand, he was in treaty with Henry for a truce which he expected ſhortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuſe peace to the duke, or enter into treaty with him. So, keeping the earl of Dunois ſtill at court, under divers pretences, he put him off from day to day, till he had received certain advice from England. Shortly after he heard that Henry had ſigned at Windſor a truce, to commence the 14th of July this year, and to end the 17th of January, 1490. Thus having nothing to fear from England, he wholly applied himſelf to continue his conqueſts.

Moſt certainly Henry, in leaving the duke of Bretange to the mercy of his enemy, acted directly contrary to the parliament's intention, which had granted him a ſubſidy for the aſſiſtancce of that prince. The truce made without any neceſſity, when the duke of Bretagne was moſt preſſed, plainly ſhews, he ſuffered himſelf to be blinded by the court of France, or rather by the deſire of keeping the money granted by the parliament for the aid of Bretagne. The duke's occaſion for a powerful aſſiſtance could not be more preſſing. Charles was in the heart of his country at the head of a ſtrong army, taking his towns one after another, and he not able to make any reſiſtance. At the ſame time Henry was concluding with France a truce which tied up his hands, and afforded king Charles time and facility to conquer Bretagne. Wherefore his hiſtorian, prepoſſeſſed no doubt in his favour, and not imagining, he had thus cauſeleſsly forſaken the poor duke in his diſtreſs, mentions not this truce made with France at ſo unſeaſonable a time. Moreover he makes the ſuccours ſent by Henry into Bretagne, to arrive there the beginning of Auguſt this year, whereas it is very certain they came not till March ſeven months after. Theſe affected delays, which ſurpriſed all the world, proceeded wholly from the king's wrong notion of the war, and his deſire to end it, without being obliged to uſe the money given by parliament.

Mean time, the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and the marſhal de Rieux, were in the utmoſt confuſion. The king of the Romans, the king of England, the duke of Lorrain, had ſeemed to eſpouſe their quarrel, but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to aſſiſt him. In this extremity a council was held to conſider what courſe was to be taken. Moſt were for marching to the relief of Fougeres, and joining battle rather than ſuffer that place to be loſt. The marſhal de Rieux oppoſed in vain this dangerous advice, by repreſenting that the loſs of a battle would infallibly be attended with the ruin of Bretagne. That it would be much wiſer to delay the time till the neighbouring princes ſhould ſee their own intereſt, ſince it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to ſuffer Bretagne to be ſwallowed up by France. To this it was replied, that probably Bretagne would be loſt before any ſuccours arrived, and therefore the only way to ſave it was a victory. The duke of Bretagne's underſtanding was ſo impaired, that he was little able to judge ſoundly of an affair of ſuch conſequence. So, ſuffering himſelf to be governed by the counſels of the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange his nephew, he reſolved to march to the relief of Fougeres. But upon his approach, he found the town had already capitulated. Then he determined to relieve St. Aubin du Cormier, but the governor, for want of proviſions and ammunition, had ſurrendered a few days before.

Whilſt the duke of Bretagne was marching to St. Aubin, all the forces of France joined in one body, under the command of Lewis de Trimouille, for fear the duke had intended to retake that place. In a few days, the two armies were ſo near one another, that it was not poſſible to part without a battle. Whilſt they were preparing on both ſides, a rumour being ſpread among the Bretons, that the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange were going to betray them, they were upon the point of diſbanding. But the two princes removed their fears, by going amongſt them to charge on foot. The battle was fought the 28th of July, with fatal ſucceſs to the duke of Bretagne, who was defeated with the loſs of his beſt troops. The duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange being taken priſoner, the king commanded the firſt to be confined in the Tower of Bourges, but ſet the other at liberty. The four hundred Engliſh brought over by the lord Woodville, were almoſt all ſlain with their leader [f]. As the Engliſh were then diſtinguiſhed by a red croſs, twelve hundred [g] Bretons were joined to them with the ſame badge, to make the French believe, that freſh ſuccours were arrived from England. Perhaps, this gave occaſion to ſome to affirm, that king Henry had already ſent a freſh body of troops to the duke of Bretagne. The lord Verulam, who wrote the hiſtory of this reign,

[d] Polydore Virgil ſays, it was a poll-tax—— "Tributo in ſingula capita impoſito"—But, according to Stow, every man was taxed to pay the tenth penny of all lands and goods, p. 473. See alſo Hall, fol. 16. Hollingſhead, p. 1434.——In the firſt parliament of this king, the taxes granted were as follows: 1. Tonnage, which was three ſhillings on every tun of wine, of denizens; and ſix ſhillings of aliens. 2. Poundage, that is, one ſhilling in the pound of all merchandizes imported or exported; except tin, for which aliens were to pay two ſhillings. 3. The ſubſidy of wool and woolfells, which was thirty-three ſhillings and four-pence of denizens, and of aliens three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, for every ſack of wool, and for two hundred and and forty woolfells. And for every laſt of hides, denizens were to pay three pounds ſix ſhillings and eight-pence: and aliens, three pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 335. The clergy granted then the king a tenth. Ibid. p. 323.

[e] In this parliament, the authority of the Star-chamber, which before ſubſiſted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain caſes by act of parliament. This court conſiſted of counſellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It took cognizance of forces, frauds, advances towards heinous or capital crimes not actually committed. The other remarkable ſtatutes now enacted were theſe; 1. That if any of the king's ſervants, under the degree of a lord, did conſpire the death of the king, or any of the king's council, or lord of the realm, as the lord ſteward, treaſurer or comptroller, it ſhould be felony. This law was thought to be procured by the lord chancellor, who being a ſtern and haughty man, and finding he had ſome mortal enemies in court, provided for his own ſafety. 2. The taking and carrying away women, having lands and goods (except female wards and bond-ſlaves) forcibly and againſt their wills, and the abetting of it was made felony. 3. It was otdained, that clerks convict ſhould be burned in the hand. 4. That the ſheriff ſhould certify the names of all his priſoners at gaol-delivery. 5. That all deeds of gift made to defraud creditors ſhall be void. 6. That coſts ſhall be awarded to the plaintiff, where the defendant ſueth a writ of error before execution had. See Statut. 3 Henry VII. and Bacon, p. 594.

[f] Beſides them, there were ſix thouſand Bretons ſlain; and twelve hundred of the French. Hall, fol. 15. Hollingſh. p. 1433.

[g] Hall ſays, ſeventeen hundred, fol. 15.

Henry

does not ſay this, but aſſures us, that eight thouſand Engliſh arrived within a few days, and offered the French battle, who did not think proper to accept it. Polydore Virgil and ſeveral others ſay the ſame thing. But herein they are miſtaken. Henry had not yet made any treaty with the duke of Bretagne, and it was not till after the duke's death, and in March the next year, that he ſent, as will be ſeen, ſix thouſand men to the ducheſs his daughter.

In a few days after the battle of St. Aubin, Lewis de la Trimouille ordered the city of Rennes, capital of Bretagne, to be ſummoned, but the inhabitants continued firm in their allegiance to their ſovereign.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Bretagne, Henry was levying in England, the money granted by parliament. That was a principal affair which he haſtened extremely, on pretence of the duke of Bretagne's preſſing occaſion for a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. All the counties, except Yorkſhire, and the biſhopric of Durham, readily paid the tax impoſed by the parliament. But in theſe parts, where the friends of the houſe of York, were very numerous, it was not collected with the ſame eaſe. Some factious perſons ſtirring up the people, the commiſſioners for gathering the ſubſidy met with ſo much oppoſition that they were obliged to make application to the earl of Northumberland[h], who immediately gave the court notice [and deſired the king's direction.] The king anſwered, he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by parliament, both by reaſon of the urgent occaſion, and becauſe other counties might be encouraged to deſire the like mitigation. Upon this anſwer, the earl of Northumberland, aſſembled the principal juſtices and freeholders of the county, and in very imperious terms declared to them the king's intention. The rough manner in which he ſpoke to them, without ſhewing any regard for perſons who were but too much incenſed, gave them reaſon to think, he himſelf adviſed the king to ſuch an anſwer. This being rumoured in York, the mob roſe and aſſaulting the earl's houſe, forced it open, and murdered him with ſeveral of his ſervants. But the mutineers did not reſt there. Preſently after, being inflamed by one John a Chamber, an incendiary, they ſet Sir John Egremond at their head, and publicly declared they were marching to London to give the king battle.

Henry being informed of the inſurrection, ſent into the north a body of troops under the command of the earl of Surrey[i], whom he had releaſed out of the Tower, and received into favour, preparing to follow him in perſon with more conſiderable forces. But whilſt he was on his way, he heard that Surrey had beaten and diſperſed the rebels, and John a Chamber was taken priſoner. As for Egremond, he had the good fortune to eſcape and retire into Flanders to the ducheſs of Burgundy, whoſe palace was a ſanctuary to all the king's enemies. Though this affair was ended, Henry, however, purſued his journey to York, where he ordered John a Chamber to be hanged on a gibbet raiſed in the midſt of a ſquare gallows, on which twelve of his accomplices were hanged round about him. After that, he returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey preſident of the north, and Sir Richard Tunſtall his principal commiſſioner to levy the ſubſidy, of which he would not remit a farthing.

Mean time the news of the battle of St. Aubin being brought to the king, he ſeemed reſolved to ſend a powerful aid to the duke of Bretagne. But it was ſtill in hopes that the terror of his arms would oblige king Charles to conſent to a peace. This artifice was not, however, capable of deceiving the court of France, which plainly ſaw through all his deſigns.

The loſs of a battle had reduced the duke of Bretagne to a ſtate worthy of pity. He could no longer ſupport himſelf with his own forces alone, and ſaw no preparations for his defence, either in Flanders or England. Henry had put him in hopes of aſſiſtance, but was not in haſte to ſend him any. As for Maximilian, inſtead of being able to aſſiſt his future father-in-law, he was himſelf detained priſoner in a ſedition againſt him at Bruges, where ſeveral of his officers were killed. His captivity laſted from the beginning of January to the 15th of May, and his releaſe was then owing to the emperor Frederick his father, who had marched into the Low-Countries at the head of an army to his relief. So, inſtead of thinking to aſſiſt Bretagne, he was himſelf ſeeking on all ſides for foreign ſuccours againſt the Flemings. To that end, forgetting his engagements with the duke of Bretagne, he ſent this very year to the king and queen of Spain, to demand in marriage Iſabella their eldeſt daughter, and at the ſame time Jane their ſecond daughter for his ſon Philip. The firſt of theſe demands could not be granted, Iſabella being already promiſed to the Prince of portugal. But the other was effected in time. At laſt in September, Philip de Cleves lord of Roveſtein, heading the Gantios and ſurpriſing the city of Bruſſels, Maximilian retired into Germany, leaving in the Low-Countries, Albret duke of Saxony to command in his place, in the name of the archduke his ſon.

There was therefore no appearance of aid for the duke of Bretagne, either from England or the Low-Countries, or in ſhort from any other place. In this diſtreſs, the unfortunate duke humbly ſued to the king of France for peace, who very readily complied with his requeſt, not from a motive of generoſity, but to put it entirely out of his power to defend himſelf, by cauſing him to loſe the aſſiſtance of the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport him. Though Henry had agreed to a truce with France, which was not to expire till January 1490, Charles was afraid however he would change his mind, and aſſiſt the duke his ally with all his forces next campaign. In order therefore to divert him from this thought, he very willingly concluded a peace with the duke of Bretagne, intending to keep it no farther than was conſiſtent with his intereſts. For in his whole conduct, with regard to Bretagne, he did not ſeem more ſcrupulous than his father king Lewis XI. was in all his negotiations.

The diſcuſſion of Charles's pretenſions upon Bretagne, delayed for ſome time the concluſion of the peace which was negotiating at Verger, a ſeat belonging to the marſhal de Rieux, where the king then was. Charles pretending, that after the deceaſe of the duke of Bretagne the guardianſhip of his daughters belonged to him as ſovereign lord of the duchy, this pretenſion was diſputed by the Bretons, who affirmed the dukes of Bretagne had never done liege-homage to the kings of France, and conſequently they had no right to claim the guardianſhip in queſtion. It was no favourable juncture to decide, in favour of the Bretons, that ſo long and as yet undetermined diſpute. But this pretenſion of Charles was a triſle, in compariſon of another, of much greater conſequence. He maintained that the duchy itſelf belonged to him, by virtue of a certain grant to king Lewis XI. from the lady de la Broſſe, heireſs of the houſe of Blois, who had formerly diſputed Bretagne with the anceſtor of Francis II. This was renewing an old quarrel, which had been ended by ſeveral treaties, and particularly by that of Guerande, whereby the houſe of Blois relinquiſhed all claim. However, Charles inſiſted not obſtinately upon theſe two articles, contenting himſelf with having intimated his pretenſions, in order to proſecute them in time and place. So, the treaty was concluded about the end of Auguſt, importing that Charles ſhould remain with the places he had conquered, and withdraw his forces out of the reſt of Bretagne. But he did not intend to obſerve this laſt article. The duke ratified the treaty at Coyron, where he then was, and therefore it is called by the Bretons, the treaty of Coyron, and by the French, the treaty of Verger, or Vergy.

A few days after, namely, on the 9th of September, died Francis II. duke of Bretagne, in a very advanced age, and with his underſtanding ſo impaired, that for ſome years paſt, he had been uncapable of governing the ſtate. Ann his eldeſt daughter, about twelve years old, ſucceeded him. The duke her father had appointed her for guardian, the marſhal de Rieux, who was to be aſſiſted by the earl of Cominge. But Philip de Montauban chancellor of Bretagne found means to carry away the young ducheſs to Guerande, where under colour of giving her advice, he made her ſpeak as he pleaſed. This occaſioned, between the marſhal and the chancellor, a quarrel, which proved very prejudicial to the ducheſs, and to all the Bretons in general.

Henry hearing of the duke of Bretagne's deceaſe, openly declared, that he conſidered the intereſt of the young orphan ducheſs as his own, and ſeemed to prepare in earneſt to aſſiſt her. But as he knew likewiſe that a few days before the duke's death, a proviſional treaty had been concluded till all the king of France's pretenſions were ſettled, he did not queſtion that the affair would be ended by way of negotiation. The buſineſs was only to hinder king Charles from taking advantage of the conſternation of the Bretons. This he imagined would be effected, by openly proclaiming his concern for the ducheſs's affairs. He ſtill believed, Charles feared him, and rather than break with him, would reſign much of his pretenſions. So, his aim was to become arbiter of the difference, and avoid a war which would have forced him to empty his coffers.

For this purpoſe it was that he ſent embaſſadors to the king of the Romans, to the archduke his ſon, and to the kings of Spain and Portugal, to make the king of France

[h] Henry Percy, chief ruler of the north parts. Hall. fol. 16.

[i] Thomas Howard.

The

Henry 7. 1488

believe, he was labouring to form a league againſt him. He ſent alſo an embaſſy to Charles himſelf [k], to preſs him to end entirely the affair of Bretagne by a treaty. At the ſame time, he ſent Edgecombe and Ainſeworth to offer his aſſiſtance to the ducheſs, and empowered them to promiſe in his name, to find her ſuch a number of troops, upon ſufficient ſecurity for the re-payment of the charges. We ſhall ſee under the next year, to what all the embaſſies tended. But before we proceed, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention the revolution in Scotland.

The affair of Bretagne ſo employed the kings of France and England, that James III. could obtain no aſſiſtance from either, againſt the lords who had the prince his ſon at their head. The mal-contents would have been very glad to decide the quarrel by a battle. But the king ſtill kept in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where it was not poſſible to force him. Though Charles and Henry had promiſed him aid, they were not very deſirous to eſpouſe his quarrel. Mean-while he was ſtill in hopes, and therefore kept cloſe, expecting the performance of their promiſe.

Whilſt his affairs were in this ſituation, he was adviſed to quit the caſtle of Edinburgh for Sterling as the more convenient place, and there expect the foreign ſuccours. James taking this advice, began his march with his few troops, and immediately the lords followed him. He was however far enough before them to be ſecure, if the governor of Sterling, bribed by his enemies, had not refuſed him admittance. So, not knowing where to go, he reſolved to return to Edinburgh; but meeting the army of the mal-contents, was forced to fight, though much inferior in number of troops. He was killed in the battle, which was fought in the month of June. After his death, James IV. his eldeſt ſon, about fifteen years old, was proclaimed in his room by the lords who had placed him at their head. But all the Scots were not ſatisfied with this change. There were many that refuſed to own the young prince, whom they taxed with being the murderer of his father, and gave him great diſturbance for ſome time. In July the new king ſent embaſſadors to Henry, to notify his acceſſion to the crown [l].

[1489] On the 10th of February, this year, the embaſſadors ſent into Bretagne concluded a treaty with the ducheſs, of which the principal article was, that the king engaged to ſend into Bretagne an aid of ſix thouſand men. To conſider this alone one would be apt to imagine Henry acted only upon a principle of generoſity, or at leaſt for the intereſt of his kingdom. But he had no ſuch thought: his ſole aim was firſt to hinder Bretagne from being over-run by a ſudden invaſion of the French, in order to give room for a treaty; in the next place, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the ſuccours ſent the ducheſs, the expences whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be afterwards repaid with uſury. As the treaty manifeſtly ſhews his intereſted views in this affair, it will not be improper to inſert the ſubſtance of each article; which, added to what will be ſaid hereafter, will ſerve in great meaſure to give a juſt idea of this prince's character.

I. The ancient treaties between England and Bretagne ſhall be obſerved.

II. There ſhall be a conſtant friendſhip and alliance between the king of England and the ducheſs of Bretagne.

III. They ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another in caſe either is attacked.

IV. If the king ſhall carry war into France for the recovery of Guienne and Normandy, the ducheſs ſhall find him troops according to her power.

V. The king ſhall alſo aid the ducheſs, if ſhe carries the war into France for the recovery of her right, without prejudice however to the truce concluded between England and France, which is not to expire till the 17th of January, 1490.

VI. Neither of the two parties ſhall admit into his dominions the rebellious ſubjects of the other.

VII. The king ſhall ſend the ducheſs at his own charge an aid of ſix thouſand men, upon condition that a ſufficient number of theſe troops be allotted to guard the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned, which ſhall be delivered to the king. But the number ſhall not exceed five hundred.

VIII. Theſe ſix thouſand men ſhall ſerve the ducheſs at the king's expence till the firſt of November.

IX. Immediately after that day the ducheſs ſhall find ſhips with all neceſſaries, to tranſport the troops into England.

X. The ſix thouſand men ſhall be embarked at Portſmouth about the middle of this inſtant February, or at fartheſt by the end of the ſaid month, upon veſſels provided by the ducheſs.

XI. The ducheſs engages to repay the king all his expences for the tranſportation of the troops, both out and home, and for their maintenance whilſt in her ſervice, as alſo for the defence of the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The reimburſement ſhall be made in England.

XIII. It may be made at ſeveral payments; the cautionary towns remaining in the king's hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the ſix thouſand men in Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall deliver any two of the following places the king ſhall chuſe, Tonclaromneau, Hennebond, Averoy, Vannes, Guerande, with all their revenues, to be kept till the king is fully repaid, without any deduction, and then only he ſhall be obliged to reſtore them.

XV. If the king carries war into France upon his own account, and the ducheſs find him ſuccours, her expences ſhall be deducted out of what ſhe ſhall owe the king. In like manner, if the king aid the ducheſs in an offenſive war with France, ſhe ſhall repay his charges upon that occaſion.

XVI. If any of the places now poſſeſſed by the king of France be retaken, the king ſhall have liberty to chuſe one or two of thoſe places, in the room of one or two of thoſe which ſhall then be in his hands. Upon condition, however, that he chuſe not Breſt and Tonclaromneau at the ſame time.

XVII. Two commiſſioners ſhall be appointed on each ſide, to ſettle the king's expences for the aſſiſtance of Bretagne.

XVIII. The ducheſs ſhall ſwear before the Engliſh embaſſadors, that ſhe will not demand again the cautionary towns till the whole debt be paid. The marſhal of Bretagne with three or four of the principal lords ſhall take the ſame oath.

XIX. Before the cautionary towns ſhall be delivered to the king, they ſhall be furniſhed with a ſufficient quantity of artillery, and a fortnight's proviſions.

XX. The fairs and markets ſhall be kept there as uſual.

XXI. As ſoon as part of the king's troops ſhall arrive in any port of Bretagne, the ducheſs ſhall ſend to the ſhips ſixteen hoſtages; namely,—or at leaſt four of them to be detained till the cautionary towns are delivered.

XXII. The ducheſs, the marſhal, and three or four of the principal lords, ſhall ſwear upon the holy Goſpels, that ſhe will not make a contract of marriage with any perſon whatever, without the king's conſent.

XXIII. She ſhall make no alliance, nor hold intelligence with any prince, except the king of the Romans and the king of Spain, nor even with theſe without the king's conſent [m].

XXIV. She ſhall conclude neither peace nor truce for above two months, nor even make a truce for that time, without including the king.

XXV. The king promiſes the ſame thing on his part.

XXVI. The treaty of commerce between England and Bretagne of the 22d of July, 1486, ſhall be renewed.

XXVII. The king and the ducheſs ſhall give mutual ſecurity for the obſervance of the treaty of commerce.

XXVIII. Engliſh money ſhall paſs in Bretagne after this manner,—the king ſhall be obliged to receive the ſame money in payment.

It is eaſy to perceive that in making this treaty Henry had three different views. Firſt, to prevent Charles VIII. from becoming maſter of Bretagne, whilſt the ducheſs was ſo little able to reſiſt him. If Charles ſhould have finiſhed the conqueſt of Bretagne next campaign, as was very eaſy, Henry would have been blamed by all Europe; particularly he would have been inexcuſable to the parliament, who had granted him a very conſiderable ſubſidy for the defence of that duchy. His ſecond view was to frighten the king of France, by the ſending of Engliſh troops, into a compliance to end the affair by way of negotiation. This is manifeſt from his lending the ſix thouſand men for eight months only, and that too when they were of no ſervice but to prevent the court

[k] The embaſſadors were, Chriſtopher Urſewyke, Thomas Warde, and Stephen Fryon. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 347.

[l] And at the ſame time, the truce concluded between the two crowns in 1486, was ratified and confirmed by Henry, on the 26th of July. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 345, 346. Commiſſioners had been appointed, in the former part of the year, to treat of a peace or a prolongation of the truce between both kingdoms, Ibid. p. 334, 339, 340, 343.

[m] Unleſs he is expreſly included in the ſaid alliances. Rymer's Fœd.

He

of France from violating the treaty of Vergy then in force.—His third and chief aim was, to ſecure the reimburſement of what he was going to advance for the maintenance of the ſix thouſand men for eight months. He had already projected the keeping for his own uſe the ſubſidy granted by parliament for the defence of Bretagne, in the expectation of deciding the affair by his mediation. Mean while, he ſaw that the young princeſs, in her circumſtances, could not reſiſt the king of France, if he thought of purſuing his conqueſts. So, to oblige king Charles to enter into treaty, it was neceſſary to ſhew him the ducheſs would not want protectors, if he pretended to continue to uſe the way of arms. He could not help therefore advancing the money, ſince the ducheſs was not able to do it. But withal he took ſo great care not to loſe his money, that it is viſible from the treaty his principal aim was the repayment of his expences. There are two farther remarks to be made upon his conduct: firſt, it is probable he would lend his troops but for eight months, leſt the ſum ſhould mount too high, and conſequently become difficult to be repaid. Secondly, he was willing not only to ſecure the principal, but to receive it alſo with intereſt. For after receiving places in mortgage for his ſecurity, he left the ſum undetermined, in order to have it ſettled by commiſſioners: he knew that when he had the towns in his hands, Anne would one day be forced to ſubmit to what he ſhould preſcribe, and it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his troops as high as he pleaſed. What I am ſaying is not a bare conjecture, ſince we ſhall find in the ſequel that he raiſed this expence to an exorbitant ſum. Thus Anne was ſo bound by the treaty, that this aid was no leſs expenſive to her than the French army itſelf, which remained quiet without any attempt, though it ſtill continued in the country. Charles had fully deſigned to take advantage of the conſternation of the Bretons after the death of their duke: but in a council held upon that occaſion, the chancellor de Rochefort was utterly againſt it, from motives of honour and equity. His opinion made the deeper impreſſion upon the king, as he ſtill feared that though the king of England acted but faintly, he would alter his mind: beſides, Henry's embaſſies at Spain, to the king of the Romans, and to the archduke, gave the court of France ſome uneaſineſs: as they were afraid of a league, which would have obſtructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

Whilſt the treaty was negotiating at Redon, the ducheſs's affairs were in a deplorable ſtate. She not only ſaw a French army in the heart of her country, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, but moreover was deſtitute of men and money. What was ſtill more grievous in ſuch a juncture, was the diſſention among the principal lords. The marſhal de Rieux pretended to govern her as her guardian: but Philip de Montauban, her chancellor, had ſuch an aſcendant over her, that he cauſed her to conſider the marſhal as her enemy, ſo that ſhe abſolutely refuſed to be under his guardianſhip. Montauban's pretence to exaſperate her was, that the marſhal would marry her to the lord d'Albret: but the chancellor repreſented to her that the marſhal intended to ruin her, by giving her a huſband unable to protect her: he even inſinuated that the marſhal was bribed by the king of France, whoſe intereſt it was to marry her to a lord not ſupported by any prince in Europe. Perhaps the chancellor was himſelf gained in favour of the king of the Romans. Be this as it will, their diſſention was carried ſo far, that the marſhal de Rieux cauſed the gates of Nantz to be ſhut upon the ducheſs, and even threatened to beſiege her in Rennes. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that Montauban, who managed the ducheſs's affairs, ſhould agree to the treaty of Redon, ſince, by the arrival of the Engliſh forces, his party would be greatly ſtrengthened.

The Engliſh ſuccours at laſt arrived in March, which, with Henry's embaſſies to ſeveral courts, made king Charles imagine he intended to act vigorouſly in defence of Bretagne[n]. In that belief, finding he could not execute his deſigns by open force, without entering into a war with the Engliſh, and drawing perhaps other enemies upon himſelf, he thought ſome other courſe ſhould be taken. There was on foot a treaty of peace between him and Maximilian, and between Maximilian and the Gantios, by the mediation of the German princes aſſembled at Francfort. As this treaty was in a fair way, he did not queſtion but a peace would enſue. He had in his power Margaret, daughter of the king of the Romans, in order to eſpouſe her when marriageable, and was not ignorant of the late duke of Bretagne's engagement with that prince concerning his daughter's marriage. So, not at all doubting that his future father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a peace, would be ready to favour him, he ſent and offered the ducheſs of Bretagne to make him umpire of their differences. Anne gladly accepted the propoſal, being almoſt ſure of the favour of a prince who expected to marry her; and Maximilian did not want much intreaty to become arbiter of an affair, in which he himſelf was ſo much concerned. Thus Charles, Anne, and Maximilian, acted all three with inſincerity.

The embaſſadors of France and Bretagne being met at Francfort, concluded by the mediation of the king of the Romans, a proviſional treaty, importing that Charles ſhould reſtore the places conquered upon Bretagne, except Dinant, St. Aubin, Fougeres, and St. Malo: that theſe four towns ſhould be committed in truſt to Maximilian, and the duke of Bourbon and the French troops march out of the reſt of Bretagne: that on her part, the ducheſs ſhould ſend away the Engliſh: and in April next a congreſs be held at Tournay, to adjuſt all diſputes: that, in the mean time, both parties ſhould ſend their reaſons to Avignon, to be examined and diſcuſſed by civilians, that their opinions might ſerve for the inſtruction of the mediators.

This treaty was without effect, though both parties ſeemed pleaſed with it. Anne was obliged by the treaty of Redon to deliver two places to the king of England, and theſe two places were to be kept by five hundred Engliſh: by the preſent treaty ſhe promiſed to ſend away all the Engliſh. But as the five hundred men which kept the two places were not excepted, Charles pretended he was not bound to execute the treaty of Francfort till all the Engliſh were departed from Bretagne, to which Anne could not oblige them. So, though in November, purſuant to the treaty of Redon, the Engliſh forces returned into England, the five hundred men however remained, and it was not in the ducheſs's power to ſend them away, unleſs ſhe repaid the king of England all his charges, which was impoſſible. The affair reſted therefore in the ſame ſtate it was before the treaty of Francfort, and the two parties neither ſent their reaſons to Avignon, nor their embaſſadors to Tournay.

Mean-time Maximilian's marriage with Anne was negotiating with all poſſible ſecrecy. Maximilian's agents repreſented to the young princeſs the honour ſhe would enjoy of being queen of the Romans, and in time empreſs. But with this honour ſhe would have wanted a powerful aſſiſtance, which her lover was not able to give her: he could not draw any forces out of Flanders and ſend them into Bretagne without breaking with France, included in his late peace with the Gantios: beſides, that peace was ſo ill ſecured, that it did not laſt a whole year. Thus Maximilian, ſon of an emperor, himſelf king of the Romans, and governor of the Low-Countries, had only empty titles, which gave him little power. Nevertheleſs, the young ducheſs was ſtill made to expect a powerful aid from him; whether her adviſers wilfully ſhut their eyes, or becauſe there was then no other prince in Europe from whom ſhe could hope for aſſiſtance. The king of England might have protected her, but had entertained ſo wrong a notion of the affair, that the event alone was capable to undeceive him.

At laſt the marriage was accompliſhed in November, with a ceremony then altogether new in thoſe parts; for the prince of Naſſau, embaſſador and proxy of Maximilian, put his naked leg into the bed where the ducheſs was laid, as a ſort of conſummation. This was done however with ſuch ſecrecy, that neither Charles nor Henry appear to have known it till March 1491. It is true, Argentré, hiſtorian of Bretagne, ſays that from the beginning of the year 1490, all the public acts ran in the name of Maximilian and Anne. If ſo, it would be hard to conceive how their marriage could be kept private. But very probable Argentré was miſtaken one whole year; for we find in the Collection of the Public Acts of England, ſeveral commiſſions of the year 1490, in the name of the ducheſs alone, and the firſt there with Maximilian's name, is dated in March 1491[o].

[n] He ſent thither a reinforcement ſome time after, as appears by his proclamation, dated Auguſt 16, 1489. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 377.

[o] There was a parliament held in the beginning of the year 1490, which met at Weſtminſter, January 13, wherein the following ſtatutes were enacted: 1. That no finer of gold or ſilver, nor parter of the ſame by fire or water, ſhould allay any fine ſilver or gold, or ſell either of them to any perſon, but only to the officers of mints, changes, and goldſmiths within the realm: and that all ſilver be made ſo fine, that it may bear twelve penny-weight of allay in a pound weight. 2. That no butcher kill any manner of beaſt within the walls of London, upon pain of forfeiting for every ox twelve pence, and for a cow and every other beaſt eight pence; this to extend to every city, borough, and town walled, within the realm of England; Berwisk and Carliſle excepted. 3. That benefit of clergy ſhall be allowed but once: and that perſons convicted for murder ſhall be marked with an M, upon the brawn of the left thumb; and other felons with a T. 4. That no perſon whatever ſhall hold more than one farm in the Iſle of Wight. There were ſome other laws then made, which are either repealed, or of ſmall conſequence. See ſtatute 4 Henry VII. cap. 2, 3, 13, 16. and Bacon, p. 596, 597.

Henry 7.

[1490] Though the Engliſh troops were returned, Charles renewed not hoſtilities in Bretange. This forbearance made Henry imagine he had attained his end, that is, had frightened Charles by the ſole appearance of a rupture. The truth is, Charles was greatly embarraſſed: he could not think of letting go Bretange, and on the other hand perceived it would be very difficult to finiſh the couqueſt without drawing on himſelf a war from England, and perhaps from ſeveral other ſtates.

Mean-while, Anne ſeeing the war would be infallibly renewed as ſoon as her marriage was divulged, uſed all her endeavours to convince Henry of the neceſſity of ſending freſh ſuccours to Bretange, without diſcovering however the true reaſon. For that purpoſe ſhe ſent to him, in February, 1490, chancellor Montauban and other embaſſadors, with orders to deſire aſſiſtance, and a poſitive power to promiſe in her name that ſhe would never marry without his conſent [p]. This ſhews her marriage with Maximilion was ſtill a ſecret which ſhe did not think fit to divulge. In their inſtructions, the embaſſadors were ordered to acquaint the king with her proteſtation in form againſt her farther's engagement with the lord D'Albret, and with whatever D'Albret and de Rieux had done to compel her to ratify the ſame. This was an inſinuation of her wanting his aſſiſtance, as well againſt her own ſubjects, as the king of France, and that Bretagne was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move Henry. Inſtead of treating with the ducheſs about freſh ſupplies he ſent embaſſadors to France [q], with power to treat with king Charles concering all that princes differences with the ducheſs of Bretagne. He was ſtill of opinion, that Charles dreading the junction of England with Bretagne, wanted only a peace. In this belief, he reſolved to make him pay for it, inſiſting upon a freſh demand, hitherto unthought of, namely, the arrears of the penſion which Lewis XI. was bound to pay to Edward IV. by the treaty of Pequigny, which by a ſubſequent treaty was to continue till the death of the ſurvivor of the two kings. Theſe arrears amounted to the ſum of one hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns, which, the embaſſadors had orders to demand. From that time, this article was always inſerted in the king's commiſſions to treat with France. Henry imagined that in Charles's treaty with Anne, of which he thought himſelf almoſt ſure, he would ſubmit to this article, leſt it ſhould be an oſtable to the peace.

Whilſt his embaſſadors were in France, he could not diſpenſe with appointing commiſſioners to treat with thoſe of Bretagne. But it was only to amuſe them. The negotiation ſolely tended to a treaty, which ſtill more ſtrongly than the former, ſecured him the reimburſement of his charges on the ducheſs's account, without any mention of the deſired aſſiſtance. The whole amounted to ſome verbal promiſes on the king's part, that he would never forſake the ducheſs. He believed this aſſiſtance was entirely needleſs in the preſent ſituation of the affair, ſtill imagining, king Charles was wholly inclined to a peace. Mean-while, Charles in his turn amuſed the Engliſh embaſſadors, reſolving to conclude nothing, till he could more plainly diſcover Henry's intention. He had an army in the bowels of Bretagne, and ſeveral towns in his poſſeſſion, and Anne was little able to expel him with her own forces alone. For that reaſon, he willingly waited for a favourable opportunity to end the affair otherwiſe than by the king of England's mediation, of whom he was too jealous. Henry thinking him peaceable inclined, made it his chief buſineſs to ſecure the payment of what he had advanced for the aſſiſtance of Bretagne. And therefore under colour that the city of Nantz was in danger of falling into the hands of the French, he demanded to have it in his power, promiſing to reſtore it whenever required. But preſently after he heard the lord D'Albret had prevented him, and that deſpairing to marrying the ducheſs, he had joined with France and taken that rich city, where he had made a great booty.

During theſe negotiations, freſh troubles aroſe in Flanders, very prejudicial to the affairs of the ducheſs of Bretagne. The duke of Saxony, who commanded in Flanders for Maximilian, having publiſhed an edict concerning the coin, the inhabitants of Breges refuſed to comply with it, and drew the Gantois into their revolt. The king of France who deſired nothing more than to ſee war kindled in Flanders, ſent aid [r] to the rebels, under the command of marſhal Deſquerdes governor of Picardy [s]. On the other ſide, Maximilian, or the duke of Saxony in his name, ſent embaſſadors to Henry to make a league with him againſt France.

When the aid arrived from Picardy, the rebels made great progreſs, and after taking Ipre and Sluys, beſieged Diximude. Henry, angry with Charles for delaying his anſwer ſo long, and moreover being concerned to ſupport the archduke, reſolved to ſend him aid. To that purpoſe, he ſuddenly diſpatched the lord Morley [t] with a thouſand men to Calais, with orders to the lord D'Aubeney, governor of that place, to relieve Diximude, if poſſible. D'Aubeney, joining a thouſand men of his garriſon [u] to thoſe come from England, marched directly to Diximude, which was not well inveſted. He entered the town by night without oppoſition, and at break of day, ſallying out of the oppoſite gate, fell upon the camp of the French and Flemings, and entirely routed them [w]. This affair bred a great coldneſs between Charles and Henry. But Charles durſt not complain, ſince he had no more right to aſſiſt rebellious ſubjects, than had Henry to aſſiſt the ſovereign.

Mean time, the embaſſadors of Bretagne waited at London to no manner of purpoſe. The king gave them however good words, which ſerved only to engage them the more to do his, inſtead of the ducheſs's affairs. On the 26th of July he required of them an acknowledgment, that he had punctually executed the treaty of Redon: a freſh engagement to reimburſe all his charges, and a promiſe to deliver to him Morlaix and Concarneu, upon the hopes of an aid which he never intended to give. However, it was neceſſary, in order to attain his ends, to make the king of France believe he really deſigned to aſſiſt the ducheſs of Bretagne, ſince it was the only means to ſtop his proceedings. Charles ſeemed to have ſome knowledge of Henry's thoughts, for he appeared more cold than ever with reſpect to his agreement with the ducheſs. He returned no direct anſwer, neither did he talk of reſtoring his conqueſts upon Bretagne, or of paying the arrears of the penſion due to the death of Edward IV. So, Henry thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that monarch reaſon to fear not only the arms of England, but alſo of ſeveral other ſtates. In the beginning of this year, he had renewed the treaties of alliance with Portugal and Denmark. In September he concluded with Maximilian and his ſon Philip a league againſt France for their mutual defence, and for that of the ducheſs of Bretagne. At the ſame time he publiſhed a treaty, made with Ferdinand and Iſabella in March the laſt year. By this treaty, the two kings engaged to make war upon the king of France, unleſs he would reſtore Rouſillon to Ferdinand, and Guienne and Normandy to Henry. Moreover, they agreed upon a marriage between Arthur prince of Wales, Henry's ſon, and Catherine third daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, as ſoon as the prince was fourteen, and the princeſs twelve years of age. His treaty with the king of the Romans was to the ſame purport. The three princes were to enter France at the ſame time, each at the head of an army, as well for their own as for the intereſts of the ducheſs of Bretagne. But by ſecret articles ſigned two days after, there were ſo many reſtrictions concerning the time, manner, and conditions of the war, that it plainly appears, Henry's ſole aim was to frighten the king of France. By one of the ſecret articles, the time of the invaſion was fixed to the 15th of Auguſt, 1492.

The 4th of October, Henry concluded with John Galeazzo duke of Milan a treaty of alliance, containing only general articles of amity and good underſtanding. Mean-while, Henry failed not to reap this advantage, that theſe negotiations which were openly tranſacting, embarraſſed the French, king. Indeed all theſe treaties, the ſecret articles whereof he knew not, gave him uneaſineſs. He had reaſon to fear, that a league was forming againſt him, which would obſtruct not only the conqueſt of Bretagne, but alſo that of the kingdom of Naples, which he had been ſome time meditating. It was this that hindered his renewing the war in Bretagne, though the ducheſs's circumſtances were ſuch, that it ſeemed eaſy to diſpoſſeſs, her entirely. Beſides, Henry's conduct appeared ſo extraordinary, that he knew not what to think. That monarch made great noiſe about the league he was forming for the defence of Bretagne, and yet ſent no aid.

[p] In her letters ſhe calls king Henry the moſt high, moſt puiſſant, and moſt excellent prince, her moſt honoured lord, couſin, and father. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 387.

[q] Richard Fox, biſhop of Exeter, Thomas earl of Ormond, lord Rochford, and the prior of Chriſt's church in Canterbury. Rymer, p. 449.

[r] Eight thouſand men. Hollingſh. p. 1435.

[s] He was ſo inveterate againſt the Engliſh, that he uſed to ſay, "he would gladly lie in hell ſeven years, ſo he might win Calais from the Engliſh." Bacon, p. 598. Hollingſh. p. 143.

[t] And Robert lord Willoughby of Brooke. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 455.

[u] Among whom were ſir James Tyrrel captain of Guiſnes, ſir Gilbert Talbot, and ſir Henry Talbot, marſhal of Calais, &c. Hollingſhead p. 1435.

[w] With the ſlaughter, as is ſaid, of eight thouſand of the enemy, and the loſs only of a hundred of the Engliſh, among whom was the lord Morley. Bacon. Hollingſh. ibid.

The

In this uncertainty, Charles resolved to send an embassy into England, under pretence of detaching Henry from the duchess's party, but in reality to know by his answer what he was to hope or fear from him. He chose for that purpose Francis de Luxemburg viscount of Martigues, Waleram de Sams, and Robert Gaguin, general of the order of the Trinity. These embassadors being arrived in London, had their audience of the king, where nothing particular passed. Some days after, the king having nominated to treat with them Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, Thomas earl of Ormond, and some others [x], in their first conference, the general of the order of the Trinity being the speaker, made the most submissive and cringing speech that ever came out of the mouth of a French embassador to a foreign prince, according to Henry VIIth's historian. As I have several reasons to suspect this speech to be rather the historian's than the embassador's, I shall only relate the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or mentioning certain articles which seem to me altogether improbable [y].

The embassador began with saying, "Their master had sent them to pray a peace with the king of England, and his respect for that great prince induced them to pass by all formalities, and make advances unusual in such sovereigns as he. He would not however conceal from him another motive which made him desirous of peace. Having resolved to carry his arms into remote countries, it could not but be for his advantage, that all the world should know he was in friendship with all his neighbours, and particularly with the king of England. Then the embassador himself took care to excuse Henry's sending aid into Bretagne and Flanders, though it was against France, and owned it to be no just cause of rupture between the two crowns. As for Flanders, he justified the king his master's sending troops thither, because it was his duty to protect the Flemings his vassals [z] against the king of the Romans their oppressor. After that the embassador added, king Charles intended to make war upon the kingdom of Naples, unjustly detained from him by a bastard of the house of Arragon. That kingdom belonging to him by undoubted right, he was bound in honour to try to recover it. But his thoughts did not rest there, his purpose being to make the conquest of Naples serve as a bridge to transport his forces into the east, and overthrow the empire of the Turks, to which he was invited, as by a voice from heaven, by a rent in the Ottoman family. This therefore being a resolution for a holy war, he was content for the honour and advantage of the Christian religion, to beg peace at the hands of all the princes of Europe, that he might not be diverted by any obstacle from them."

The embassador concluded with saying, "He had only another affair to mention, not as a subject of treaty, but as a mark of his master's great desire to preserve a good understanding with the king of England, namely, being sovereign lord of Bretagne, and as such guardian of the duchess, he requested that with the king of England's consent, he might dispose of her marriage as he should think fit.

Some days after, the embassadors of France being sent for to the council, the chancellor returned them the following answer from the king: "that the king his master had not forgot his former love and friendship with the king of France. That if the friendship was still the same, there was no occasion to talk of it: but if not, it was not words but deeds that must renew it: that as for the affairs of Bretagne, he could not help thinking it strange that the king of France should make him his instrument to ruin one of his best allies, and moreover pretend he was very much obliged to him for it: as for the duchess's marriage, he meant not to meddle with it, provided the king of France would proceed by law and not by the sword: that however, what had passed in Bretagne as well as in Flanders did not make so deep an impression, as to refuse to treat of peace, if all their other affairs might be debated at the same time. That as for the war upon Naples, the king had but one thing to say, which was, as the king of France thought himself bound in honour to try to recover that kingdom, so for the same reason the king brought himself obliged to exert his utmost for the recovery of Guienne, Normandy, and the kingdom of France itself, which of right belonged to him."

Henry had easily discovered the design of this embassy, and that by a general proposal to live in peace with him, Charles had no other view than to sound his intentions with respect to Bretagne. Wherefore, according to the maxim he had established which was to frighten him, he threatened a war not only for the interest of the duchess of Bretagne, but also for his own. Mean-while, it is likely he hurt himself by carrying the artifice too far, and that Charles was sensible this answer was only words, which would not be followed by deeds. It was not at all probable, that in the then situation of France, Henry who was not firmly fixed in the throne of a kingdom full of mal-contents, would renew a quarrel of that importance, of which he could not naturally expect to see a prosperous end. His reputation for being one of the most prudent princes of his time made it incredible that he would embark in such an enterprize. So Charles taking for granted, that he intended only to frighten him, still pursued his course with respect to Bretagne, and succeeded in the end, as will be seen under the next year. On the other hand, his embassadors, surprized at the chancellor's speech, answered with warmth that the king their sovereign feared not such threats, and was able to maintain his just rights against any person whatever [a]. The chancellor calmly replied, the king expected no other answer from them, but would forthwith send embassadors to the king of France, to acquaint him more fully with his intentions. Then he asked them whether the king of France would agree to have the disposal of the marriage of the duchess of Bretagne, with an exception that he should not marry her himself [b]. The embassadors answered, the king their masters, was so far from any thoughts of marrying the duchess of Bretagne, that he had given them no instructions upon that head.

During all these negotiations, Anne was extremely troubled to see no aid come either from Maximilian or the king of England. She had hitherto kept her marriage secret, but perceiving it could not be concealed any longer, and that it was not honourable to hide it from him whom she deemed her principal protector, sent a solemn embassy into England, consisting of the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and the chancellor. Their business was to desire aid, and probably notify her marriage to the king. For, till after this embassy which arrived in England the beginning of the next year, we do not find in the Public Acts Maximilian's name joined with her's.

In February 1491, Henry sent embassadors into France [c], according to his promise. The commission was to treat of all his differences with king Charles, and in particular of a certain sum due to him from that prince, as also of the affair between Charles and the duchess of Bretagne. These instructions alone are a clear evidence, that Henry designed not vigorously to push his pretensions to the realm of France, or at least to Guienne and Normandy. For, is it probable that he would have comprised under the general word differences his claim to all France, or to two of the richest provinces, and have specified a debt of a hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns if the first had been the principal? It is therefore manifest, he still persisted in his desire to end the affair of Bretagne without a [illegible], and to secure the sums he had advanced.

A few days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with the embassadors that came last from Bretagne. Then it was probably, that the duchess's marriage with Maximilian was imparted to him [d]. Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended ignorance, because it had not been notified to him in form.

Mean-while, Charles having at last heard of the marriage, which had been made a great secret, resolved to use no more ceremony, but vigorously hasten the conquest of Bretagne. In all appearance, he plainly saw through all Henry's disguises, and perhaps believed the acquisition of Bretagne well worth the hazarding a rupture with England. As for Maximilian, he did not much fear him, and had an infallible expedient to pacify the king of Arragon, by restoring Rousillon, much less important to the crown of France than Bretagne. So, without further consideration, he ordered Rennes, capital of the duchy, to be invested, where the princess then was. During the siege, which lasted some months, Anne sent into Eng-

[x] The prior of Christ's church in Canterbury, John Gauthorp dean of Wells, sir John Don, sir John Turbervyle treasurer of Calais, and William Rosse victualler of the same. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 431.

[y] For instance, the lord Verulam makes the embassador desire Henry that he may annul the marriage of Maximilian, of which neither Charles nor Henry had yet any knowledge.

[z] In the lord Bacon it is—the subject of Burgundy—

[a] According to the lord Verulam, their answer was, that they doubted not, but the king their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre, p. 601.

[b] If Henry had known, Anne had espoused Maximilian, he would not have offered to leave to Charles the disposal of that princess's marriage. Rapin.

[c] Richard Fox, Thomas earl of Ormond, and the prior of Christ's church in Canterbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 435.

[d] King Henry takes notice of it, in a commission dated March 9, this year. Ibid. p. 438.

About

Henry 7

1490

land, John Bouteiller lord of Maupertuis, and Peter Cojalu, to desire Henry's assistance. Shortly after, he sent also the countess de la Val and the marshal de Rieux, and some others, to inform him of her condition, and demonstrate to him that Bretagne was going to fall into the hands of France. This embassy furnished the king with a pretence to borrow money of his subjects to enable him to make war upon France. And yet, though he seemed in haste, he gave no orders for levying troops, but was very intent upon collecting the loans.

Not long after, the league between Henry and Ferdinand was renewed. They agreed once more, that in May or at fartheſt in June the next year*, each should enter France at the head of an army. Maximilian promised likewise to do the same, and sent an aid of two thousand men to his duchess. But all this tended only to make a great noise, in order to deter the king of France from his design to conquer Bretagne. It was not the intention either of Henry or Ferdinand, or Maximilian, to make war upon France. Ferdinand was then entirely employed in the war of Granada, and if he leagued with Henry, it was only to oblige king Charles by the terror of the league to restore him Roussillon, being very ready to desist the moment he should be possessed of that province. Maximilian's aim, who had neither men nor money, was to engage the kings of England and Spain in a war with France, and reap all the fruit of it by the possession of the duchess and duchy of Bretagne. So, Henry not being able to depend in any manner upon such allies, and seeing Bretagne almost lost, was unwilling to engage alone in its defence. His sole aim was to secure by the dread of this league, the payment of what was owed him by France and Bretagne. Mean-while, Henry and Ferdinand, in order to attain their ends, were to feign a real intention to make war upon France.

Whilst these two monarchs were taking measures to accomplish their designs, and the embassadors of Bretagne were waiting in vain at London, Charles caused the siege of Rennes to be continued, but finding the siege was in an ill way, and the season now far advanced, he sought and found a readier and more effectual means than the sword to secure the possession of Bretagne. He gained, by his liberalities, all the young duchess's councellors, that they might persuade her to break off her marriage with Maximilian, and take himself for her husband. Perhaps he had formed the project before: but however, he first discovered it during the siege of Rennes. When he was secure of the concurrence of the lords of Bretagne, he caused the duchess, then above fifteen years of age, to be so importuned, that she had not a moment's repose. She at first couragiously withstood all their solicitations, affirming, she could not resolve to be false to a prince whom she had voluntarily espoused. But it was represented to her, that Maximilian had forsaken her first: that instead of coming in person to defend her, or at least of sending her aids proportionable to her wants, he had remained quietly in Germany, as if what passed in Bretagne no way concerned him: that in the present posture of affairs, it was impossible to hinder Bretagne from becoming a province of France, and then Maximilian would regard her still less, when he saw her dispossessed of her dominions: nay, perhaps she would have the confusion to see that he himself would cancel his marriage, and so lose at once both her duchy and spouse, and reduce her subjects to slavery: that in marrying the king of France, she might secure by a treaty, the sovereignty and liberties of Bretagne; whereas, by an obstinate and fruitless defence she would ruin her subjects, without reaping any advantage herself. In fine, that the king of France was more proper for one of her age: that the glorious title of queen of the Romans, and empress, ought not to tempt her, since that of queen of France, with a real kingdom, was not of less value. Mean while, as the duchess resisted, Charles thought of another expedient to conquer her resolution. He went himself and took the duke of Orleans out of the tower of Bourges, where he was confined after the battle of St. Aubin, and told him, that knowing how great confidence the young duchess of Bretagne placed in him, he required him, in return for his freedom, to try to persuade her to comply with his desires. The duke of Orleans, who was tired of his imprisonment, willingly accepted of the office, and repairing to Rennes, succeeded at last in determining the duchess to the marriage, which was accordingly concluded December the 16th, 1591.

Whilst this affair was in hand, Charles amused the English embassadors, being unwilling to conclude any thing, or even treat with them till he saw the success of his negotiating with Anne. At least, the embassadors hearing the marriage was upon the point of conclusion, withdrew about the end of November, without taking leave. Thus Henry saw, not without confusion, that he had lost the fruit of his avaricious policy, not only as he had not saved Bretagne, but chiefly as the reimbursement of the sums he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. Nevertheless, he had still one refuge left, which he knew how to improve, and which brought him off, if not with honour, at least with a pecuniary advantage, the thing he had along aimed at. Happily for him, Charles was possessed with his design to conquer the kingdom of Naples. As a rupture with England would have laid invincible obstacles in his way, he thought it should by all means be avoided. Henry, on his part, well knowing that in the present juncture, Charles would not scruple to purchase a peace, feigned an extreme resentment of the affront he had received, and a resolution to be revenged at any rate. The moment his embassadors made their report, he issued out orders to levy forces, and prepare transports, intimating, he was going to undertake the most dreadful war that had ever been between England and France[f]. He seemed to prepare to tread in the steps of Edward III. and Henry V. and not think of resting till he had forced the crown of France from the house of Valois. We shall see presently to what all his ardour tended.

Maximilian was enraged when he heard Charles had thus injuriously robbed him of his wife. He threatened, like Henry, to carry fire and sword into the heart of France, in revenge of so deadly an affront. On the other hand, the archduke Philip demanded his sister Margaret who was at Paris, and affianced to king Charles: but the court of France did not yet think fit to send back that princess. They feared neither father nor son. Their whole attention was employed in laying the storm with which they were threatened from England and Spain, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be necessary briefly to mention the affairs of Scotland.

Since James IVth's accession to the crown of Scotland, he had found it very difficult to maintain himself in the throne. The troubles which immediately broke out, still continued by the policy of the king of England, who took care to foment them. He gave from time to time the Scotch malcontents some little aids, which enabled them to support themselves, but not to make any great progress against their king. It is a policy very usual with princes, to cherish the troubles of their neighbours, in a belief that it is a most effectual way to preserve peace at home, though there are some who would scruple to use such means. But Henry was not of this number. He even seems to have been less scrupulous than many others, since we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that the lord Bothwel and sir Thomas Tod, both Scots, had engaged to deliver into his hands the persons of the king of Scotland and of the duke of Ross his brother, which could not be done without notorious treachery. It even appears by the Record, that he had lent the earl of Boghan and sir Thomas Tod, 266l. 13s. 4d. sterling, to enable them to execute this design, and that Tod left his son in hostage for security. This act is dated April 17th, 1491.

The project miscarrying, Henry, who was preparing for the war with France, would first be secured from the diversions the Scots might make in England during his absence. James for his part, desired nothing more than to deprive those of his subjects that were in arms against him, of the protection always afforded them by the king of England. So the two kings sending their embassadors to Caldstream upon Tweed, a treaty of truce was concluded, from the 21st of December, to that day five years 1496. By the treaty, the city of Berwick, with its territory, was to stand neuter, and the lordship of Lorn in Scotland, with the little island of Lundey belonging to England, were excepted out of the true. Henry ratified the treaty January the 9th, 1492. But probably, the king of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or some other motive, refused to confirm it. He agreed however to a much shorter truce, from the 20th of February, 1492, to the 20th of November following.

[1492] France seemed to be threatened from all sides with a furious war. Maximilian pressed it to the utmost of his power, reckoning that his son Philip, then twenty years old, would make a powerful diversion in Flanders, whilst the allies acted in other places. Henry was openly preparing for war with great noise and boastings. In fine, Ferdinand and Isabella, who had lately put a glorious end to the war with the Moors, by the taking of Granada, publicly threatened to invade France. Charles therefore would have been in great

* About the 15th of May or June. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 463.

[f] He retained several persons by indenture to serve him in this war, who had the following allowance: for every man at arms, garnished with his custrell [i. e. servant] and page, eighteen-pence a day: for every half lance, nine-pence a day; and for every archer, either on foot or horseback, six-pence a day. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 477—480.

The

danger, had this powerful league been in reality what it was in appearance. After taking poſſeſſion of Bretagne, he thought of executing his grand project concerning the conqueſt of Naples. But he muſt firſt diſpel the ſtorm that was gathering in Spain, England and Flanders. Whilſt he was wholly employed in that affair, Henry was no leſs intent upon his own concerns.

In the beginning of the year 1492, he aſſembled a parliament, and communicated to both houſes his deſign to carry war into France, not with intent to aſk their advice, as in the caſe of Bretagne, but to acquaint them with his reſolution to exert his utmoſt endeavours to recover the kingdom of France, which he called the inheritance of his anceſtors. To inflame them the more, he ſet before them the glorious battles of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Azincourt, where the Engliſh alone, with a ſmall number of troops, vanquiſhed the ſtrongeſt armies, of France. He would thereby inſinuate, that he was no leſs a warrior than Edward III. the prince of Wales his ſon, and Henry V. In demanding an aid of money proportionable to the greatneſs of the enterprize, he exhorted the commons to ſpare the purſes of the poor, and lay the tax upon the rich, not all queſtioning whether what he required would be granted. Certainly great fault might have been found with his management of the former ſubſidy. It was granted for the defence of Bretagne, and yet the duchy was loſt without his uſing the leaſt endeavours to prevent it. But the conqueſt of the kingdom of France was a very proper decoy to draw in the parliament. The truth is, the king had no deſire to embark in ſo hazardous an undertaking. He knew that France being now at unity with itſelf, the conqueſt of it would be too difficult a taſk. Of his too allies, the one had will but not power, and the other had power but not will; Ferdinand's aim being by a ſhew of war to attain a peace, which might procure him the reſtitution of Rouſſillon. Beſides, as he had but newly ended his war with the Moors, he was not in condition to begin another with France. However, Henry expreſſed to his parliament and council an ardent deſire to render his name famous by the conqueſt of France, or at leaſt of Normandy and Guienne. Herein he had a view to his profit two ways, upon his ſubjects for a ſubſidy for the war, and upon his enemies for a peace, which would ſecure him the payment of what was due to him. He eaſily foreſaw, that the defection of the king of the Romans, and of Ferdinand, would afford him a plauſible excuſe to deſiſt from a war he was undertaking with ſo much noiſe. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Exeter, were the only perſons that knew his real intentions. Shortly after, the biſhop was removed to the ſee of Bath and Wells.

The parliament took fire, as the king expected, and granted him a very conſiderable ſum, which purſuant to his deſire, was to be levied upon the rich, by the name of Benevolence[g]. This ſort of tax was introduced by Edward IV. and raiſed without conſent of parliament. Richard III. to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aboliſhed it, but this parliament revived it[h], and gave it the ſeal of their authority[i].

Shortly after, Henry received embaſſadors from king Charles, with propoſals that were not made public. There was reaſon to believe, nothing was concluded in their conferences with the archbiſhop of Canterbury and biſhop Fox, ſince the warlike preparations were ſtill ſeen to continue. However very likely theſe embaſſadors laid the firſt foundation of the peace, which was made before the end of the year.

In June[k] the queen was delivered of a prince, who ſucceeded the king his father by the name of Henry VIII.

The preparations which were making in England were very ſeaſonable for the archduke Philip. Since the laſt year the Gantois had revolted once more, and ſet at their head Philip de Cleves, a great ſtickler for France. Some troubles in Holland preventing the archduke from endeavouring to ſuppreſs this revolt, it was the middle of the year before he marched againſt Philip de Cleves, and beſieged him in Sluys. He would have found it difficult to take that place, if Henry had not ſent him twelve ſhips, and two thouſand five hundred men[l]. With that aid he was enabled to compel the rebels to ſue for peace, and deliver Sluys into his hands.

As the king had no intention to puſh vigorouſly the war with France, he haſtened not his preparations, being glad to begin the campaign late, in order to end it the ſooner. Mean while he ſent embaſſadors to France[m], to ſhew he was willing to try fair means before he proceeded to arms. But it is very probable, the embaſſy was ſent only to finiſh, with king Charles, the terms of a peace. Moreover the king's honour was to be ſecured, who after making ſo much noiſe, was unwilling to deſiſt without a ſeeming neceſſity. To that end he muſt act in concert with the king of France. At the ſame time, Henry ſent embaſſadors[n] to the king of the Romans, and to Ferdinand, to ſummon them to take the field and enter France according to their treaty. But he knew they had neither power nor will to perform their engagements. Maximilian had no army, and Ferdinand was now in treaty with Charles, for the reſtitution of Rouſſillon, and yet, Henry pretending ignorance of theſe things, ſeemed to have great dependence upon them. In the beginning of Auguſt, he iſſued out orders for the levying a great number of forces, and on the 22d of the ſame month, appointed commiſſioners to confer at Caldſtream with thoſe of Scotland. All this afforded him pretences to delay his expedition. At length, though not till the 2d of October[o], he came to Dover in order to embark[p], having conſtituted by patent his eldeſt ſon Arthur prince of Wales, guardian of the realm. Such of his courtiers who were ignorant of his deſigns, could not forbare telling him, it was very late to begin a campaign. But he anſwered, "That he intended not to make a ſummer's buſineſs of the war, and therefore did not ſignify when it began. That he had Calais at his back, where he might winter, in order to be ready to open the campaign early next ſpring." He arrived the ſame day at Calais, where his whole army being aſſembled, amounted to twenty-five thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe[q].

Before he embarked, Henry received a letter from the marſhal Deſquerdes, offering a negotiation of peace in England[r]. But he thought it more proper, in order to ſave appearances, to treat in France itſelf. He was ſcarce landed at Calais, when the embaſſadors ſent to the king of the Romas arrived, and told him, that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France as he had promiſed. The news was immediately made known to the whole army. Some days after, he received from his embaſſadors in Spain, letters which were likewiſe made public, importing that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the king of France, upon promiſe to reſtore Rouſſillon, without demanding the three hundred thouſand crowns lent by Lewis XI. upon that country. Henry knew all this before, but had ſo ordered, that theſe advices came together after his arrival in France, that it might appear he was forced to the peace he intended to make. Upon theſe advices, at which he feigned to be very much ſurpriſed, he agreed, that Richard Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, and the lord d'Aubeney, governor of Calais, ſhould enter into conference at Eſtaples with the marſhal Deſquerdes. He marched however on the 15th of October to beſiege Boulogne, and in four days appeared before the place. It muſt be remarked that king Charles was then at Tours; and though the warlike preparations in England had made a great noiſe, there was no army in Picardy to oppoſe the invaſion of the Engliſh, at leaſt hiſtory mentions no ſuch thing. This is a clear evidence that all Henry's proceedings were concerted with the king of France, who was not ſo unprovided with troops, but he could have ſent an army ſufficient to ſtop his progreſs. So this pretended ſiege of Boulogne was only an artifice to diſcourage the Engliſh, that by conſidering the difficulties of a ſiege at ſuch a ſeaſon, they might be the leſs ſurpriſed at a peace. At the end of eight days, Henry received at the camp before Boulogne the articles of peace agreed by the commiſſioners of both parties, with the approbation of the two kings; the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

[g] The citizens of London paid 9682l. 17s. 4d. Stow. p. 474.

[h] Hall makes a pertinant remark upon this occaſion; namely, "By this a man may perceive, that what is once practiſed for the utility of a prince, and brought to a precedent by matter of record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authority will ſo adjudge and determine it." fol. 22.

[i] Biſhop Morton, the chancellor, is ſaid to make uſe of this dilemma in his inſtructions to the commiſſioners, which ſome call his fork, others his crutch. "That if they met with any that were ſparing, they ſhould tell them, that they muſt needs have, becauſe they laid up; and if they were ſpenders, they muſt needs have, becauſe it was viſible in their manner of living." Bacon, p. 602.

[k] The 22d, at Greenwich. Stow, p. 474. Sandford ſays, it was the 28th of June, 1491. p. 479.

[l] Which were commanded by ſir Edward Poynings. Hall. fol. 23.

[m] Richard Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſir Giles d'Aubeney, lieutenant of Calais, ſir John Kendales, William Huſey, chief-juſtice, ſir James Tyrrel, captain of Guiſnes, and Henry Aynesworth, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481.

[n] Chriſtopher Urſwicke, and ſir John Riſely. Hall, fol. 26.

[o] He ſet out from Greenwich September 9. Bacon, p. 604.

[p] Robert lord Willoughby, of Broke, was admiral of the fleet, and ſir Robert Poyntez, vice-admiral. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 484.

[q] There were with him Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, Thomas Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, Thomas Stanley, earl of Derby, George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Edward Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, George Grey, earl of Kent, Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex, Thomas Butler earl of Ormond, &c. Bacon, p. 604. Speed, p. 736.

[r] The lord Bacon obſerves, that for this reaſon he hovered ſo much the longer near the ſea-ſide, p. 604.

Henry 7. 1492

I. That the king of France ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Bretagne; which debt, according to the Engliſh embaſſadors account, amounted to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, French money, which is 124,000l. ſterling.

II. That the king of France ſhould pay the king of England the arrears of the yearly penſion of fifty thouſand crowns paid by Lewis XI. to Edward IV. amounting in all to a hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns, which is tewenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

III. That the king of France ſhould pay theſe two debts at ſeveral times, namely, fifty thouſand livres every year, every livre at twenty ſcutz or crowns, and to be paid half yearly till the whole was paid.

IV. Whereas in the obligation given by the ducheſs of Bretagne to the king of England, there was no ſum ſpecified, the king of England ſhould be obliged to make proof of his debt before commiſſioners of Bretagne or France, to be ſent to England for that purpoſe.

V. That the two kings ſhould name ſuch of their allies as they meant to include in the peace, who ſhould be obliged to declare within four months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in caſe the king of the Romans and the archduke Philip his ſon deſired to be included in the treaty, and if afterwards the king of France ſhould in any manner whatever invade their country, it ſhould be lawful for the king of England to aſſiſt them; but if on the contrary, they ſhould attack the king of France, the king of England ſhould give them no aid.

VII. That in caſe the two kings approved of theſe articles, they ſhould give each other hoſtages till the treaty was drawn and ſigned in form.

As theſe articles exactly correſponded with Henry's intentions from the beginning of the war of Bretagne, there is no queſtion that they were framed by himſelf or his own embaſſadors; and yet he would have them paſs for propoſals from the French king, and feigned to doubt whether he ſhould accept or reject them. For that purpoſe he called a council of all the lords and general officers, and ſent them the articles, with his orders to give them their real opinion. As probably the council was managed by ſome perſon of great credit who was in the king's ſecret, all that were preſent unanimouſly agreed he ought to accept of the terms. They gave their reaſons in a long memorial under all their hands, which in ſhort, omitting the exaggerations, were as follow:

I. The firſt reaſon was taken from the length of the nights, the coldneſs of the weather, the want of proviſions as they were to come by ſea, the fear of diſtempers and the like.

II. The ſecond reaſon was founded upon the conſideration of the ſum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by France to the king's predeceſſors, and likewiſe upon the apprehenſion of the murmurings the refuſal of a peace might occaſion in England and in the army.

III. They alledged as a third reaſon, the great advantage that would accrue by the peace to the king of the Romans and the archduke; the benefit they had already received in the reſtitution of Sluys: and laſtly, the fruits which the Engliſh merchants would reap, ſince the peace would ſecure their commerce with Flanders.

IV. They ſaid the king had honourably kept his word with his allies, notwithſtanding the inſtances of his council, who ſolicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient ſeaſon, and till his allies ſhould be ready: that he had led his army into France, put himſelf in condition to encounter alone all the enemies' forces, and expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers at a time when his allies diſappointed him: that therefore, if the war was not continued, he might very juſtly caſt the blame upon them.

V. That the king was far from being in the ſame ſituation with Edward IV. when he led an army into France: that Edward was joined by the duke of Burgundy with all his forces and by ſeveral French lords who were in his intereſt: that he was in poſſeſſion of all the towns as far as the Somme, and began the war in the midſt of ſummer: that, on the contrary, the king was not aſſiſted with any foreign troops: that when he marched out of the gates of Calais, he entered the enemies' country and was advanced to Bulogne: that he had razed ſeveral places, as Ardres and Montory, and had ſtood four and twenty days ready for battle, defying the armies of France.

VI. That very likely the people of England would thank the king for a peace, which would put an end to taxes and exactions, and reſtore the public tranquillity.

VII. They added once more, that the reſtoring the archduke to his dominions would redound to the king's honour and the nation's advantage, by reaſon of their trade with his ſubjects.

VIII. They ſaid that before the ſiege of Boulogne it was thought to be a weak place and eaſy to be taken; but on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, ſtrongly garriſoned, and plentifully provided with artillery and proviſions: that therefore, in all appearance, if the king continued the ſiege, he would be forced to raiſe it with diſgrace: whereas by making a peace he could retire with honour.

IX. Their laſt reaſon was, that it was impracticable to continue the war during the winter, without utterly deſtroying the army, which would extremely afflict the whole kingdom.

If theſe reaſons are never ſo little conſidered, they will be found to be all falſe and deceitful, except the article of the money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I ſhall only obſerve, that of all the inconveniences alledged by the officers, there was not one but what the king might have foreſeen, and actually did foreſee. He could blame himſelf only for beginning the campaign ſo late. All in the Vth article concerning Edward IV. is evidently falſe. As for the murmurs of the people, which were pretended to be feared in caſe the king rejected the peace, it was much more propable on the contrary that the nation would murmur to ſee the money given for a war with France, employed in making a diſhonourable peace, advantageous only to the king. In a word, the king's precaution to cauſe the peace to be approved by the officers of his army was a clear evidence he was himſelf convinced of the little advantage it would be to England.

Henry feigned to be determined by theſe reaſons to accept of a peace, the treaty was drawn up in form, and ſigned at Eſtaples the 3d of November[s]. Charles ratified it the 6th of the ſame month. He was then at Tours, unconcerned at the ſeemingly threatened invaſion, though an Engliſh army in France had ever made his predeceſſors extremely uneaſy. What was peculiar to the treaty, was, that though it was called a treaty of peace, it was however to expire with the lives of two kings: but the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, was to ratify it within a year after his acceſſion to the crown. I imagine this was an expedient deviſed to excuſe the ſilence concerning the kingdom of France, or at leaſt Guienne and Normandy, of which there was no mention, though the war was proclaimed ſolely upon that occaſion. Mean-while, this treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the ſtates of France and the parliament of England. This ſhews it was not conſidered as a bare truce, and indeed it was called a treaty, of peace. But on the other hand it is hard to conceive how a treaty, wherein the principal difference was not ſettled, and which was to be in force but till the death of the two kings, could be deemed a treaty of peace: can any thing be more like a truce? however this be, Henry took care to ſee that the king of France ratified every particular article of the treaty, and eſpecially thoſe concerning the payment of the money. Charles was likewiſe, on his part very punctually in paying the fifty thouſand livres every year[t], as was alſo Lewis XII. his ſucceſſor.

After this manner ended the war of Bretagne, which had laſted ſince the year 1487. I ſay the war of Bretagne, becauſe that I have been ſpeaking of was only a conſequence of it. Henry reaped the intended advantage, that is to ſay, large ſums of money, which were not employed in the ſervice of the public. In the firſt place, he obtained of the parliament a tenth of all the perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, of which he expended no more than was neceſſary for levying and maintaining ſix thouſand men for eight months. But this expence was only advanced, the money being repaid him with intereſt. We have ſeen that he mounted his charges to ſix hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, a prodigious ſum in thoſe days, when money was much ſcarcer than at preſent[u]. In the next place he borrowed money throughout the whole kingdom, which probably was never repaid. There was likewiſe granted him a ſubſidy under the name of Benevolence, which amounted to a very great ſum, much beyond what was neceſſary for the maintenance of his army the two or three months it was on foot. Laſtly, he received

[s] King Henry's plenipotentiaries were Richard Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, Giles lord d'Aubeney, Chriſtopher Biſhbick (or Uurſwick, dean of York) Henry Aynſworth, doctor of laws, and ſir James Tirell. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 499.

[t] And moreover aſſigned great penſions to all the king's principal counſellors. Bacon, p. 605.

[u] We may gueſs how far a ſhillling went in thoſe days when a good while after, in king Edward VIth's reign, a large houſe within the precincts of the court in Channon-row in Weſtminſter was let to no leſs a perſon than the comptroller of the king's houſhold for thirty ſhillings a year. See J. S. Life of Thomas Smith, p. 126.

The

a hundred and twenty-five thouſand crowns for the arrears of the penſion due to Edward IV. But, on the other hand, he ſuffered Bretagne to be loſt, to the irreparable damage of England, ſince her alliance with the duke of Bretagne gave her an advantage over France, which ſhe could never after recover. Beſides, the recovery of the money advanced for Bretagne is to be aſcribed rather to his good fortune than policy: he was ſolely indebted for it to the king of France's deſigns upon the kingdom of Naples, which induced him to purchaſe a peace with England; otherwiſe Henry would have found it very difficult to recover his money, and who knows what might have happened had he been forced to obtain it by dint of ſword? But the advantages Charles reaped by his peace were much more conſiderable: for the penſion of fifty thouſand livres paid a few years, and which he received with intereſt from Bretagne, he annexed that duchy to the crown of France, and deprived the Engliſh of their moſt conſiderable ally.

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumſtances of this affair, becauſe they perfectly diſcover the genius and character of Henry VII. That monarch, ever greedy of money, having always his intereſt in view, found means to make an advantage whether of war or of peace, and turn every thing to his profit. It was he that by his policy, wholly bent to his own private intereſt, gave the turn we have ſeen to the affairs of Bretagne [w].

The ſame day the peace of Eſtaples was ſigned, the embaſſadors of England and Scotland concluded at Caldſtream a truce from the 3d of November this year to the 30th of April, 1494.

Henry having concluded a peace with France according to his own ſcheme, ſet out for London, where he arrived the 17th of December.

On the 5th of November, the archduke's forces ſurpriſed Arras, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the French. Philip refuſing to be included in the peace of Eſtaples, the war continued in Flanders till the next year.

In Auguſt this year 1492, Chriſtopher Columbus ſailed the firſt time from Cadiz, with king Ferdinand's licence, in queſt of the new world [x].

Henry imagined he might for the future hope for a peaceable reign. He ſaw among his ſubjects no appearance of revolt. Not a prince or princeſs of the houſe of York was in condition to give him any diſturbance. He kept the earl of Warwick priſoner in the Tower. Edward IVth's daughters were in his power; and there was no lord of the York party of ſufficient credit to raiſe commotions in the kingdom. On the other hand he was in peace or truce with his neighbours; and in the ſeven years and a half that he had been on the throne, had by his œconomy heaped up ſuch large ſums of money as none of his predeceſſors had ever been maſter of at once: and yet this ſtate of proſperity was not capable of diſmaying his enemies. Whilſt he was wholly employed in the affairs I have been relating, the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy was labouring to raiſe him troubles at home; ſo much the more dangerous, as they were not ſuſpected. This princeſs was not ignorant how well diſpoſed the Engliſh and Iriſh were to the houſe of York, and upon their affection ſhe chiefly built her hopes of dethroning Henry. Though Lambert Simnel's affair had miſcarried, ſhe did not aſcribe the ill ſucceſs ſo much to the project itſelf, as to the managers. Beſides, Henry was expoſed to the hazard of a battle, which he might have loſt; and it was not impoſſible but he might be vanquiſhed for the future, if he was in the ſame caſe. Thus ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting the crown from the houſe of Lancaſter, or rather of Tudor, after which ſhe reckoned it would be eaſy to reſtore the houſe of York.

Since Simnel's misfortune, ſhe had never ceaſed to ſpread a report either by herſelf or emiſſaries, that Richard duke of York, ſecond ſon of Edward IV. had eſcaped the cruelty of his uncle Richard III. and was ſtill alive. This ſhe did to prepare people to receive a ſecond phantom, who was to perſonate the young prince her nephew, as Lambert Simnel had perſonated the earl of Warwick. To that end ſhe looked out carefully for young lads of the duke of York's age, fit for her purpoſe. At length ſhe met with one, in whom ſhe fancied to ſee all the qualities requiſite to repreſent that prince. His name was Perkin Warbeck, ſon of John Oſbeck, a Jewiſh convert of Tournay, who had long lived at London. Edward IV. having occaſion to know this Jew, and receive ſome ſervice from him, was pleaſed to do him the honour to ſtand godfather to one of his children, and gave him the name of Peter, from whence was formed the diminutive Peterkin or Perkin. Some years after, Oſbeck being returned into Flanders, placed young Perkin with one of his relations at Antwerp, who kept him ſome time. The boy was ſo handſome, and endowed with qualities ſo far above his birth, that many ſuſpected Edward IV. to be his father; and indeed it was ſomething extraordinary that Edward ſhould ſtand godfather to one of ſo mean a parentage. Be this as it will, Perkin going from Antwerp lived in ſeveral towns of Flanders, and ſhifted habitations ſo often, that when Henry afterwards would have traced him, in order to know the whole ſtory of his life, he found it very difficult. As Perkin generally converſed with the Engliſh ſettled in the Low-Countries, he was ſo perfect in the Engliſh tongue, that he might eaſily be taken for an Engliſhman, eſpecially as he had ſpent his childhood at London.

This youth being mentioned to the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſhe commanded him to be privately brought to her palace; and finding him fit for her purpoſe, took care to inſtruct him with reſpect to the part he was to act. Hence we gueſs Perkin muſt have been a youth of great wit and ſenſe, to enter into the ducheſs's deſigns, otherwiſe it would have been fruitleſs to give him inſtructions. However ſhe ſo often deſcribed Edward IV. his queen, prince Edward their eldeſt ſon, and the princeſſes their daughters, that after ſeveral repetitions of her leſſon, he could talk very pertinently of the court, of the king his pretended father, at leaſt as far as the duke of York could be ſuppoſed to know. The natural way he had learned of relating circumſtances fit for a child's memory, and certain particulars of Edward's court, made the ducheſs believe he would not fail to gain credit when he appeared in the world. Above all, ſhe took care to make him perfect in what he was to frame while in ſanctuary with the queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of Rich. III. and particularly in the manner of his eſcaping the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to murder him. Theſe were particulars ſo much the eaſier to be counterfeited, as there were but few people who could contradict them. Moreover, ſhe taught him to aſſume the air and character of a well-bred prince. She found the youth ſo apt a ſcholar, that ſhe was herſelf ſurpriſed at it. In a ſhort time, Perkin ſo uſed himſelf to talk and act like a prince, that one would have ſworn he had been born and educated in a palace.

It is not known when the ducheſs of Burgundy took Perkin home to inſtruct him: but very likely it was not long after the battle of Stoke, where the earl of Lincoln and Lambert Simnel were vanquiſhed. However that be, the affair of Bretagne cauſing that princeſs to think Henry would ſoon break with France, as himſelf would have had it believed, reſolved Perkin ſhould appear as duke of York ſo ſoon as the war was begun. Mean while, being very ſenſible if he appeared firſt in Flanders, or in any town in the Low-Countries, the world would not fail to ſuſpect her, ſhe ſent him into Portugal [y], where he lived unknown for a year. At length, in 1492, the war between England and France ſeeming unavoidable, ſhe diſpatched orders to Perkin to repair into Ireland, where probably ſhe had already been tampering with ſeveral perſons of note. Perkin inſtantly obeying, and arriving at Cork, called himſelf duke of York, ſon of Edward IV. in which he was countenanced by the mayor, who it is likely was in the plot. A few days after he wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, great friends of the houſe of York, acquainting them with his arrival, and deſiring them to come and join him.

Henry was then employed in his preparations for his expedition into France. As the ducheſs of Burgundy imagined he would depart early in the ſpring, ſhe expected he would be engaged in the war with France by the time Perkin appeared in Ireland, in which ſhe was miſtaken. The report that the duke of York was come from Portugal into Ireland, cauſed no alteration in the king's meaſures: he believed it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his enterprize. However, preſently after he was told the duke of York who had appeared in Ireland was gone into France, which made him very uneaſy. And indeed the news was but too true: it happened ſome time before, that one Frion, ſecretary to the king for the French tongue, had withdrawn from court, and retired to Paris, where he was very well received. This

[w] The peace gave great diſcontent to the nobles and officers who had ſold or engaged their eſtates upon hopes of the war: they ſtuck not to ſay, "That the king cared not to plume his nobility and people, to feather himſelf." And ſome made themſelves merry with what the king ſaid in parliament. "That after the war was once begun, he doubted not to make it to pay itſelf;" ſaying he had kept his promiſe. Bacon.

[x] Columbus was the ſon of a wool-comber, and he himſelf followed that buſineſs in his younger years. He ſet out from Port Palos de Moger, in Andaluſia, Auguſt 3, 1492, and landed at Guana bay, one of the Lucca iſlands. He returned to Port Palos in May the next year, and died in 1506.

[y] With the lady Brampton, an Engliſh lady, and one to have an eye over him. Bacon p. 606

By

Henry 7.

Frion, who followed king Charles's court, hearing the duke of York was in Ireland, told that monarch of it, intimating, he might make that affair turn to account. Whatever Charles thought of this pretender, he really believed that though he was an impoſter, he might be ſerviceable to him in making a peace with Henry. In that belief he ſent Frion into Ireland, to invite the pretender in his name to come to him, with aſſurance of his protection and aid to recover the crown of his anceſtors. Perkin ſeeing himſelf invited by a prince ſo great and ſo capable to aſſiſt him, departed without a moment's conſideration. When he was arrived in France, he waited upon the king, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him as duke of York, lodged him in his palace, and aſſigned him a guard, under colour of doing him honour, but in reality to hinder the king of England from cauſing him to be ſeized. The courtiers imitated their maſter, in paying the ſame reſpects to Perkin, as they would have done to the duke of York. Shortly after, above a hundred Engliſhmen, diſſatisfied with the king, repaired to Paris with offers of their ſervice to the pretender. But the honours Perkin received at the court of France were of no long continuance. As ſoon as Charles was almoſt ſure of a peace, he diſmiſſed him, for fear Henry, who had now demanded him, ſhould make it one of the articles of the treaty. He was unwilling to be thought to ſurpriſe the young man, in order to deliver him to his enemy; as on the other hand, he would not have the peace miſcarry for his ſake.

Perkin thought himſelf very happy to be thus freed. He was afraid of worſe uſage, when he heard a peace was treating between the two kings. Having readily quitted the court of France, he retired into Flanders to the ducheſs of Burgundy, taking great care not to diſcover he had ever ſeen her before. At the firſt interview, Margaret acted her part extremely well. She treated him very roughly, and ſeemed much ſurpriſed, that in her preſence he ſhould dare to call himſelf duke of York. She ſaid publicly, that having been already impoſed upon by a counterfeit earl of Warwick, ſhe ſhould be more upon her guard, and it would not be ſo eaſy to deceive her a ſecond time. That therefore ſhe adviſed him to retire, leſt he incurred the puniſhment due to his boldneſs. Perkin ſeemed not at all troubled at theſe threats, and confeſſing ſhe was in the right to doubt, perſiſted however in affirming, he was the duke of York her nephew. The ducheſs feigning a deſire to convict him of impoſture before her whole court, put certain queſtions to him, to which, ſhe knew, he could make pertinent anſwers. Accordingly, he replied in ſo natural and unaffected a manner, that the ducheſs ſeemed aſtoniſhed. In ſhort, they played their parts ſo well, that the ducheſs, pretending ſhe could not reſiſt ſuch evident proofs, owned him for her nephew, aſſigned him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the title of the White Roſe, the badge of the houſe of York. Perkin, on his part, laboured to convince the world, he was the real duke of York, by his natural way of relating the principal paſſages of his life. If at any time his diſmiſſion out of France was objected to him, he anſwered with a ſigh, it was not very ſtrange a young prince, perſecuted by fortune, ſhould be ſacrificed to the policy of two powerful monarchs. That this very thing was a ſtrong argument in his favour, ſince the peace between Charles and Henry could not be eſtabliſhed but upon his ruin. What Perkin ſaid, added to the ducheſs's public approbation, ſatisfied the whole court, he was the true duke of York, and from thence the rumour ſpread throughout all the Low-Countries, and at laſt over all Europe.

1493.

News being brought into England, about the beginning of the year 1493, that the duke of York was in Flanders, and owned by the ducheſs of Burgundy, it cauſed great commotions in the kingdom. The thing was preſently credited by an infinite number of people, ſome of whom were diſſatisfied with the king, and others greedy of novelty. Some blindly followed their leaders, and others, whoſe fortunes were deſperate, wiſhed for a change in the government. The king was not generally beloved. The loſs of Bretagne; his late peace with the king of France; the uncivil uſage the queen and the whole houſe of York had received, and daily did receive at his hands; and, laſtly, his unneceſſary taxes, were but too apt to make the people wiſh the report to be true.

The king was ſurpriſed to ſee with what greedineſs the news was received. It convinced him of his great danger from the Yorkiſts, and of their conſtant readineſs to embrace all opportunities to ruin him if it was poſſible. He appeared however unconcerned, leſt his fears ſhould encourage his enemies. So, continuing to act as uſual, he waited till they more plainly diſcovered their deſigns.

In the beginning of March, Henry ſent [z] the order of the garter to Alphonſo duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand king of Naples. Alphonſo had been extremely deſirous of this honour, to inſinuate to the princes of Italy, that he had in the king of England a protector who would not ſuffer him to be oppreſſed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the king his father, againſt Charles VIII. who was going to undertake the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples.

A few days after, Henry concluded at London a treaty of perpetual peace and amity with Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Caſtile and Arragon. This alliance, which was a reciprocal engagement of mutual aſſiſtance upon all occaſions, was particular in that it extended not to all the kings of England and Spain without diſtinction, but only to all their ſucceſſors deſcended from them [a]. In the treaty, the marriage articles between prince Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, were confirmed and renewed [b].

Mean while, the king's enemies, not content with countenancing the report concerning the duke of York, were now labouring to form a conſpiracy to dethrone him. His covetous temper had alienated ſeveral of the firmeſt friends to his perſon and the houſe of Lancaſter. William Stanley lord chamberlain, brother of the earl of Derby, John Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter, ſir Robert Clifford, ſir Simon Montfort, ſir Thomas Thwaites, William Barley, were the heads of the conſpiracy. The lord chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of Boſworth, by declaring for him in ſo critical a minute. The king owned it, but thought him well rewarded with the ſpoils of Boſworth Field, and the office of lord chamberlain. But Stanley thinking that too mean a recompence was not ſatisfied. Sir Robert Clifford was ſon of him that murdered the young earl of Rutland, brother of Edward IV. at the battle of Wakefield, and aftewards loſt his life in fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter. Probably, Henry had forgot the conſtant attachment of that family to his houſe, and neglected to give him a ſhare in his favours. Clifford and Barley were deputed by the conſpirators to go into Flanders, and concert meaſures with the ducheſs of Burgundy and the pretended duke of York, for the accompliſhment of their deſigns. The ducheſs gave them a very civil reception, deeming it a good omen, that profeſſed enemies of her houſe ſhould be the firſt to offer their ſervice. Shortly after their arrival, Clifford wrote to his friends in England, that the duke of York, ſon of Edward IV. was in Flanders, and that he knew him perfectly well. The news inflamed the conſpirators, and from that time they ſpared no pains to gain adherents to the pretended duke of York.

Whilſt the king's enemies were labouring to create him freſh troubles, he himſelf was no leſs intent upon deviſing means to prevent the gathering ſtorm [c]. His principal buſineſs was to undeceive the people, and to ſucceed, there was occaſion for two ſorts of proofs. Firſt, it was neceſſary to ſhew that the duke of York was dead; in the ſecond place, that though he were alive, the perſon that borrowed his name was a counterfeit.

To prove the duke of York was not living, it was neceſſary to produce the teſtimonies of thoſe who had taken away his life, or ſeen him dead, and who were but four in all; namely, ſir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III. to put that prince to death; John Dighton, employed by Tyrrel to commit the fact; Miles Forreſt, his ſervant, who aſſiſted him, and the prieſt who buried the two princes. Of theſe four perſons, the prieſt and Foreſt were dead, and there remained only Tyrrel and Dighton. Theſe were apprehended by the king's order, and ſent to priſon. Then, after a private examination, it was given out that they agreed in their depoſitions, namely, that Dighton and Foreſt ſmothered the two princes in their bed, and ſhewed their dead bodies to Tyrrel, and that the prieſt afterwards buried them under a ſtair-caſe. That ſoon after, Richard ordered them to be removed elſewhere, by the ſame prieſt, who was ſince dead, without diſcovering where he had laid them. It is likely, however, that Tyrrel's depoſition was not ſo favourable for the king's purpoſe as Dighton's, ſince he was detained in priſon, whereas Dighton was releaſed, probably, that he might divulge his own evidence.

[z] By Chriſtopher Urſwyke, dean of York, and ſir Humphrey Talbot, marſhal of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 517.

[a] ——— "Ex eorum corporibus legitimè procreatos."—Ibid.

[b] About this time, viz. April 5, the king made his ſon Henry conſtable of Dover caſtle, and guardian of the Cinque Ports. Ibid. p. 525.

[c] He ſent certain knights, with a band of ſoldiers into every port, to keep the ſhores and ſea-coaſts, that no one might come in, or go out of the kingdom, without being ſearched and examined. Hall, fol. 32. Bacon, p. 608.

King

London Engravid for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

CATHARINE of ARRAGON.
QUEEN of HENRY. VIII.

Holben Pinx.t *Goldar Sculp.*

In the Collection of the Hon.ble Horace Walpole.

Publish'd as the Act directs October. 2. 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

The publiſhing of theſe teſtimonies produced not the effect the king had expected. For, what proof could a confeſſion form, taken at private examination, and publiſhed by him whoſe intereſt it was to make it appear to his advantage? In the next place, the removal of the bodies from the place where they were firſt laid, to another unknown, gave cauſe for ſtrong ſuſpicions. Had it not been for this removal, nothing would have been more eaſy than to prove the death of the two princes, ſince the bodies would have been ſtill found under the ſtair-caſe. So people imagined, the king, wanting ſo natural a proof, had invented the removal, that his not uſing ſo convincing a proof might not be thought ſtrange. Beſides, the teſtimony of two villains who confeſſed themſelves guilty of ſo black a crime, whoſe evidence was ſo advantageous to the king, could not be of any great weight. Accordingly, the king, finding this method inſufficient to undeceive the people, applied himſelf chiefly to diſcover who the impoſtor was, that pretended to be the duke of York.

To ſucceed in that deſign, he found no better way than to bribe ſeveral perſons, who repaired to the counterfeit duke, under colour of offering him their ſervice. He charged them to uſe all their endeavours to know who and whence he was, and to trace him from his birth to the day he came to the ducheſs of Burgundy. At the ſame time, he ordered them to make ſtrict enquiry after his correſpondents in England, and obſerve narrowly every thing that paſſed about him. Eſpecially he enjoined ſome of the diſcreeteſt, to ſpare nothing to gain ſir Robert Clifford, much ſuſpecting him to be concerned in the ſecret. It is ſaid that in order to make diſcoveries, he bribed the ſervants, and even the very confeſſors of the great men he ſuſpected. Moreover, to procure his ſpies in Flanders the more credit, he uſed to have them pronounced excommunicate every Sunday at St. Paul's, by virtue of pope Innocent VIIIth's bull. He was ſo well ſerved by theſe ſpies, that, in ſhort, he came to know the pretended duke of York was no other than Perkin Warbeck. He had perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profeſſion, and of all the places he had lived at from his childhood, which was inſtantly divulged throughout the whole kingdom. However, as the particulars were publiſhed by the king, the principal party concerned, the generality of the people did not think themſelves obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Their prejudice made them require more convincing proofs.

Whilſt the king's ſpies were acting in Flanders and England, he had two affairs upon his hands from which he wanted to be diſengaged, in caſe any troubles ſhould ariſe in the kingdom on account of the pretended duke of York. The firſt was, to make peace with Scotland; the ſecond, to get the peace of Eſtaples confirmed by the pope, according to agreement with the king of France. For that purpoſe, he ſent embaſſadors to Edinburgh and Rome. The former concluded with king James a truce from April the 30th, 1494, to that day ſeven years 1501, upon the ſame terms with that of Caldſtream, which expired the day this was to commence. It appears by the embaſſador's inſtructions, that he deſired to conclude a marriage between the king of Scotland and Catherine, daughter of the counteſs of Wiltſhire, and grand-daughter of the duke of Somerſet. But the marriage was not propoſed, or at leaſt the negotiation did not ſucceed [d].

As to the affair of Rome, the embaſſadors preſented to pope Alexander VI. a petition for a bull of excommunication againſt whichſoever of the two kings ſhould not obſerve the treaty of Eſtaples. The pope owned it to be one of the articles of the treaty, and anſwered, he was ready to grant ſuch a bull, provided the king of France did not oppoſe it, an inſtrument whereof he ordered to be given to the embaſſadors.

The emperor Frederick dying in Auguſt this year, Maximilian, his ſon, king of the Romans, aſcended the imperial throne in his room.

The 21ſt of the ſame month, John Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury, was made cardinal of St. Anaſtaſius.

Henry having had perfect information of every thing relating to Perkin Warbeck, ſent embaſſadors [e] to archduke Philip, to deſire him to deliver him up. He repreſented, "That it was contrary to the law of nations, and their alliance, to protect a counterfeit, who ſought to rob him of the crown by an evident impoſture. That he was informed of all the circumſtances of Perkin's life from his cradle, and offered to produce authentic proofs of the cheat, as well as of the death of the duke of York, whoſe name Warbeck had borrowed. That Perkin being only a theatrical king formed by the ducheſs of Bergundy, he hoped the archduke would not ſcruple to deliver him into his hands." Philip being ſtill a minor, his council told the embaſſadors, "That the archduke's intention was, always to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of England, and therefore would give no manner of aſſiſtance to the pretended duke of York: but the ducheſs of Burgundy being ſovereign in the lands of her dowry, the archduke could not meddle with her affairs, or hinder her from doing what ſhe thought fit."

Philip believed he had then the leſs reaſon to regard the king of England, as he had made a peace with Charles VIII.

By a treaty concluded at Senlis the 23d of May, Charles had reſtored to the archduke his ſiſter Margaret, with the earldom of Artois and Burgundy; but kept ſome towns on promiſe to deliver them as ſoon as Philip was of age.

The embaſſadors brought Philip's anſwer to the king, and withal told him, there was a colluſſion between him and the ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry was ſo provoked at this proceeding, that he broke off all commerce with the archduke, and baniſhed all the Flemings out of his kingdom [f]. The archduke did the like by the Engliſh who were in Flanders. But the animoſity between theſe two princes went no farther, each fearing he might one day want the other's aſſiſtance.

Mean-while, Henry having at length gained ſir Robert Clifford, who was intruſted with Warbeck's and the ducheſs's ſecrets, had exact information of their correſpondents in England. As it could not but be dangerous to let the evil increaſe, he reſolved to apply proper remedies. For that purpoſe, he cauſed to be arreſted in one day, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant, John Ratcliff lord Fitz-Walter, ſir Simon Montfort, ſir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſener, and Thomas Aſtwood. All theſe were convicted and condemned for high-treaſon, in adhering and promiſing aid to Perkin. The lord Fitz-Walter was ſent priſoner to Calais, with ſome hope of obtaining his pardon. But his impatience cauſed him to attempt an eſcape, he was diſcovered and beheaded. Sir Simon Montfort, ſir Robert Ratcliff, and William D'Aubeney, were executed immediately after their condemnation. The reſt were pardoned, and thoſe that were apprehended upon the ſame account, among whom were certain Dominican friars, and William Worſely dean of St. Paul's, were releaſed. Sir William Stanley lord chamberlain, whether he was not yet informed againſt, or the king had a mind to ſtay for ſtronger proofs to convict him, was not touched at that time.

On the 1ſt of November, Henry wrote to the king of France, deſiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, according to the tenor of the treaty. The 17th of the ſame month, he notified to him the ſame thing from Ferdinand king of Naples, and Alphonſo duke of Calabria his ſon, who were expreſly included in the peace of Senlis, on the part of the emperor and archduke. But however king Charles deſiſted not from his project of conquering Naples.

[1494] England was very quiet during this year. Perkin Warbeck ſtill remained in Flanders without offering to ſtir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, the king knew more of his affairs than he imagined. Mean-time, Henry laboured underhand to inform himſelf more fully concerning the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and what the ducheſs of Burgundy was contriving in England and elſewhere. In this ſir Robert Clifford, whom he had gained, was very ſerviceable. He learnt by his means that Perkin had ſtill ſome dependence in Ireland, and had wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, when he landed there from Portugal. This diſcovery made him reſolve to take care of the affairs of that iſland, which had been hitherto much neglected. To that end, he made Henry his ſecond ſon, then but two years old, lieutenant governor of Ireland, but appointed for deputy, ſir Edward Poynings, a man verſed in affairs, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies. He gave him a very extenſive power, as well over the militia, as the civil government, that he might put the iſland upon a good foot [g].

Poynings, upon his arrival in Ireland, made ſtrict enquiry after thoſe that were ſuſpected of diſaffection to the king, particularly he vigorouſly attacked the earls of Deſmond and Kildare [h]. The firſt took care of himſelf and kept out of the reach of the lord-deputy; but the earl of Kildare was ſent priſoner into England, from whence he was quickly ſent back by the king with marks of eſteem and good-will. As

[d] King Henry paid the king of Scots a thouſand marks by way of compenſation for the injuries one nation had received from the other, before the concluſion of the truce. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 547.

[e] Sir Edward Poynings, and William Wareham doctor of laws. Ibid. p. 544.

[f] Appointing Calais to be the mart for all Engliſh merchandizes. Hall, fol. 34.

[g] With him was ſent ſir Henry Dean, late abbot of Langtony, a man of great wit and diligence, who was made chancellor of Ireland. Hall, fol. 36. They carried with them about a thouſand men. J. Ware, c. 10,

[h] Maurice and Gerard Fitz-Gerard.

Henry 7.

he dreaded freſh troubles in Ireland, where a rebellion in his circumſtances would have been very incommodious, he thought he ſhould prevent them by acts of grace, rather than ſeverity; and therefore ſent a commiſſioner[i] with a general pardon in form, as well for the earl of Deſmond, as for all the Iriſh rebels, in order to ſtifle, if poſſible, all the ſeeds of rebellion in the iſland, where the houſe of York had but too many friends.

Whilſt Poynings was in Ireland, he held a parliament famous for the ſtatutes enacted to the advantage of the crown of England and of the Engliſh ſettled in the iſland. One of theſe ſtatutes ſtill called Poynings's Law, ran, that the parliament of Ireland ſhould not be aſſembled before the lord lieutenant and council had acquainted the king with the reaſons, and obtained the royal licence under the great ſeal. It was alſo enacted, that all the ſtatutes of England concerning the public ſhould be obſerved in Ireland. Theſe two ſtatutes are ſtill in force to this day[k].

Though Henry had given ſeveral proofs of his ſelf-intereſted and covetous temper, they might be coloured with ſome pretence, becauſe the ſecret ſprings of his policy were not yet fully known. But it was not the ſame with regard to his proceedings this year, by which he plainly diſcovered himſelf. The pretence of foreign affairs failing him, he extorted large ſums from private perſons, by forfeitures upon penal laws, on purpoſe to fill his coffers. This proceeding was the more diſpleaſing to the people, as they eaſily perceived it flowed from his natural diſpoſition, ſince he was not obliged by any neceſſity to uſe ſuch extraordinary methods. He was in peace with all the princes of Europe: he had drawn from the parliament two very conſiderable ſubſidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with intereſt: moreover, beſides divers confiſcations, he received every year fifty thouſand livres of the king of France. All this, added to the uſual revenues of the crown, which were not leſs than in the foregoing reigns, ſeemed to enable him to eaſe, rather than oppreſs his ſubjects with frivolous accuſations to drain their purſes. The firſt he attacked in this manner was ſir William Capel, alderman of London, who was fined two thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, and forced to compound with the king for ſixteen hundred. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was accuſed of being the contriver of theſe methods to procure the king money: but whether Henry's avarice daily increaſed, or the miniſters who ſucceeded that prelate were ſtill leſs ſcrupulous than he, people had but too much reaſon to lament him after his death.

Towards the end of this year, Henry gave a freſh inſtance of his deſire of money, which proved very injurious to his good name, eſpecially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of juſtice. By ſecret advices from ſir Robert Clifford, he was informed ſir William Stanley lord chamberlain was one of Perkin Warbeck's adhererents. Though that lord had done him the greateſt ſervice imaginable, ſince he had procured him the victory which raiſed him to the throne, he reſolved to ſacrifice him to his avarice, under colour of puniſhing his crime. I ſay to his avarice, and not to juſtice or revenge; for, if we may judge by his uſual conduct with regard to the ſtate-criminals, of whom there was nothing to be got, he would doubtleſs have pardoned Stanley, if the deſire of confiſcating his eſtate had not rendered him inexorable.

To attain his ends, he ordered Clifford, who was ſtill in Flanders, to repair privately into England. When he heard the informer was arrived, he removed to the Tower, that the great ones who ſhould be accuſed, might be arreſted more conveniently and without noiſe. Clifford being come to London without diſcovering himſelf, the king aſſembled the council[l] in the Tower, and ſent for ſir Robert, who falling down at his feet, craved his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the conſpiracy. The king immediately pardoned him, but on expreſs condition he would conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Whereupon Clifford impeached ſeveral perſons, and amongſt the reſt the lord chamberlain. The king ſeeming extremely ſurpriſed, bid him take care what he ſaid, ſince his life lay at ſtake in caſe the accuſation was groundleſs. Clifford perſiſting, the lord chamberlain was preſently apprehended. Next day he was examined by the council, where he confeſſed enough to condemn him. The great ſervice he had done the king, and the intereſt of the earl of Derby his brother, made him hope he ſhould not be treated with rigour. But two things rendered his crime unpardonable: the firſt was his immenſe riches, which promiſed the king a plentiful confiſcation[m]; the ſecond, that he was accuſed, and probably convicted of ſaying to Clifford, ſpeaking of Perkin Warbeck, "If he were ſure that young man were king Edward's ſon, he would never bear arms againſt him." This was wounding the king in the moſt ſenſible part, ſince he ſeemed to acknowledge the houſe of York had a better title than the houſe of Lancaſter. Had he been guilty only of that crime, it is a queſtion whether the judges would have ſentenced him to die; but it is likely he was convicted of acting more directly againſt the king, and holding intelligence with Warbeck and the ducheſs of Burgundy. All the favour he could obtain was a delay of ſome weeks, to prepare for death, which he ſuffered not till the beginning of the next year[n]. The king's ſeverity on this occaſion ſeemed exceſſive. All the world imagined he would pardon a lord to whom he was ſo much obliged, and who had even enabled him to exerciſe acts of mercy by procuring him the crown: beſides, he was brother to the earl of Derby, a zealous ſervant and father-in-law of the king.

The execution of the lord chamberlain terrified the whole kingdom. He was condemned for a crime of which few Engliſhmen were innocent, namely, for preferring the title of York to that of Lancaſter. But what cauſed ſtill greater dread, was that the king was perceived to have had ſpies about the lord chamberlain, to obſerve his conduct, which might be every man's caſe. The great men durſt not ſpeak their thoughts to one another, for fear thoſe whom they counted their beſt friends, were the king's ſpies. But this reſtraint was in ſome meaſure made up by ſwarms of libels againſt the judges, the council, and the king himſelf. This licence ſo diſpleaſed the king, that he ordered five perſons, convicted of diſperſing the libels, to be executed.

Richard Fox biſhop of Bath and Wells, one of the king's favourites, was tranſlated this year to the ſee of Durham.

It was likewiſe this year that Henry, the king's ſecond ſon, two years old, was created duke of York[o].

Though there was a truce concluded with Scotland to the 30th of April, 1501, there ſtill remained ſome differences between the Engliſh and Scots, concerning certain lands on the borders of the two kingdoms and the fiſhery of the river Eſke. Henry always dreading ſome inſurrection in the kingdom, was extremely deſirous to have no conteſts with his neighbours: for that reaſon he had, in May this year, moved that the differences between England and Scotland might be adjuſted. King James ſeeming to deſire the ſame thing, they both ſent embaſſadors to Caldſtream, to agree upon ſome expedient. Richard Fox was the head of the Engliſh embaſſy[p]. But with all his addreſs, he could not end an affair, which in itſelf ſeemed not very difficult. This cauſed Henry to ſuſpect that the king of Scotland reſerved it for an occaſion of quarrel, and to order the earl of Surrey to be upon his guard in the north.

Charles VIII. undertook this year the long meditated conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples. This affair is ſo well known, it would be needleſs to relate the particulars. It is neceſſary however briefly to mention the riſe and principal events.

The poſterity of Charles of Anjou, firſt king of Sicily of the houſe of France, was divided into two branches, whereof one reigned in Naples, the other in Hungary. After ſundry revolutions, the crown of Naples fell at length to Joan the firſt of that name. But in 1380, Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, pretending to the ſame crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked queen Joan, who finding herſelf preſſed, adopted Lewis I. duke of Anjou, uncle of Charles VI. king of France. From that time there was a continual war between the two houſes of Anjou. At laſt, Charles de Durazzo remained in poſſeſſion of Naples, and was ſucceeded by Ladiſlaus his ſon, who dying in 1414, left

[i] Richard Hatton, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 567.

[k] My lord Bacon calls that Poynings's Law, whereby all the ſtatutes of England (to the 10th of Henry VII.) were made to be of force in Ireland; which before that time were not, nor any ſince that time, but by a ſpecial clauſe.

[l] A ſelected council, ſays lord Bacon, p. 610.

[m] There were found in his caſtle of Holt, forty thouſand marks in money and plate, beſides jewels, houſhold ſtuff, ſtock upon his grounds, and other perſonal eſtate, exceedingly great: he had likewiſe in land three thouſand pounds a year of old rent. Bacon, p. 610.

[n] He was beheaded on Tower-hill, February 16, 1495. Hall, fol. 35, ſays, the cauſe of this diſcontent was king Henry's refuſing to create him earl of Cheſter. He was ſucceeded in the office of lord chamberlain by Giles lord d'Aubeney. Id. fol. 36. Bacon, p. 611.

[o] On November 1. The knights of the Bath made upon this occaſion were theſe: the lords Harrington, Clifton, Dacre of the South, and the lord Warren; ſir Thomas Stanley, ſir John Arundel, ſir Walter Griffith, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Robert Harcourt, ſir Edward Trafford, ſir Henry Marney, ſir Robert Newbrough, ſir Ralph Ryder, ſir John Sparke, ſir Humfrey Fulford, ſir Robert Litton, ſir Pierce Edgecombe, ſir Robert Clere, ſir Tho. Fairfax, ſir Richard Knightley, ſir John Cheke. Stow, p. 477.

[p] The reſt of the embaſſadors were, ſir Thomas Dacre, ſir William Tyler, Chriſtopher Moreſby, and John Cartyngton. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 554.

Cecily,

the crown of Naples to Joan II. his ſiſter. Mean time, Lewis I. duke of Anjou, and Lewis II. his ſon, always ſtiled themſelves kings of Sicily, and preſerved their pretenſions to Sicily on this ſide the Pharo, or the kingdom of Naples. Lewis II. who died in 1471, left three ſons, namely, Lewis III. Renè, and Charles.

In 1421, Lewis III. led an army into Naples to dethrone Joan II. who for ſupport adopted Alphonſo king of Arragon. Alphonſo arriving in the kingdom of Naples, forced Lewis III. to quit the country and retire into France. Shortly after, upon ſome quarrel between Joan and Alphonſo, Joan revoking the adoption of Alphonſo, adopted the ſame Lewis of Anjou, who would have deprived her of the crown, and declared him her preſumptive heir and ſucceſſor; but Lewis died without iſſue in 1431. Joan departed this life the next year, having made a will in favour of Renè of Anjou, brother of Lewis III.

Renè made ſome attempts to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, but to no purpoſe. Alphonſo, king of Arragon kept the crown till he died, in 1458. He left the kingdom of Arragon to John his lawful ſon, and that of Naples to Ferdinand his baſtard.

In 1474, Renè made a will, and appointed for his heir Charles earl of Main his nephew, ſon of Charles his younger brother, to the prejudice Violante his daughter, ducheſs of Lorrain, and Renè duke of Lorrain, his grandſon.

Charles earl of Main, nephew and heir of king Renè, died in 1481, leaving Lewis XI. king of France his ſole heir. By virtue of which will, Charles VIII. ſon of Lewis XI. pretended the kingdom of Naples was fallen to him.

If what has been ſaid be ever ſo little conſidered, it will doubtleſs be perceived that Charles's title to the kingdom of Naples was very diſputable. To decide the caſe in a judicial way, it would have been neceſſary to examine two points of equal importance in the affair. Firſt, whether Joan II. had power to revoke the adoption of Alphonſo king of Arragon, and to adopt Lewis of Anjou in his room. It is true, the French hiſtorians pretend Alphonſo would have dethroned his benefactreſs, and upon that ſuppoſition the reaſon of the revocation ſeems juſt. But the Arragonians grant not the fact: they aſcribe it to Joan's levity, who was inconſtant and capricious. In the next place, ſuppoſing the houſe of Anjou's title better than the houſe of Arragon's, this ſecond point muſt have been examined, whether king Renè could ſet aſide Violante his daughter and her heirs, and give the kingdom of Naples to Charles earl of Main his nephew. It could not be alledged in favour of the will, that the kingdom of Naples was a male fief, ſince the houſe of Anjou's title was derived from a daughter. So Charles VIII. could pretend to that kingdom only upon ſuppoſition that the laws decided theſe two points in his favour, which was very doubtful, not to ſay worſe: beſides, the houſe of Arragon had another title founded upon a ſixty years poſſeſſion. But what rendered the affair very intricate, was that the popes, as ſovereign lords of Naples, ſeemed to have determined it in favour of the houſe of Anjou, by inveſting the princes of that houſe with that kingdom.

But it was not ſo much his title to the kingdom of Naples that induced Charles VIII. to this conqueſt, as the juncture of time, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand king of Naples, had two ſons, namely, Alphonſo, who bore the title of duke of Calabria, and Frederick. Alphonſo had a ſon called Ferdinand, after his grandfather. Theſe Arragonian princes were not beloved in Naples nor in the reſt of Italy: beſides, old king Ferdinand had baniſhed the prince of Salerno, with all the other heads of the Angevin faction; and theſe exiles it was that excited Charles to the conqueſt. But this alone would not have ſufficed to determine him to that undertaking, had he not been encouraged by Ludovico Sforza, uncle of the duke of Milan. The occaſion was this:

The duchy of Milan was paſſed from the family of Viſconti to that of Sforza, Philippo Maria Viſconti laſt duke of that houſe, having adopted Francis Sforza, who had married Blanch his only daughter.

Franciſco Sforza becoming duke of Milan after the death of his father-in-law, died in 1466, leaving two ſons, Galeazzo who ſucceeded him, and Ludovico ſirnamed the Black. Galeazzo being aſſaſſinated, John Galeazzo his ſon ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of his mother, a woman infamous for her lewdneſs, and of Ludovico his uncle. Some time after, the young duke married Iſabella, daughter of Alphonſo duke of Calabria, eldeſt ſon of Ferdinand king of Naples. John Galeazzo being a prince of narrow genius, Ludovico his uncle engroſſed the whole power, leaving to his nephew only the bare title of duke, without his being much concerned. But Iſabella his ducheſs, not bearing to ſee the duke her ſpouſe without any authority, complained to the duke of Calabria her father of the ill uſage. Shortly after, the duke perſuaded Ferdinand his father to proclaim war againſt Ludovico, to compel him to reſign the government to his nephew.

To avoid the war it was that Ludovico excited Charles VIII. to undertake the conqueſt of Naples, by putting him in hopes he would aſſiſt him with all his forces. He had alſo a further deſign to make uſe of Charles's aid to become maſter of the duchy of Milan, and diſpoſſeſs John Galeazzo his nephew. He had now taken ſome private meaſures to that end with the emperor Maximilian, to whom he had given Blanch his niece in marriage, with a dower of four hundred thouſand crowns, and Maximilian had privately inveſted him with the duchy of Milan for him and his heirs.

Upon the rumour of Charles VIIIth's preparations for the conqueſt of Naples, old king Ferdinand offered him a yearly tribute of fifty thouſand crowns, but the offer was rejected. Ferdinand died a little before Charles's expedition, and was ſucceeded by Alphonſo his eldeſt ſon.

The war of Naples ſeems to be entirely foreign to the hiſtory of England. However, as it was the ſource and origin of many great events in Europe in the next century, I thought it not improper to ſhew the occaſion, and for the ſame reaſon it is neceſſary to relate the principal events.

Charles VIII. departed from Paris in July 1494, and came to Aſti in Piedmont, where he fell ſick of the ſmall-pox. This diſtemper detaining him at Aſti, he could not go from thence till the 6th of October to Turin, where he was forced to borrow the ducheſs of Savoy's jewels, ſo ill provided was he of money for an enterprize of that conſequence. Ludovico Sforza made haſte to meet him, and accompanied him to Pavia, where they found duke John Galeazzo out of order, upon eating ſomething that his uncle Ludovico had cauſed to be given him. When they came to Placentia, they heard of John Galeazzo's death: upon which Ludovico left the king, to go and take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, though the late duke his nephew had left a ſon. Ludovico having obtained what he wanted, had not the ſame attachment to the king of France as before: on the contrary, he thought only how to drive him out of Italy by a league, of which he was the principal promoter.

[1495] Mean while, Charles purſuing his march, entered the ſtate of Florence, and compelled Peter de Medicis the duke to deliver him four of the beſt towns, and lend him money. He made his entry into the city of Florence the 17th of November, and publiſhed a manifeſto concerning the war of Naples. Then he took the rout to Rome, and all the places in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate readily brought him their keys. Alexander VI. upon the king's approach, deſired prince Ferdinand, ſon of the king of Naples, to depart from Rome, where he was received ſome time before. On the other hand, Frederic, brother of Alphonſo, who was upon the coaſt of Genoa with a fleet, came to Naples, where all was in the utmoſt conſternation. Thus Charles having paſſed through Italy without the leaſt oppoſition, entered Rome the 28th of December, whilſt the pope in a fright ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Angelo for the ſecurity of his perſon. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Henry perceiving the negotiation with Scotland proceeded very ſlowly, without his being able to diſcover any viſible reaſon, was apprehenſive that king James would take occaſion from their differences about the fiſhery of the river Eſke to break the truce. So, not to be ſurpriſed, he ſent the earl of Surrey orders to levy troops for the defence of the north, againſt the attempts of the Scots and Iriſh. Theſe attempts which he pretended to fear, were only an excuſe to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, in caſe the king of Scotland ſhould attack him.

Shortly after, he made the duke of York, his ſecond ſon, preſident of the northern marches, though he was but three years old. He had made him laſt year lord lieutenant of Ireland, and by that means kept in his own coffers the ſalaries of theſe two poſts, which muſt have been given to two ſeveral lords. Never prince better underſtood the art of huſbanding his money, and making every thing turn to his profit.

The ducheſs of York, mother of Edward IV. and Richard III. died this year in a very advanced age [q].

[q] Cecily, youngeſt daughter of Ralph earl of Weſtmorland, and relict of Richard duke of York, died on May 31, in the caſtle of Berkhamſtead, in Hertfordſhire, and was buried at Fotheringham college in Northamptonſhire, by her huſband. She had lived to ſee three princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. See Sandford, p. 387.

Or

Henry 7

In July Alexander VI. ſent into England a bull, impowering all the biſhops of the kingdom to abſolve the rebels which by Innocent VIIIth's bull was granted to the archbiſhop of Canterbury alone.

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the king was informed of all his correſpondents. But as the ducheſs of Burgundy could not think of relinquiſhing her hopes of gaining ſome advantage by the idol formed by herſelf, ſhe reſolved at length to ſend him into England. She judged it neceſſary to ſound the people's affection for the houſe of York without waiting any longer for the aſſiſtance of the great men, who being narrowly watched, were very cautious. Beſides, ſhe perceived if the people ſeemed ready to riſe, there would be no want of great men to ſupport and conduct them. Wherefore, ſhe gave orders to aſſemble ſome forces and ſhips, and cauſed Perkin Warbeck to imbark, and make a deſcent in the county of Kent. Mean while, Henry knowing nothing of theſe preparations in Flanders, reſolved to go in progreſs to Yorkſhire [r] to viſit the counteſs his mother, which ſeemed to be a juncture very favourable to Perkin's deſign. But as the projected deſcent miſcarried, it was not doubted, that the king being informed of the pretended duke of York's intent, had taken that journey on purpoſe to draw him into the ſnare, ſo perſuaded were people that policy governed all his actions.

Perkin, purſuant to the ducheſs of Burgundy's directions, arrived upon the coaſt of Kent, near Sandwich, and landed ſome men to ſound the inclination of the inhabitants. Theſe troops made great boaſts of the powerful armament the duke of York had made in Flanders, pretending the ſhips in ſight were but a ſmall part of the fleet which would ſoon appear. But the people perceiving theſe men were almoſt all foreigners, inſtead of joining them, adviſed with the gentlemen of the county to know how they were to behave: and it was reſolved, they ſhould feign to be ready to aſſiſt Perkin, in order to allure him to land and take him priſoner. Purſuant to this reſolution, the people took up arms and appeared on the coaſt, making ſigns to invite Perkin and his men to land. But Perkin and his counſellor Frion ſuſpecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of ſome of the people to inform them of what paſſed on ſhore. At laſt, the Kentiſhmen finding they could draw in no more, fell upon thoſe that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive were all hanged by the king's orders. Perkin being eye-witneſs of his people's misfortunes, weighed anchor and returned into Flanders. Henry who was then on his progreſs, hearing of the deſcent, was about to turn back towards Kent; but preſently after receiving news of what had paſſed, he continued his journey [s] and ſpent ſome time with the counteſs his mother at the earl of Derby's houſe [t]. His intent was to make a ſort of excuſe to that lord for putting his brother to death, and give him withal a proof of the continuance of his favour.

The 13th of October the king called a parliament, where it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be impeached or attainted for aſſiſting the king for the time being. It was eaſy to ſee the deſign of the act was to hinder a cloſe examination of the king's title to the crown, ſince let what would be the conſequence, thoſe that ſerved him would be always ſafe [u]. Indeed, the precedent he had himſelf given, in cauſing thoſe to be condemned that bore arms for Richard III. muſt have made his friends apprehenſive of being in the ſame caſe, if the like revolution ſhould happen. But the clauſe added in the body of the ſtatute, that if for the future, any act of attainder ſhould paſs againſt ſuch as aſſiſted the king for the time being, it ſhould be of no force; this clauſe, I ſay, was void and of no effect. For how could an act of this, limit the power of a future parliament, and cauſe an act, in its nature revocable, not to be ſo? mean while, this ſtatute, which ſeemed to be made ſolely for the people's ſafety, but was however only for the king's ſecurity, diſcovered Henry's uneaſineſs and uncertainty concerning his title.

There was alſo an act paſſed to oblige thoſe who had not paid their quota of the benevolence, to pay the arrears by ſuch a time. This act brought in large ſums to the king, the arrears of this tax being very conſiderable, becauſe the war with France not having laſted any time, many perſons had declined to pay either in full or in part. It appears in the Collection of the Public acts, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury was indebted fifteen hundred pounds ſterling [w].

Whilſt the parliament was yet aſſembled, the king received advice, that Perkin Warbeck was landed in Ireland. As this could not be but with ſome ill deſign, he gave orders that the coaſt ſhould be ſtrictly guarded, to be ready to oppoſe a deſcent wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the ducheſs of Burgundy had ſent Perkin into Ireland to raiſe a rebellion, and to that end ſhe had privately treated with the king of Scotland, who it is likely, had promiſed to aid him. The common opinion is, that the emperor, the archduke Philip, and the king of France, were likewiſe in the plot; the two firſt, in revenge of Henry's prohibition to his ſubjects of all commer with the Low-Countries; and the other, to hinder his entering into a league that was forming in Italy, to which he was ſtrongly ſolicited. Be this as it will, very probably James, in promiſing to eſpouſe the intereſt of the pretended duke of York, had been led thereto by ſome private view, or by the ſolicitation of ſome other prince.

Mean-while, ſince Poynings had been in Ireland, the affairs of that iſland were quite altered. So Perkin not finding the country inclined to favour his deſigns, departed for Scotland, where in all appearance he knew he ſhould be welcome. When he came to Edinburgh, he demanded an audience of the king by the name of the duke of York. James feigning an extreme ſurpriſe, gave him a ſolemn reception in the preſence of the whole court. Perkin made a long ſpeech, recounting his pretended adventures, and how he eſcaped the cruelty of Richard III. Then he inveighed againſt Henry Tudor, who had uſurped the crown of England, and unjuſtly detained it from the lawful heirs of Edward IV. He enlarged upon the methods he had uſed to endeavour to recover his kingdom: he concluded with ſaying, that ſundry accidents having prevented him from ſucceeding, he was come to put himſelf under his protection, in hopes, that with the aſſiſtance of ſo generous a prince, he ſhould expel the uſurper, and aſcend the throne of his anceſtors: that then he ſhould always regard him as a brother, and never miſs an opportunity of ſhewing his gratitude.

James ſeemed to be moved with Perkin's misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was, he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands. However, he pretended ſtill to have ſome doubt, to ſhew it was upon mature examination that he was convinced of the truth. Shortly after, he publicly owned him for duke of York, and gave him in marriage Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntly, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed ladies in Scotland.

Henry, whether he had received private notice of what was plotting againſt him, or it was a pure effect of his foreſight, ardently wiſhed to live in good underſtaning with the king of Scotland. To that end, he had empowered his embaſſadors [x], who were to repair to Caldſtream, to treat of the marriage of Margaret his eldeſt daughter with that prince. The marriage was indeed accompliſhed ſome years after; but in all likelihood it was not mentioned in this congreſs, the embaſſadors of England having doubtleſs perceived that ſuch a propoſal would be unſeaſonable.

The 28th of January 1495, Charles VIII. departed from Rome, after receiving the ſtrongeſt towns of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, with cardinal Cæſar Borgia, natural ſon of pope Alexander VI. in hoſtage. Whilſt he was upon the march, the embaſſadors of Ferdinand king of Spain told him from his maſter, that when he promiſed not to moleſt him in the conqueſt of Naples, he did not mean that the conqueſt was to extend to all Italy. That notwithſtanding he ſaw him in poſſeſſion of Florence, Piſa, and all the papal dominions. That therefore he declared, he did not think himſelf bound to the obſervance of their treaty, and accordingly the embaſſador tore it in pieces before his face. Charles, who was ſailing with a proſperous gale, made a jeſt of theſe threats, and purſued his march.

[r] Or rather to Lancaſhire. He ſet out June 25. Hall, fol. 27. Stow, p. 480.

[s] And ſent Richard Guilford to thank the inhabitants of Kent for their fidelity. Hall, fol. 38.

[t] At Latham.

[u] My lord Bacon obſerves, that though this law ſeemed to aim more at the people's ſafety than the king's, yet did it take off from his party that great tie and ſpur of neceſſity, to fight and go victors out of the field, conſidering their lives and fortunes were in ſafety whether they ſtood or run away.

[w] The other remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That vagabonds, idle and ſuſpected perſons, ſhall be ſet in the ſtocks three days and three nights, and have no other ſuſtenance but bread and water, and then ſhall be put out of the town. And whoſoever ſhall give ſuch perſons more, ſhall forfeit twelve-pence. This act was afterwards explained, 39 Elizabeth. 2. That poor perſons who are not able to ſue according to the laws of the land, for the redreſs of injuries and wrongs to them done, ſhall be admitted in Formâ Pauperis, without paying fees to councellor, attorney, or clerk. 3. That no manner of perſon ſhall carry, or ſend any horſe or mare, above the value of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, out of the realm, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame; except it be for their own uſe. 4. That no perſon ſhall make, or put to ſale any feather-beds, bolſters, or pillows, but what are ſtuffed with dry pulled feathers, or clean down; and not with ſcaled feathers, or fenn-down. See Statut. 11 Hen. VII.

[x] The biſhop of Durham and Carliſle, Thomas earl of Surrey, Ralph lord Nevil, ſir Thomas Dacre lieutenant of the Weſt-marches, and ſir William Tyler, deputy governor of Berwick. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 572.

He

Mean while Alphonſo, the new king of Naples, finding himſelf attacked by a powerful king who was now upon the borders of his dominions, was entirely diſcouraged. As he knew he was not beloved by his ſubjects, he reſigned his crown to Ferdinand his ſon, and retired to a monaſtery, where he died that year. The new king willing to defend his kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers to endeavour to ſtop the king of France: but he ſaw himſelf ſuddenly deſerted by his own troops. In his extremity he would have retired to Naples, but found the gates ſhut. In ſhort, he was forced to ſeek a retreat in the little iſle of Iſchia, having firſt garriſoned the caſtles of his metropolis, where he could enter without paſſing through the city.

In the mean time, Charles ſtill continued his march: Triulzi, a Milaneſe, who was in the ſervice of the king of Naples, having ſurrendered Capua, all the reſt of the towns ſent him deputies with offers of ſubmiſſion. At laſt, he entered Naples the 22d of February, and within few days became maſter of the caſtles.

Such a torrent of ſucceſs ſo blinded the young monarch and his council, that they knew not how to take any juſt meaſures for the preſervation of the conqueſt. By degrees the towns that had ſubmitted, returned to their ſovereign; his army, which was not very numerous, being unable to furniſh garriſons every where. Beſides, the French made themſelves ſo odious to the people of Naples, that they ſoon repented of receiving them.

But what moſt embroiled the conqueror's affairs, was a league formed againſt him by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the archduke, the king of Naples, Ludovico Sforza the new duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice. This league, which was for twenty-five years, was ſigned the 25th of March 1495, and at the ſame time the confederates began to aſſemble their forces.

Charles found then, it was time to think of his return. But he was reſolved firſt to make a triumphant entry into Naples, from whence he departed the 20th of May in order for France, leaving but few troops to defend his conqueſt. But the allies did not intend to ſuffer him to retire thus peaceably. They expected him upon his rout, with an army of forty thouſand men, and poſted themſelves at Fornova to oppoſe his paſſage. Though Charles was very inferior in number of troops [y], he was determined to give them battle, being ſenſible he muſt either conquer or periſh. The battle was fought on the 6th of July, and the ſucceſs was favourable to the king of France, who defeated that formidable army, and came to Aſti the 15th of the ſame month [z].

Whilſt he was retiring through Italy, Naples ſubmitted again to Ferdinand, and almoſt all the reſt of the towns that were ſtill in the French intereſt, followed that example. The duke of Montpenſier, left by Charles at Naples with a few troops, retired to the caſtle of le Ovo, where after maintaining a ſiege of three months, he was forced at laſt to capitulate. Thus Charles, who had conquered the kingdom of Naples in the ſpace of three weeks, loſt it with the ſame rapidity. He formed afterwards ſeveral projects to recover his conqueſt, which, by the obſtacles that occurred, came to nothing.

This year the emperor Maximilian came into the Low-Countries, and reſigned the government to his ſon Philip, though he ſtill wanted ſome years of being of age. After that, he returned into Germany. Philip, being no longer under the emperor's guardianſhip, ſent, about the end of the year, embaſſadors to Henry, to deſire the renewal of the commerce between England and the Low-Countries.

The embaſſadors found no great difficulty to ſucceed in their negotiation. The renewal of the commerce which they were come to deſire, was no leſs neceſſary for the Engliſh than for the Flemings. So, the 24th of February 1496, was concluded at London a treaty of peace and perpetual amity between Henry and Philip, and the trade between the two nations was ſettled to the ſatisfaction of both parties.

Among the articles of the treaty, there were two particularly remarkable. By the firſt, the two princes engaged to give neither aid nor refuge to the rebellious ſubjects of either. Particularly, Philip obliged himſelf expreſsly to hinder the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy from harbouring the king's rebellious ſubjects in the lands ſhe poſſeſſed, by what title ſoever ſhe held them, whether of dower or otherwiſe. That in caſe ſhe acted contrary to his prohibition, he promiſed to deprive her of all her poſſeſſions in the Low-Countries.

By another article it was expreſsly agreed that any veſſel ſuffering ſhipwreck on the coaſts of either of the two princes, ſhould not be liable to confiſcation, provided there was left alive a man, a woman, or child, a dog, a cat, or a cock.

The Flemings called this treaty [Intercurſus Magnus] or the great Treaty of Commerce, not only by reaſon of the great number of articles, but chiefly with reſpect to another made afterwards, and which not being ſo much to their advantage, was termed [Intercurſus Malus] or the bad treaty.

We find the Collection of the Public Acts, that March the 5th this year, the king granted a patent to John Cabott, a Venetian, and to three of his ſons [a], to go in queſt of new lands with Engliſh colours [b]. The terms were, that after all charges deducted, they ſhould give the king a fifth of the profit [c].

Mean-while, the king of Scotland, not content with affording the pretended duke of York a ſanctuary in his dominions, would likewiſe undertake to place him on the throne of England. He was told, that as ſoon as he appeared in that kingdom at the head of an army, all the Yorkiſts would riſe in favour of the pretender. To that end it was, that immediately after his arrival in England, he took care to diſperſe the counterfeit duke's proclamation, wherein the king was termed uſurper, tyrant, and murderer. Moreover, he promiſed all ſorts of favours to ſuch as would join the lawful heir, to deſtroy him that unjuſtly detained the crown. But the proclamation was ſo ineffectual, that not a man offered to join the Scots. The truth is, Henry was not beloved, eſpecially in thoſe parts. But as, ſince Perkin had begun to appear by the name of duke of York, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was not thought proper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater aſſurance that it was really for a ſon of Edward IV. Beſides the execution of the lord chamberlain was a terror to all, as no man could reaſonably expect the king's pardon, ſince that lord was not ſpared. At length, James ſeeing he waited in vain that the Engliſh would take up arms in favour of the duke of York, and being unwilling wholly to loſe his labour, ravaged Northumberland and got a great booty. Then Perkin feigning to be extremely moved with the calamities of the Engliſh, conjured that prince, before his whole court, to ſpare his miſerable ſubjects. This was a very artful advice to perſuade the public he was really what he pretended to be. James replied with a ſmile, he thought him very generous to be ſo careful for what was none of his, in order to ſave it for his enemy's uſe. Mean-while, the news that an Engliſh army was advancing, made him reſolve to return into his own country, being unwilling to expoſe his great ſpoils to the hazard of a battle. Thus the expedition, from which he expected ſo great effects, ended only in the ruin of the people of Northumberland.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, Charles VIII. fearing Henry would enter into the league of Italy, took care to have the peace of Eſtaples confirmed by the ſtates, as he was bound by the treaty, which he had hitherto neglected, tho' it was confirmed by the parliament of England the laſt year. However, as he thought not proper to aſſemble the ſtates-general, he cauſed the peace to be approved by the ſtates of each province, with which, in all appearance, Henry was ſatisfied. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, the approbations of the ſtates of Languedoc, Normandy, and ſeveral other provinces, as likewiſe of particular towns of little note, ſigned by great numbers of common people, as tradeſmen and huſbandmen.

Though the king of Scotland's invaſion had produced no great effect, Henry was however apprehenſive of the conſequences. He knew his ſubjects were not pleaſed: that the Yorkiſts were very numerous; that Ireland was not well-affected; and that Perkin Warbeck was in Scotland ready to take advantage of theſe diſpoſitions. So, to prevent danger which might ariſe from all theſe quarters, he granted firſt a general pardon to all the Iriſh adherents of the pretended duke of York, leſt the dread of puniſhment ſhould carry them to revolt. In the ſecond place, he commiſſioned Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, to try, as of himſelf, to enter into negotiation with the king of Scotland, to treat of the marriage of his eldeſt daughter Margaret, with that prince. Laſtly, he ſent embaſſadors [d] to Ferdinand and Iſabella, to confirm his

[y] He had but nine thouſand men; whereas the confederates' army conſiſted of twelve thouſand horſe, and above the ſame number of foot. Bembo, p. 59. edit. Venet. 1718.

[z] Thus is the memorable event related by the French hiſtorians. But it appears from cardinal Bembo, and other Italian authors, that the king of France retired, after this battle, in the utmoſt hurry; and that Ludovico Sforza, and Franciſco Gonzaga, the Italian general, favoured his eſcape. As their forces were much ſuperior to thoſe of the French king, they might eaſily have cut off his retreat, if they had not acted treacherouſly, as it is undeniably plain they did. See card. Bemb. Hiſt. Venet. p. 65. edit. 1718; and Paul Jovius, &c.

[a] Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sancho. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 595.

[b] And with five ſhips. Ibid.

[c] They were bound and engaged to land at Briſtol. Ibid.

[d] Thomas biſhop of London. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 636.

Henry 7.

alliance with them, and ſecure, by freſh engagements, the marriage of Arthur his eldeſt ſon, with Catherine their third daughter.

Some time before he had diſpatched to Rome Robert Sherburn, who had in his name entered into the league of Italy[e] againſt Charles VIII. and the 23d of September ratified what his embaſſadors had done. He thereby thought himſelf ſufficiently ſupported: for he had nothing to fear from the king of France, who was elſewhere employed, and the moſt potent princes of Europe were his friends and allies. As for the king of Scotland, he believed he could eaſily reſiſt him in caſe of attack. However, though he had now taken meaſures to make peace with that prince, and had reaſon to hope for ſucceſs, he believed he ought not to loſe the opportunity to demand an aid of money of the parliament, as well to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, as to revenge the inſults of the Scots. For that purpoſe he called a parliament the 16th of January following. It was however eaſy to foreſee the king of Scotland being ſupported neither by France, nor the archduke, nor the ducheſs of Burgundy, would not undertake to maintain alone a war for the ſake of Perkin Warbeck, though he were ſo blind as to believe him the real duke of York.

In October this year, Jane ſecond daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, came into the Low-Countries to marry the archduke Philip, to whom ſhe had been contracted. Iſabella her eldeſt ſiſter had been married in 1490, to Alphonſo king of Portugal, who died ſhortly after. The ſame ſhips that brought Jane into the Low-Countries, ſerved to carry Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter into Spain, to conſummate her marriage with prince John, heir apparent of Caſtile and Arragon[f].

[1497] The parliament being aſſembled the beginning of this year[g], the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, highly aggravating the affront received from the king of Scotland: he repreſented very pathetically the calamities endured by his northern ſubjects, at a time when the truce ſhould have ſecured them from ſuch inſults: in ſhort, he told them, his honour and the protection he owed to his people would not ſuffer him to let theſe wrongs paſs unrevenged. The parliament underſtanding him well, gave him a ſubſidy[h], after which they were inſtantly diſſolved as having been called purpoſely for that affair.

Though Henry hoped much from his negotiation with the king of Scotland, he perceived it neceſſary to prepare for war; otherwiſe negotiations generally proved fruitleſs. The levy of the ſubſidy granted by the parliament was the firſt and principal preparation. The neceſſity of a war with Scotland afforded the king a pretence to haſten that affair, from which he expected the ſame advantage as from that of Bretagne, that is to ſay, to put the whole ſubſidy into his coffers. To that end it was neceſſary it ſhould be levied before the peace was concluded with Scotland, elſe the people would pay their money with reluctance. As the king ſet his heart upon this buſineſs, he gave very ſtrict orders to the commiſſioners who were to gather the ſubſidy in the ſeveral counties.

The commiſſioners proceeding with great rigour, met in the country of Cornwall with unexpected oppoſition. The Corniſhmen being leſs tractable than thoſe of other counties, loudly complained, that for ſome petty damage done to the other end of the kingdom, they were robbed of their neceſſary ſubſiſtence. Theſe murmurs were encouraged by Michael Joſeph a farrier of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock a lawyer. Flammock affirmed, that ſubſidies were not to be granted or levied for the war of Scotland (the law having provided for it by eſcuage,) much leſs when the Scotch invaſion was made a pretence to fleece the whole kingdom: that it would be a ſhame to ſubmit to ſuch an oppreſſion, that all the miſchief ſolely proceeded from the king's miniſters, who made their court at the poor people's coſt: that to free themſelves from theſe grievances, it was proper to take up arms, and without injuring any perſon, go and preſent a petition to the king, to pray him to deſiſt from the tax, and puniſh his evil counſellors, for a warning to others how they gave him ſuch advice for the future: that a greater ſervice could not be done to the kingdom, than to deliver it from ſuch harpies, who ruined it under colour of procuring the king's good. Flammock's chief aim was at Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Reginald Bray, becauſe they were generally the king's inſtruments in affairs of this nature.

Flammock and Joſeph perceiving the people began to take fire, offered to lead them, till ſome perſon of quality ſhould head them, which as they ſaid would ſoon happen. And indeed it appeared afterwards they were encouraged by perſons of greater conſideration. This was ſufficient to excite all the rabble of the country to an inſurrection, and arming themſelves in the beſt manner they could, they marched under the conduct of theſe two incendiaries into Devonſhire, and from thence into Somerſetſhire. The number of the rebels daily increaſed by many people of the place where they paſſed, who had nothing to loſe, and were inflamed by the king's ſecret enemies. At Taunton they killed a commiſſioner[i], who had ſignalized himſelf by his rigour in levying the ſubſidy. This was all the miſchief they did in their march. Then they proceeded to Wells, where the lord Audley[k], a nobleman of a reſtleſs and diſcontented ſpirit, came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their general. Audley putting himſelf at their head, led them directly to Saliſbury and from thence to Wincheſter, without ſuffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be ſatisfied with a bare ſubſiſtence. When they came to Wincheſter, inſtead of marching to London, as was intended at firſt, they forced their general to lead them into Kent. Flammock having told them the people of that county were very fond of liberty, they fancied they ſhould be immediately joined by them in defence of the rights and privileges of the nation: but when they came there they were greatly diſappointed: by the diligence of ſome Kentiſh lords[l], not a man offered to take up arms in their favour. This coldneſs diſcouraged many of the rebels, who foreſeeing their enterprize would not be ſucceſsful, returned quietly to their homes. But thoſe that remained, being encouraged by the king's remiſſneſs, who had ſuffered them to proceed ſo far unmoleſted, inſolently boaſted they would give him battle, or take London before his face. In this reſolution they went and encamped[m] between Greenwich and Eltham, within a few miles of London.

When the king firſt heard of the inſurrection, he was under ſome conſternation. A war with Scotland, a rebellion in the kingdom, and a pretender to the crown, ſeemed to him to be three affairs of the laſt importance, eſpecially as they came upon him at once: beſides, his inward uneaſineſs concerning the doubtfulneſs of his title, helped to magniſy objects. He was apprehenſive that the Corniſh rebellion was the beginning of a general conſpiracy, whereof Perkin was waiting the event in Scotland. Happily for him, this rebellion was at a time when he had an army in readineſs, which was to march into the north under the command of the lord D'Aubeney. But the news of the inſurrection made him keep his forces about London, not thinking it fit to ſend them into the north at ſuch a juncture. He contented himſelf therefore with detaching the earl of Surrey, and ſending him towards the borders of Scotland, to oppoſe king James, in caſe he thought of making a ſecond inroad into England. Mean-while, the rebels traverſed the counties, and the king made no motion to ſtop them. This conduct ſurpriſed all the world, conſidering it was his cuſtom ſpeedily to march to the place where danger began to appear. But upon this occaſion he thought beſt to act otherwiſe, for ſeveral reaſons: firſt, he was very glad the rebels were ſo far from their homes, and harraſſed themſelves with long marches: in the ſecond place he did not ſee any neceſſity to haſten to attack them, ſince they committed no outrages: beſides, he could not find that their numbers increaſed. But the chief reaſon of his ſlowneſs was to ſee if they had any correſpondents in other counties, in order to divide his army, if neceſſary, to haſten to the relief of the weakeſt. In fine, age and the continued enjoyment of a crown had doubtleſs rendered him leſs careful of dangers. Any other way ſeemed to him leſs hazardous than a battle to remedy evils of this nature.

But when the rebels were encamped on Blackheath, in view of the city of London, the king could no longer delay to attack them; he would have given occaſion to believe his coolneſs proceeded from fear, which might have produced very ill effects among the people. However, as he was much ſuperior to the mal-contents, both in number of troops and military knowledge, he reſolved ſo diſpoſe all things as to

[e] This league conſiſted of pope Alexander VI. the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand and Elizabeth king and queen of Spain, Auguſtin Barbarigo doge of Venice, Lewis Maria Sforza duke of Milan, and king Henry. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xii. p. 639.

[f] This year, on December 18, died Jaſper Tudor duke of Bedford; and was buried in the abbey of Keynſham in Somerſetſhire. Stow, p. 479.

[g] On January 16. See Statut.

[h] Limited to the ſum of a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides two fifteenths. Bacon obſerves upon this occaſion, that his wars were always to him a mine of treaſure of a ſtrange ore, iron at the top, and gold and ſilver at the bottom, p. 617.

[i] The provoſt of Perin. Hollingſhead.

[k] James Tuchet.

[l] George Grey earl of Kent, George Nevill lord Abergavenny, John Brooke lord Cobham, ſir Edward Poynings, ſir Richard Guilford, ſir Thomas Bourchier, John Peche, William Scot, etc. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingſh. p. 782.

[m] On Blackheath. Ibid.

John

leave little to hazard or fortune. To that end, he divided his army into three bodies, the firſt whereof, commanded by the earl of Oxford [n], was ordered behind the hill, where the rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and if neceſſary, attack them in the rear. The ſecond, led by the lord d'Aubeney, was appointed to charge them in front. The king retained the third about his own perſon, and encamped in St. George's Fields, that in caſe of ill ſucceſs he might be ready to renew the fight, or throw himſelf into London and ſecure the city as he ſhould think proper: beſides, he was not ſo far off but he could ſuccour his people during the battle.

Every thing ſucceeded as the king expected. The rebels ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by a report he had cauſed to be ſpread, that he intended to give them battle on the Monday following, whereas he attacked them on the Sunday, which of all the days in the week he fancied to be the moſt fortunate. As they expected it not, they were ſo ſurpriſed that they had ſcarce time to draw up. On the other hand, for want of intelligence, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurrounded by the earl of Oxford, who being poſted behind them hindered their retreat: ſo, of ſix thouſand [o], which was their number, two thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and the reſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, there being no way to eſcape. The king cauſed to be executed only the lord Audley [p], Flammock, and the Farrier [q], who were taken alive, but gave the priſoners to the captors, with leave to compound with them for their ranſoms as they ſhould judge fit. It is not unlikely that the moderation of the rebels in their march from Cornwal to London, tempered alſo the king's ſeverity, eſpecially as they had not aſſerted the title of the houſe of York, a crime he never forgave. Be this as it will, he was ſatisfied with theſe three victims to atone for this great rebellion.

Shortly after the battle, the archduke's embaſſadors ſigned at London articles of agreement, whereby, in explaining the late treaty of commerce, the archduke deſiſted from the duty of a florin, which he before exacted upon every piece of Engliſh cloth imported into his dominions.

The 18th of July, Henry ratified the marriage articles between Arthur, his eldeſt ſon, and Catherine of Arragon. The marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed October 1, 1496.

About the ſame time Charles VIII. ſent an embaſſy into England on purpoſe to confirm the peace of Eſtaples by the reparation of certain outrages committed on both ſides.

But whilſt Henry was employed againſt the Corniſh rebels, the king of Scotland thinking it a favourable juncture, made a ſecond irruption into England, and appeared before the caſtle of Norham. But the earl of Surrey, then in Yorkſhire, haſtening to its relief [r], James raiſed the ſiege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl of Surrey, not ſatisfied with driving him out of England, purſued him into Scotland, and took the little town of Aton. This war was inconvenient to the king upon ſeveral accounts: firſt, he could not continue it without uſing all the money given by the parliament, which he would have gladly avoided: beſides, Perkin Warbeck made him uneaſy, and he perceived it would be eaſier to remove him from Scotland by treaty than by arms. He would not, however make the firſt advances, but wiſhed the propoſal of peace to come from another, to avoid the diſgrace of a refuſal in caſe the king of Scotland was diſinclined.

Whilſt he was in this perplexity, he bethought himſelf that don Pedro d'Ayala the Spaniſh embaſſador, would be a proper inſtrument to accompliſh the affair. Ayala willingly undertook to go to the king of Scotland, and propoſe, as of himſelf, an agreement with the king of England. He uſed for pretence that king Ferdinand, his maſter, could receive no greater ſatisfaction than to ſee the two kings his friends and allies, live in peace and good neighbourhood. The expedient ſucceeded according to Henry's expectation. The embaſſador found the king of Scotland ſo well inclined, that he wrote to the king, if he would enter into a negotiation he did not queſtion the ſucceſs: whereupon the two kings ſent their embaſſadors [s] to Aton, to treat of a peace, Ayala performing the office of mediator. The greateſt difficulty in the negotiation was concerning Perkin Warbeck, whom Henry demanded, and the king of Scotland would not deliver. The biſhop of Durham [t] perceiving he could not gain that point, propoſed an interview of the two kings at Newcaſtle: but when it was mentioned to the king of Scotland, he ſaid, though he was very deſirous of peace, he would not go and beg of his enemy. At length an expedient was found agreeable to both parties; and that was, the king of Scotland ſhould honourably diſmiſs the pretended duke of York, before the negotiation of a peace was carried any farther, leſt he ſhould be thought to be forced to it; that afterwards they ſhould treat as if Perkin had never been in Scotland.

Purſuant to this agreement, James told the pretended duke he had done for him all that lay in his power: that he had twice entered England at the head of an army, to try the diſpoſition of the Engliſh: that not having found what was expected, there was no likelihood that with his forces alone he could place him on the throne, and diſpoſſeſs a king ſo firmly eſtabliſhed: that his misfortune proceeded ſolely from the Engliſh refuſing to eſpouſe his quarrel, and his being forſaken by thoſe who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilſt the Scots expoſed their lives for his ſake: that therefore he adviſed him to ſeek his fortune elſewhere; but nevertheleſs he would make good what he told him at firſt, "That he ſhould not repent of putting himſelf into his hands." Perkin ſeeing the king of Scotland bent to diſmiſs him, thanked him for the protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other favours, entreating him to convey him into Ireland with his wife, which the king immediately granted.

As ſoon as Perkin was removed from Scotland there were no farther obſtacles to a peace. The embaſſadors, aſſembled at Aton, ſigned a truce for ſeven years, commencing the 30th of September, the day of ſigning the treaty. It was expreſly agreed that neither of the two kings ſhould make war upon the other by himſelf or ſubjects, or by any other perſon, whereby Perkin Warbeck was plainly meant, without naming him: that with reſpect to certain points not ſettled by the two embaſſadors, the two kings referred them to the deciſion of Ferdinand and Iſabella. Afterwards this truce, limited to ſeven years, was prolonged till a year after the death of the ſurvivor of the two princes. In fine, each of the two kings gave letters patent to the mediator, deſiring him to report to Ferdinand and Iſabella the differences yet undecided, promiſing to ſtand to their determination. Theſe letters were full of marks of eſteem and acknowledgment for the embaſſador, and the two kings ſhewed how well pleaſed they were with his equity, wiſdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honourable for Ayala (whom the Engliſh and Scotch writers call Hialas or Elias) than the perfect confidence placed in him by theſe two monarchs. But then it may be ſaid, he had the good fortune to find them equally inclined to a peace ſo neceſſary for both.

I obſerved that in 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his embaſſadors to treat of a marriage between Margaret his daughter and the king of Scotland. But it does not appear, the affair was mentioned in any of the former negotiations, or even in this I have been ſpeaking of. It is however very probable, that Henry, who deſired the marriage, did not fail to inſinuate the propoſal by the Spaniſh embaſſador, who was in his intereſt and confidence. It was a very proper occaſion ſince Ayala might make the overture as from himſelf, without engaging Henry in caſe of refuſal. It went no farther then, but we ſhall ſee preſently the happy effects of this overture, which gave birth to the union of the two kingdoms.

In the beginning of the year, Margaret, of Auſtria, ſiſter of the archduke, went into Spain to Don John her huſband. The nuptials were celebrated with great ſolemnity and magnificence. But in a few months after, Don John died, leaving the princeſs with child, who was delivered of a ſtillborn infant.

By the death of Don John, his ſiſter Iſabella, widow of prince Alphonſo, of Portugal, became heir-apparent of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Arragon. Since the death of the prince her ſpouſe, ſhe had been contracted to Don Manuel,

[n] John de Vere, who had with him Henry Bourchier earl of Eſſex, Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk, ſir Rice ap Thomas, and ſir Humphrey Stanley. Hollingſhead, p. 782.

[o] Bacon ſays, ſixteen thouſand, p. 619.

[p] He was led from Newgate to Tower-hill in a paper-coat torn and painted with his own arms reverſed, where he was beheaded, June 28. Hall. fol. 43.

[q] He is ſaid to pleaſe himſelf with the notion that "he ſhould be famous in after ages." He and Flammock were drawn, hanged and quartered at Tyburn. The Corniſhmen are ſaid to ſhoot arrows of a yard long. Ibid.

[r] Together with Ralph Nevill earl of Weſtmorland, Thomas lord Dacres, Ralph lord Nevil, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumley, John lord Scroope, Henry lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcy, Thomas baron of Hilton, ſir William Percy, ſir William Bulmer, ſir William Gaſcoigne, ſir Ralph Bigod ſir Ralph Bowes, ſir Thomas Parre, ſir Ralph Ellecher, ſir John Conſtable, ſir John Ratcliffe, ſir John Saville, ſir Thomas Strangeways; the whole army amounting to little leſs than twenty thouſand men, beſides the navy. Hollingſhead, p. 783.

[s] The Engliſh embaſſadors were William Wardham maſter of the rolls, and John Cartington. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 673.

[t] The king directed biſhop Fox, who was then at his caſtle of Norham, to confer with d'Ayala, and both to treat with the Scotiſh commiſſioners. Hollingſhead, p. 783.

He

Henry 7.

the new king of Portugal, who hearing of Don John's ſickneſs, ſo preſſed his marriage that it was conſummated before that prince expired.

The laſt year, as was related, Charles VIII. loſt the kingdom of Naples. Though the diviſions among the princes of Italy ſeemed to invite him again to that conqueſt, he could never reſolve, becauſe he had turned all his thoughts to love and pleaſure. He duly paid Henry twenty-five thouſand livres every half year, as bound by the treaty of Eſtaples, for fear of drawing upon himſelf new troubles from England.

1498

[1498] After the treaty of Eſtaples, there was neither war nor difference between France and England during the reſt of Henry VIIth's reign. Charles and Henry ſtood in awe of each other. Charles, who at firſt had formed vaſt projects, perceived the king of England was the only prince that could lay obſtacles in his way. Afterwards, when he deſiſted from the war of Italy, and indulged his pleaſures, he always feared that a war with Henry would diſturb his tranquillity. Henry on his part dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, by reaſon of his domeſtic enemies. Thus the two monarchs having the ſame intereſt, lived in peace till Charles's death, on the 6th of April 1498. The duke of Orleans, who ſucceeded him by the name of Lewis XII. was no leſs careful to preſerve a good underſtanding with England [a]. As he turned all his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diverſion in Picardy. As ſoon as Lewis was on the throne, he cauſed his marriage with Jane daughter of Lewis XI. to be annulled in order to eſpouſe Anne of Bretagne his predeceſſor's widow. Otherwiſe he would have run the riſk of ſeeing Bretagne once more ſevered from France, and in the hands of a foreign houſe.

Though Henry had nothing to fear from abroad, ſince he was in peace with all the princes in Europe, it was not the ſame with regard to his own ſubjects. Before he could acquire that perfect tranquillity, he ſo earneſtly longed for, he had a freſh attack to maintain from the Corniſhmen. Perkin, who having learnt to live like a prince, could not reſolve to return to his primitive ſtate, embraced this opportunity to create him new troubles.

The Corniſh rebels had been treated more gently than they had reaſon to expect, conſidering the nature of their crime, which ſovereigns never willingly pardon. Moſt of them had compounded for two or three ſhillings a man, ſo miſerable were they. Theſe being returned home, publicly ſaid, if the king had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but becauſe he was ſenſible if he puniſhed all that were of their mind, he muſt hang up three parts in four of his ſubjects. Theſe diſcourſes making their friends and neighbours believe, the whole kingdom was ready to riſe, they began to flock together, and ſhew they were not diſcouraged by the battle of Blackheath. At laſt ſome of the moſt fiery hearing Perkin was in Ireland, propoſed to ſend for him and ſet him at their head. The propoſal meeting with applauſe, they ſent to Warbeck, that if he would come among them, he ſhould find no contemptible aid, and that with the aſſiſtance of other good Engliſhmen, they hoped to place him on the throne.

Perkin being without any refuge in Ireland, and expecting nothing more either from Scotland or France, or the Low-Countries, gladly accepted the invitation. He had with him for counſellors, Hern a broken mercer, Skelton a taylor, and Aſtley a ſcrivener, who perſuaded him to take that courſe. They told him, he had committed a great error in relying on the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the kings of France and Scotland, who without regarding his, had only their own intereſts in view: that he had been ill adviſed when he landed in Kent, which was too near London; but if he had been ſo fortunate as to have been in Cornwal when the Corniſhmen took up arms, he had been crowned at Weſtminſter before now: that the Scots were not proper inſtruments to place him on the throne, by reaſon of the averſion the Engliſh had for them; but, he muſt wholly depend upon the people of England, who alone were capable of procuring him the crown: that therefore they adviſed him to repair into Cornwal, where he was expected.

Purſuant to this advice, Perkin embarked for Cornwal, having with him about ſeventy men [x] on four ſmall veſſels, and arrived in September [y] at Whitſand-Bay. As ſoon as he had landed his little troop, he came to Bodmin, the farrier's town, who was hanged after the battle of Blackheath. There aſſembling about three thouſand men, he iſſued out a proclamation aſſuming the title of king of England, and the name of Richard IV. He was very free of his reproaches and invectives againſt Henry and his government, with magnificent promiſes to ſuch as ſhould take up arms to dethrone the uſurper. After publiſhing his proclamation, he formed a deſign to become maſter of Exeter, as well to make it ſerve for a magazine, as a retreat in caſe of need. At firſt he tried to bribe the inhabitants with promiſing them the preſervation and augmentation of their privileges. But finding they would not hearken to him, he reſolved to ſtorm the city. As he had no artillery, he was forced to ſcale the walls, and at the ſame time attempted to fire one of the gates. But the attempt miſcarried, and he loſt two hundred men in the aſſault.

Henry hearing that Perkin had joined the Corniſh rebels, and was before Exeter, ſaid merrily, "he hoped now to have the honour to ſee him which he could never yet do." He intimated withal, he ſhould receive with pleaſure and thankfulneſs, the ſervices the nobility ſhould do him upon that occaſion. Whereupon, ſeveral lords and gentlemen of Devonſhire, and the neighbouring parts, uncalled from court, drew ſome forces together, and put themſelves under arms [z]. On the other hand, the king ordered the lord d'Aubeney to march to the relief of Exeter, ſpreading a report of his following in perſon with a numerous army.

Perkin, upon news of the preparations againſt him, raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, where he prepared all things as if he intended to fight. But that very night he fled to Bewley monaſtery, in the New Foreſt, where he and ſeveral of his company regiſtered themſelves ſanctuarymen. The lord d'Aubeney hearing Perkin had forſaken his army, detached three hundred horſe [a] to purſue him, and prevent his eſcaping by ſea. The purſuers arriving too late at Bewley, contented themſelves with beſetting the ſanctuary till further orders. Mean while, Perkin's troops, which were increaſed to ſix thouſand, being deſtitute of their head, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, who pardoned them all except a few ring-leaders who were hanged for an example. Preſently after, he ſent a detachment of horſe to St. Michael's mount, to bring away Perkin's wife who was retired thither, leſt, if ſhe was with child and eſcaped, the buſineſs ſhould not end in the perſon of Perkin. This virtuous lady, who loved her huſband entirely though unworthy of her, ſo gained the king's favour by her modeſty, that he gave her a very gracious reception. He comforted her himſelf in a very affectionate manner, had her conducted to the queen, and aſſigned her an honourable allowance, which ſhe enjoyed during the king's life, and many years after. She was called the White Roſe, as well on account of her beauty, as becauſe of the name given by the ducheſs of Burgundy to her huſband.

Though Perkin was in a place from whence he could not eſcape, the king however came to Exeter, to inquire more ſtrictly into the cauſes and origin of the rebellion. As he entered the city, he took his ſword from his ſide and gave it to the mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring by that mark of diſtinction the zeal ſhewn by the citizens for his ſervice. On the morrow, he cauſed ſome of the rebels to be hanged in ſacrifice to the inhabitants of Exeter, and as a ſort of ſatisfaction for what they had ſuffered. For the reſt who had ſubmitted to his mercy, he gave them indeed their lives, but withal appointed commiſſioners [b] to puniſh them by fines. He proceeded on this occaſion with exceſſive ſeverity. One would have thought he repented of giving them their lives, and deſigned to ſtarve the miſerable wretches after freeing them from the gallows.

After that, he adviſed with his council, upon what ſhould be done with Perkin, who was ſtill inveſted in his ſanctuary. Some were for taking him out by force, and putting him to death, not at all queſtioning, that after his execution, the king might eaſily agree with the pope. Others on the contrary believed, that according to the licence granted by Innocent VIIIth's bull, it ſufficed to have him narrowly watched, and that, without neceſſity, ſuch an advantage ſhould not be given to the pope. Moreover, that the king ought carefully to avoid being deemed a violator of ſanctuaries, of which his enemies would not fail to take the advantage. In ſhort,

[a] He ratified the late treaties concluded with king Henry by Charles VIII. his predeceſſor, and engaged to continue the payment of the yearly ſum of fifty thouſand livres. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 681—696.

[x] Bacon ſays a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty fighting men. p. 622

[y] On the ſeventh of September. Grow, p. 480.

[z] As Edward Courtney earl of Devonſhire, and William his ſon, with ſir Edmund Carew, and ſir Thomas Fulford, and likewiſe Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, with many brave gentlemen, namely, ſir Thomas Trenchard, ſir William Courtney, ſir John Halewel, ſir John Croker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecombe, William St. Maure, or Seymour, &c. Bacon. Hall. fol. 46. Hollingſhead, p. 784.

[a] Five hundred, ſays Hollingſhead. Bacon, p. 622.

[b] Thomas Harrys, William Hatclyff, and Roger Holland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 696.

I

ſome there were who plainly told the king, he would never ſatisfy the people, that Perkin was an impoſter, unleſs Warbeck himſelf freely undeceived thoſe that were ſeduced by his artifices: that therefore the beſt method that could be taken was, to engage him by a pardon to make himſelf a confeſſion of his crime. The king following this advice, ſent to offer Perkin his life, if he would voluntary ſurrender himſelf. Perkin readily accepted the offer. He ſaw himſelf ſo ſtrictly watched and guarded, that he deſpaired to make his eſcape. Beſides, ſuppoſing he could have eſcaped, he was deſtitute of all hopes, after an unſucceſsful trial of ſo many different means.

Shortly after, the king ordered Perkin to be brought to court, as if he was in full liberty, but however, attended by ſeveral perſons who were commanded to guard him with all care leſt he made his eſcape. Every one might ſee and talk with him, but he could never obtain leave to throw himſelf at the king's feet, though the king, to ſatisfy his curioſity, ſaw him without been ſeen. After that, Perkin was conducted to London. He was all the way expoſed to the inſults and deriſion of the people; but ſeemed to bear all with great courage and conſtancy. Never did he act the prince better than upon this occaſion, without affecting too great an inſenſibility, or ſhewing too much dejection. When he was come to London, he was made to ride twice through the city, that people might have time and opportunity to view him well, after which he was confined in the Tower [c]. A few days after was executed one of his chief confidents, who not caring to take ſanctuary with him in Bewley, choſe rather to wander about the country in a hermit's dreſs [d]. This execution being over, Perkin was privately examined, and his confeſſion publiſhed, giving an exact account of all his actions, and the places where he had lived ever ſince he was born. But all were ſurpriſed to find no particulars of the conſpiracy or the authors. The ducheſs of Burgundy herſelf was not ſo much as named. Some took occaſion from thence to confirm themſelves in the belief, that the perſon called Perkin Warbeck was the true duke of York. They were perſuaded, that this affected ſilence was not without myſtery, and that the king durſt not inſert in Perkin's pretended confeſſion, any of the circumſtances relating to foreign princes, for fear of being publicly contradicted by perſons who would not have for him the ſame regard as his own ſubjects. As for what was publiſhed concerning Perkin's life and kindred, nothing, as they ſaid, was eaſier than to invent ſuch ſtories. Some however believed the king was thus ſilent, out of complaiſance to the king of France, the emperor, archduke, ducheſs of Burgundy, and king of Scotland; and that there were even Engliſh lords engaged in the plot, againſt whom he did not think fit to proceed.

The year 1498, ended with an accident which gave the king no ſmall concern. Whilſt he was at his palace of Shene, a fire broke out the 21ſt of September with ſuch violence that in a few hours the building was entirely conſumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he cauſed it ſoon after to be rebuilt from the ground, calling it Richmond, which name it retains to this day [e].

The ſame year Iſabella queen of Portugal was ſolemnly acknowledged preſumptive heir of Caſtile and Arragon, by the ſtates of thoſe two kingdoms. But ſhortly after, ſhe died in childbed at Saragoſſa, having been delivered of a prince, who was named Michael, and proclaimed preſumptive ſucceſſor of Ferdinand and Iſabella.

Since Lewis XII. aſcended the throne of France, he had been employed in contriving how to recover the duchy of Milan, which claimed in right of Valentina of Milan his grandmother.

The truce between England and Scotland being concluded, as I ſaid to the ſatisfaction of both kingdoms, the Scots converſed familiarly with their neighbours the Engliſh, particularly with the inhabitants of Norham. This town, which was fortified with a good caſtle and a ſtrong garriſon, is ſituated on the little river Tweed, which parts the two kingdoms. It happened one day, ſome Scotchmen walking out of the town, ſtood looking attentively upon the caſtle, which breeding ſuſpicion in the ſoldiers of the garriſon, they ſent to them to retire. The Scots taking it ill to be ſuſpected, returned an angry anſwer, and in ſhort, falling from words to blows, ſome of them were killed. The affair being brought before the wardens of the Marches, was neglected, ſo that after many delays, the king of Scotland ſent a herald into England to demand a ſpeedy ſatisfaction. Henry, who had no mind to quarrel with James, replied, that what had been done was a meer chance, and without his privity; but however, he was ready to make all convenient ſatisfaction, and to that end, would ſend embaſſadors to the king of Scotland. Buchanan, and the lord Bacon, Henry the ſeventh's hiſtorian, affirm, the firſt overture of the marriage between king James and the princeſs Margaret was made during this negotiation, and that James himſelf propoſed it to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham. Whereas it appears in the Collection of the Public acts, that, above four years before, Henry had projected the marriage, and probably cauſed it, as I ſaid, to be ſuggeſted to the king of Scotland, by ſome indirect means. As the biſhop of Durham could not be ignorant of the king's intentions, ſince he had been twice commiſſioned to treat of this marriage, he failed not to inſpire king James with hopes, that the affair would be ended to his ſatisfaction. Shortly after, the embaſſadors of the two kingdoms [f] meeting at Sterling to decide the Norham affair, renewed the former truce, adding certain articles to prevent the like accidents. After that, Henry appointed the biſhop of Durham to ſettle with the king of Scotland the articles of the intended marriage. This affair was not however finiſhed till January 1502.

Perkin Warbeck, accuſtomed to live like a prince, was heartily tired of the Tower, where doubtleſs he was not treated as ſuch. Though according to appearance, the king had ordered him to be ſtrictly guarded, he found means to eſcape, and take the road into Kent, where he hoped to meet ſome ſhip to carry him out of the kingdom. But hearing that orders were every where ſent to apprehend him, he thought proper to fly to the monaſtery of Bethlehem [g], which enjoyed the privilege of ſanctuary [h]. It was difficult for the prior to protect ſuch a perſon, and yet he could not reſolve either to let him go elſewhere, or violate the privilege of the houſe, in delivering him to the king. In this perplexity, he choſe to wait upon the king, and acquainting him that Perkin was in his hands, petitioned for his life, leaving him otherwiſe to the king's diſcretion. The king readily ſaw, it would not be poſſible to draw Perkin out of the monaſtry to put him to death, without making great noiſe. So, on pretence of his great reſpect for the prior, who was a perſon very much reverenced, he granted the priſoner his life, but ordered him to be ſet in the ſtocks a whole day, in the palace court of Weſtminſter, and the next day at the Croſs in Cheapſide [i], from whence he was conveyed in the Tower [k]. Such a priſoner naturally ſhould have been thrown into ſome dungeon, and yet his confinement was not the moſt rigorous, ſince he had the liberty to converſe with the reſt of the priſoners.

After he had remained ſome time in this ſtate, he found means to gain four ſervants of ſir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, with whom he plotted to kill their maſter, ſeize the keys of the Tower, and eſcape with the earl of Warwick, who had alſo been perſuaded to come into the plot out of hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been ſo long unjuſtly debarred. But unhappily for them, the affair was diſcovered before it could be executed. It was ſcarce doubted that the king himſelf was the contriver of the plot, and that his aim was to draw at once Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick into the ſnare, in order to put them both to death. Indeed ſeveral reaſons rendered it credible. Firſt, it was very ſurpriſing that Perkin was not more cloſely confined after the attempt to make his eſcape. Secondly, it was not likely that in his circumſtances, unable to reward ſir John Digby's ſervants, they ſhould expoſe themſelves to ſuch danger for his ſake. In the third place, Perkin was too cunning to join with the earl of Warwick, who would have been a thorn in his ſide, though they had been ſo fortunate as to eſcape. Laſtly, ſuppoſing they had killed the governor without being diſcovered, and got the keys of the Tower, how could they expect that the guards would have opened the gate or ſuffered it to be opened in the night, without examining the perſons that went out, or without the governor's expreſs order. But what farther confirms this ſuſpicion of the king was, that about the ſame time a young man, one Wilford, a ſhoemaker's ſon, pretended to be the earl of Warwick. He was accompanied or rather guided and directed by an

[c] It does not appear that he was committed to the Tower till after he had attempted to eſcape. See Hollingſhead, p. 784.

[d] He was farrier to the king's ſtables, and accompanied Perkin in his proceſſion through the city, bound hand and foot upon a horſe. Bacon, p. 623.

[e] He gave it that name from his having been earl of Richmond. Camden.

[f] The Engliſh embaſſadors were William biſhop of Carliſle, Richard Hutton, doctor of laws, ſir Thomas Darcy, ſir Richard Cholmeley, and John Cartyngton. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 721.

[g] Built by Henry V. at Shene in Surrey, and was called the priory of Shene. Hall, fol. 49.

[h] And deſired the prior for God's ſake, to petition the king to grant him his life and a pardon. Hall.

[i] In both which places he read his confeſſion, of which the reader may ſee a copy in Hall, fol. 49; and in Hollingſhead, p. 786.

[k] On the 15th of June. Hall, fol. 50.

Henry 7.

Auguſtin Friar, called Patrick, who had the boldneſs to preach publickly in ſome town in Kent, that Wilford was the earl of Warwick, and exhort the people to take up arms in his favour. They were both apprehended, and Wilford was hanged, but the friar was pardoned [l]. This gave occaſion to believe, Wilford had been ſeduced by the friar and by the king's particular direction, that it might be thought leſs ſtrange, that he put him to death, under colour of cauſing freſh troubles.

However it is certain the king was reſolved to free himſelf at once from all his uneaſineſs occaſioned by Perkin and the earl of Warwick. Though it cannot poſitively be ſaid, that he laid a ſnare for them, at leaſt the plot furniſhed him with a plauſible reaſon to deliver him over to juſtice. Perkin was condemned [m] by commiſſioners of oyer and terminer to be hanged, and was executed with the mayor of Cork [n] and his ſon, who had been his conſtant companions in all his adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were ſir John Digby's four ſervants, there were but two executed. Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged for lawful king in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland, and made Henry ſhake in his throne. Perhaps he would have ſucceeded in his deſigns, had he been to deal with a leſs politic prince. However, it is certain the king was not enough careful to undeceive the public, and that the proofs produced to ſhew Perkin was an impoſter being taken only from a private examination, ſeemed not ſufficiently evident.

In a few days after Perkin's death [o], the earl of Warwick was brought before the houſe of Peers, the earl of Oxford exerciſing by commiſſion the office of high ſteward. He was arraigned, not for attempting to eſcape, which could not be deemed high-treaſon, ſince he was not impriſoned for any ſuch crime, nor even for any other, but for conſpiring the king's death jointly with Perkin Warbeck. The poor prince confeſſing that he gave his conſent to the project laid by Perkin and Digby's ſervants, was condemned to loſe his head, and the ſentence was executed on Tower-hill [p]. He was the laſt male heir of the houſe of York, which in truth was the crime that coſt him his life, the king chuſing rather to ſacrifice his own reputation than be diſapointed of ſecuring the crown both to himſelf and his heirs. To leſſen in ſome meaſure the people's horror of rhis cruelty, the king cauſed it to be publiſhed that king Ferdinand had poſitively declared, he would never conſent to marry his daughter Catherine to prince Arthur ſo long as the earl of Warwick was alive. Strange ſort of apology, tending to inſinuate that the marriage of the princeſs of Spain was ſo neceſſary for England, that it muſt be purchaſed with blood! but if the marriage was not requiſite for the ſtate, it was at leaſt very beneficial to the king, who was to receive two hundred thouſand crowns of gold for Catherine's dowry. This alone would have induced him to ſacrifice the earl of Warwick, though he had no other advantage by his death. From a like motive he had beheaded the lord-chamberlain. Mean while, very probably what was publiſhed concerning king Ferdinand, was only a mere pretence to excuſe Henry, ſince Arthur's marriage with Catherine was ſolemnized by proxy the 19th of May this very year before the earl of Warwick's death [q].

Lewis XII. had ſolemnly ratified and ſworn the peace of Eſtaples a little after his acceſſion to the crown. But being deſirous to ſhew Henry, he really intended to keep it, he cauſed it to be approved and ratified by the ſtates general, aſſembled at Nantz in the beginning of the year. Then he ſent embaſſadors to the pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The pope ſeeing no farther obſtacle from France, iſſued out a bull of excommunication againſt whoever of the two kings ſhould not obſerve the treaty.

It was not without reaſon that Lewis deſired to preſerve the peace made by his predeceſſor with England. He had formed a deſign to ſeize the duchy of Milan, and to that end made a league with the Venetians, who were to have for their ſhare all that part of the Milaneſe ſituate beyond the Adda. This ſame year the confederates attacked the duchy of Milan, and Ludovico Sforza, the moſt perfidious of men, being forſaken by all the world, was forced to fly to the emperor, having loſt all his places, except the caſtle of Milan. Genoa, of which he was poſſeſſed, followed the example of the Milaneſe, in voluntarily ſurrendering to the king of France.

Frederick, king of Naples, who had ſucceeded Ferdinand his nephew, fearing the preparations in France were deſigned againſt him, gave Henry ſpeedy notice that he deſired to be included in the peace he had lately renewed with France. But it was not with him that Lewis intended to deal this year. He reſerved the war of Naples after the conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

Alexander VI. having publiſhed a jubilee for the year 1500, the laſt of the century, had granted by his bull to all Chriſtians at a diſtance from Rome, the privilege of the jubilee, without being obliged to viſit the churches of that city, but on condition of paying ſuch a ſum for the favour. This was an infallible way to draw money from all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, where he had ſent commiſſioners to levy it. The commiſſioner appointed for England was Jaſper Pons, a Spaniard, who wiſely diſcharged his commiſſion without noiſe or ſcandal, and carried a good ſum of money to his maſter [r].

Beſides this affair, he was charged with another which ſeemed of great moment, but tended like the firſt, only to fill the pope's coffers. He had orders to acquaint the king that the pope was reſolved to publiſh a cruſade againſt the Turks: that therefore it was agreed with the embaſſadors of ſeveral potentates, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, ſhould make war upon the Turks in Thrace, the French and Spaniards in Greece, and himſelf, with the king of England, the Venetians, and princes of Italy, who were moſt powerful at ſea, ſhould attack Conſtantinople: that in conſequence of this reſolution, he had ſent nuncios to all the courts, to exhort the ſovereigns amicably to end their private quarrels, that all the forces of Chriſtendom might be united together for ſo pious an undertaking. Alexander VI. was too well known to be thought to act upon this occaſion from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God. Conſequently it was eaſy to ſee that the ſole deſign of the cruſade was to heap up money by voluntary contributions, as well from private perſons as ſovereigns. However, as Henry was unwilling to ſhew his diſlike of the project, which probably would meet with obſtacles enough elſewhere, he told the nuncio. "That no prince in all Chriſtendom ſhould be more zealous than himſelf, to promote the affair, to the glory of God and the good of the church: but as his dominions were ſo remote from Conſtantinople, as he had no galleys, and as his mariners were not ſufficiently acquainted with the Mediterranean ſea, he judged it more proper that the kings of France and Spain ſhould accompany his holineſs by ſea, whereby, not only all things would be ſooner ready, but the jealouſy wiſely avoided, which would infallibly ariſe between theſe two monarchs, in caſe they ſhould march together by and without a ſuperior: that for his part, he would freely contribute both men and money towards the undertaking. But if the kings of France and Spain ſhould refuſe to accompany the pope, he would go himſelf and command under him, provided all differences between the Chriſtian princes were firſt appeaſed, (which he ſhould not obſtruct, ſince he was in peace with all the world) and ſome good towns on the coaſt of Italy put into his hands, to ſerve for retreat in caſe of neceſſity."

The pope eaſily perceived the meaning of this anſwer, and as probably the reſt of the princes would return the like, the cruſade vaniſhed into air. Mean while, Henry, to diſplay his zeal, appointed embaſſadors to go to Rome, to treat with the pope concerning that affair. But I do not know whether the embaſſadors ever went from London. Henry's anſwer being made public, the knights of Rhodes elected him for protector of their order, imagining there was no prince in Chriſtendom more zealous than himſelf for religion.

The plague having for ſome time raged in England [s], the king, after frequent change of places, reſolved to go and make ſome ſtay at Calais with his family, till the danger was over. Upon his arrival, the archduke Philip ſent embaſſadors to welcome him into thoſe parts, and expreſs his deſire of paying him a viſit. But withal, prayed him to appoint for their interview ſome place that was not a walled town, not but that he had a perfect confidence in him, but becauſe he had already refuſed to confer with the king of France in a

[l] Wilford was hanged on Shrove-Tueſday; and the friar was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Bacon, p. 625.

[m] On November 16, and executed the 23d of the ſame month. Hall, fol. 50. Stow, p. 481.

[n] John Awater. His ſon was pardoned. J. Ware, c. 15.

[o] November 21, and conſequently two days before Perkin's death. Hall.

[p] Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick was four and twenty years old, and had been a priſoner fifteen years, and kept ſo from the company of men and beaſts, that he is ſaid not to know a gooſe from a capon. He was beheaded November 28, and buried at Biſham. Hall.

[q] It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIIIth's divorcing her, ſhould ſay, "That ſhe had not offended; but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood." Meaning the earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 626.

[r] This was done after the king's return from Calais, which was about the end of June. Hall, fol. 52.

[s] There died of it thirty thouſand in London. Stow.

Roben

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London: Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Goldar sculp.

In the Posession of Mr. Kingsly.

Publish'd as the Act directs October. 22. 1785

fortified place. Henry very civily accepted the compliment, and appointed the place to be at St. Peter's church without the gates of Calais. Then he ſent embaſſadors to Philip to return his compliment, and tell him with what impatience, he expected him. Some days after, being informed that the archduke, was near Calais, he rode out of the town to receive him. When Philip ſaw him, he alighted and offered to hold the king's ſtirrup: but Henry not permitting him, they embraced, and, withdrawing into the church, had a long conference. The archduke, willing to efface the impreſſion which his protection of Perkin might have made in the king's mind, ſhewed an ardent deſire to live in a good underſtanding with him, calling him his patron and father, as appears in the king's letter to the mayor of London, acquainting him with what paſſed at the interview. It is ſaid alſo, that overtures were made of croſs marriages between Henry duke of York the king's ſecond ſon, and Margaret ſiſter of Philip, and widow of the prince of Spain; and between Charles ſon of Philip and Mary the king's ſecond daughter. Charles was born the 24th of February this year, and by the death of prince Michael of Portugal about the ſame time, was become preſumptive heir of the crown of Caſtile and Arragon.

This year, the pope, at the requeſt of Lewis XII. himſelf, gave a bull, whereby that prince was declared excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the treaty of Eſtaples.

The embaſſadors of England and Scotland being at length agreed upon the terms of the marriage between king James and Margaret, the pope granted a diſpenſation. But as the princeſs was only between ten and eleven years old, it was not conſummated till three years after.

Henry was then in peace with all the princes of Europe, and there was no appearance of any troubles in his kingdom. Conſequently he had no ſort of pretence to demand of his parliament new ſubſidies. This way of raiſing money, of which he was ſo greedy, failing him, other methods were to be deviſed. Perkin Warbeck's affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhauſted. The commiſſion he had eſtabliſhed whilſt at Exeter, regarded properly ſuch only as had actually taken up arms againſt him. But though that commiſſion had brought him in very large ſums, he was not yet ſatisfied. Under colour that thoſe who had any way adhered to Warbeck's party were ſtill liable to the rigour of the law, he was ready to grant them a pardon unaſked; but it was on condition, they paid the fines laid upon them. For that purpoſe he appointed new commiſſioners[t] to make inqueſt of thoſe that aſſiſted Michael the farrier, author of the firſt Corniſh rebellion, and Perkin Warbeck the impoſtor, with power to pardon them upon their paying fines at the commiſſioners' diſcretion. He ordered likewiſe the eſtates of ſuch as were dead to be ſeized and ſold, if the heirs refuſed to make a reaſonable compoſition. It is eaſy to ſee from hence, that if the king had been favourable to the rebels during the troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to deſpair, whilſt they were yet heated, ſince he ſpared them not as ſoon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous.

Cardinal Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury was accuſed of being the author of theſe oppreſſions. But it was afterwards perceived, they ſprung from the king himſelf. The archbiſhop died the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year[u], little regretted by the Engliſh, who were greatly prejudiced againſt him. Henry Dean biſhop of Saliſbury ſucceeded him, but had not poſſeſſion till the Auguſt following[w]. Before we cloſe this year, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in Italy.

After Lewis XII. was become maſter of the duchy of Milan, he turned his thoughts to the conqueſt of Naples. Though probably he might alone have conquered that kingdom, he made however an alliance with the king of Arragon, whereby they agreed to join their forces, and ſhare the conqueſt between them. Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria, and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo and Terra di Lavaro. The treaty being ſigned, Ferdinand ſent an army into Italy under the command of the famous Gonzalvo, commonly called the Great Captain. Lewis gave the conduct of his army to d'Aubigni, to the earl of Galazzo, and Cæſar Borgia the pope's baſtard, who having quitted the cardinalate was become duke of Valentinois. The French fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves lord of Ravenſtein. In a very ſhort ſpace, each of the two kings became maſter of the portion aſſigned him by the treaty, and the unfortunate Frederick king of Naples was forced to caſt himſelf upon the mercy of Lewis XII. who ſent him to live in France with a penſion of thirty thouſand crowns.

[1501] Henry having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in great tranquillity, and the more, as he ſaw in England no lord in condition to create him uneaſineſs. The ability he had ſhewn in ſeveral affairs, as well foreign as domeſtic, which had unexpectedly come upon him, kept his neighbours in awe, and his ſubjects in obedience. So, which way ſoever he turned his eyes, he ſaw nothing capable of diſturbing his quiet. Mean while, when he leaſt expected it, he thought a new ſtorm was gathering againſt him, but he was more afraid than hurt. The earl of Suffolk[x], nephew of Edward IV. and Richard III. and brother of the earl of Lincoln, ſlain at Stokefield, quarreling with a man, had the misfortune to kill him. This accident might have given the king a pretence to free himſelf from the earl, who could not but be odious to him, ſince he was by his mother of the houſe of York. However, whether the action itſelf was not ill, or for ſome other reaſon, the king was pleaſed to forgive him on condition he openly pleaded his pardon. The earl, more offended at this ignominy, than grateful for the favour granted him, retired ſhortly after into Flanders to his aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy. Henry was ſtartled at his retreat, imagining he was gone into the Low-Countries to contrive ſome plot againſt him. His conſtant uneaſineſs, with reſpect to his crown, made him apprehenſive, that the leaſt beginnings would be attended with ſad conſequences. And therefore, not to give the earl of Suffolk time to concert new projects with the ducheſs of Burgundy, he ſo wrought with him by meſſages, that he returned into England, where he was very readily pardoned. The ducheſs of Burgundy was grown old, and tired with ſo many fruitleſs attempts to dethrone Henry. Beſides, ſhe could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the archduke, who was willing to live in a good underſtanding with him.

This year abounded in marriages, and projects of marriages of conſequence. The archduke going into Spain by land, had an opportunity to confer with Lewis XII. and conclude with him a marriage between his ſon Charles, and Claude eldeſt daughter of that monarch.

On the other hand, Margaret, of Auſtria, the archduke's ſiſter, and widow of the prince of Spain, eſpouſed Philibert, duke of Savoy.

In fine, Catherine, of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, coming into England in October[y], her marriage with Arthur prince of Wales, was ſolemnized the 14th of November. Though the prince was but in the ſixteenth year of his age[z], it was not queſtioned whether the marriage was conſummated. The prince himſelf next morning ſaid ſeveral things which left no room to doubt it. And yet, there were afterwards very warm diſputes upon it, Catherine or her council affirming, there was no conſummation. But it is not yet time to ſpeak of that matter.

Thomas Wolſey, afterwards archbiſhop of York and cardinal, who made ſo great a figure in England, was now rector of the pariſh church of Lymington, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that in November this year, the pope, in conſideration of his diſtinguiſhed merit, granted him a diſpenſation to hold two benefices that were inconſiſtent.

[1502] Though the diſpenſation for the king of Scotland's marriage was come, Henry made no haſte to finiſh that affair, by reaſon of his daughter's tender age. At length, the princeſs being entered upon her thirteenth year, the 29th of November 1501, James ſent embaſſadors to London, where every thing concerning the marriage was ſettled, and the contract drawn in form the 24th of January 1502. Henry gave with his daughter thirty thouſand angel nobles of gold[a], (each noble worth twenty groſſes, or groats) payable in three years. James ſettled upon the princeſs his ſpouſe, a jointure of two thouſand pounds ſterling a year in land, of which however he was to receive the income during his life, and allow her only a thouſand pounds a year at her own diſpoſal. It was farther agreed, that ſhe might have twenty-four Engliſh ſervants, and when one died, ſhe might appoint another in his room: that the marriage ſhould be performed "per verba de Præſenti," about

[t] Robert Sherborn, dean of St. Paul's, and ſir Amias Paulet. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 766.

[u] Stow ſays, he died in October, at his manor of Knole, p. 482.

[w] This year alſo died Thomas Rotherham, archbiſhop of York; in whoſe place was choſen Thomas Savage, biſhop of London, who was ſucceeded by William Warham. About the ſame time died Thomas Langton, biſhop of Wincheſter, and was ſucceeded by Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham. Hall, fol. 52. Stow, p. 481, 482. Hollingſh. p. 788. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 767, 771.

[x] Edmund de la Pole, ſon of Elizabeth, Edward's eldeſt ſiſter, by John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, her ſecond huſband.

[y] She arrived at Plymouth. Octob. 2.

[z] He was born September 20, 1486.

[a] Ten thouſand pounds.

In

Henry 7

the feaſt of purification; but the king of Scotland ſhould not think of having Margaret in his hands till September the firſt, 1503: that then Henry ſhould cauſe her to be conducted, at his expence, to the borders of the two kingdoms. Before the contract was ſigned, a privy counſellor repreſented to the king, that it was not impoſſible but the marriage might one day give England a Scotch ſovereign[b]. Whereupon the king replied, ſuppoſing that ſhould be, the ſtrongeſt would carry it from the weakeſt, and Scotland be annexed to England, and not England to Scotland, which fell out accordingly.

The ſame day were ſigned alſo two other treaties, one of perpetual peace and amity between Scotland and England, and the other concerning the outrages that might be committed on both ſides contrary to the peace.

Whilſt the court was rejoicing for the marriage of the queen of Scotland, prince Arthur her brother was ſeized with a diſtemper which laid him in his grave. He died the 2d of April, about five months after his marriage, and in the ſeventeenth year of his age[c]. As the princeſs, his widow, might be with child, the king delayed two or three months to create Henry his ſecond ſon prince of Wales. The lord Bacon ſays in his hiſtory, that Henry was not made prince of Wales till February, 1503[d]. But we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, letters patent of the 22d of June, 1502, wherein he is ſtiled prince of Wales; a clear evidence that he was now inveſted with that principality.

Shortly after, Henry received an embaſſy from the emperor Maximilian, to propoſe a league againſt the Turks. This embaſſy was properly only a pretence to demand of the king an aid of money, which the emperor promiſed punctually to repay. But the king knowing Maximilian to be always in want, choſe rather to make him a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, than to lend him the ſum he deſired. As for the league propoſed by the emperor, Henry did not think fit to engage in it, contenting himſelf with ſtipulating, that the ten thouſand pounds ſhould be employed in the war againſt the Infidels. He concluded with him however a treaty of commerce, and another of friendſhip and alliance, which was to laſt one year after the death of the ſurvivor. Moreover it was agreed, that Maximilian, and his ſon the archduke, ſhould be admitted in the order of the garter, and Henry into that of the Golden Fleece. Purſuant to the agreement, Henry ſent embaſſadors[e] to Maximilian with the order of the garter, and to ſee him ſwear to the treaties.

About the ſame time Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary, finding himſelf preſſed by the Turks, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes, Henry ſent embaſſadors to treat with him. But their power was limited to a promiſe, in his name, of a ſum of money to be employed againſt the Infidels.

During the reſt of the year nothing extraordinary paſſed in England. James and Henry were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying their three late treaties, and ſwearing to obſerve them. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, the embaſſadors of the king of England[f] having delivered to king James a writing, containing the oath he was to take, and he reading it as it was, inadvertently gave Henry the title of king of France. But afterwards perceiving his error, he took publickly another oath, wherein the words, "and of France," were omitted, and made that his authentic act. He was afraid, no doubt, the king of France would be diſpleaſed with his giving Henry that title, though it was of no great importance.

We ſee likewiſe in the Collection, that on the 9th of December, Henry gave a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt, merchants of Briſtol, to John Gonſalez and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with Engliſh colours in queſt of unknown countries, upon certain terms expreſſed in the patent[g].

Elizabeth, Henry's queen, died the 11th of February, 1503, without being much lamented by the king, who never loved her[h]. On the contrary, he had given her ſenſible mortifications. His hatred to the houſe of York was extended to his own wife, eſpecially as he always deemed her a dangerous rival. The concern he gave her by confining the queen her mother in a convent, and confiſcating all her eſtate, plainly ſhewed his little regard for her[i].

At this time the king's affairs were ſo proſperous, that he ſeemed to have all he could deſire. He was in peace with all the princes of Europe, and without troubles at home, or the appearance of any thing to vex or embarraſs him. But his ſubjects were not the happier. As his avarice was inſatiable, he was continually ſeeking new ways to heap up riches, which he wanted not, ſince it was not to uſe them, and ſince never a prince was a greater œconomiſt than himſelf. His inſtruments for that purpoſe were two infamous miniſters, ſir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley, who, regardleſs of their own and the king's reputation, ſought only to gratify his humour, and deviſe new means to fill his coffers. Dudley was of a good family, well ſkilled in the laws of the land, and able to give a favourable turn to the moſt odious actions. Empſon was ſprung from the dregs of the people[k], impudent to the laſt degree, and ſo little aſhamed of the injuſtices he committed, that he uſed to glory in them. Theſe are ſome of the means they uſed to draw money from the people, into the king's treaſury, beſides numberleſs others too long to be recounted.

In the firſt place, they cauſed ſuch as were reputed rich, to be indicted of ſundry crimes, and when the bills were found by the grand jury, committed them, without bringing them to their trial, till of themſelves they deſired to compound with the king. If they delayed too long, the miniſters found means to terrify them with emiſſaries, who made them believe their lives were in danger. By this means the parties were forced at length to come to a compoſition, which tore from them the beſt part of their eſtates, and which the miniſters termed however mitigations, as if the king had done them a favour in allaying the too great rigour of the law.

2. They came at laſt to that point, that they proceeded without obſerving any form of juſtice. They ſent forth their precepts, to attach and cite people before themſelves at their private houſes, in a court of commiſſion, and there, after a ſummary proceeding by examination, without proofs or witneſſes, paſſed ſentence, and condemned them in large fines to the king's uſe. Thus without vouchſafing to make uſe of juries, and the methods preſcribed by the law, they aſſumed themſelves to deal as well in controverſies civil, as in pleas of the crown. One would have thought, all criminal cauſes had belonged to that kind of juriſdiction, which, having been very rare in the foregoing reigns, was grown common in this.

3. They charged the ſubjects lands with Tenures in Capite, by finding falſe offices[l], refuſing upon divers pretences and delays to admit people to traverſe thoſe falſe offices according to law. Hence they formed variety of proceſſes, whereof they themſelves were the judges, and which were always decided in favour of the crown.

4. When the king's wards had accompliſhed their full age, they could never have livery of their lands without paying exceſſive fines, contrary to the expreſs tenor of Magna Charta[m].

5. When men were out-lawed in perſonal actions, the miniſters would not permit them to purchaſe their charters of pardon, unleſs they paid great and intollerable ſums; ſtanding upon the rigour of the law, which upon out-lawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained, the king ought to have the half of men's lands and rents during two whole years.

6. They would alſo threaten the jurors, and force them to find as they ſhould direct; and if they refuſed to act ſo unjuſtly, they were cited, impriſoned, and fined[n].

[b] In caſe Arthur and Henry died without iſſue.

[c] He died at Ludlow-caſtle, where he was ſent to keep his reſidence as prince of Wales, and was buried in the cathedral church at Worceſter. Sandford, p, 475.

[d] Bacon ſays, it was half a year's time between Henry's creation and Arthur's death. And juſt after, he ſays, the February following (that is, ten months) Henry was created prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter and Flint, p. 629. Hall relates, that upon ſuſpicion of his brother's wife being with child, he was by a month and more delayed of his title, fol. 55. Holling ſh. p. 790.

[e] Sir Thomas Brandon, and Nicolas Weſt, doctor of laws. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 35.

[f] Sir Thomas Darcy, captain of Berwick, and Henry Rabington. Ib. p. 43.

[g] About this time were brought to court three men taken in the new-found iſlands by Sebaſtian Cabott. They were cloathed in beaſts ſkins, and ſpoke a language unknown. Two of them were ſeen two years after at the king's court at Weſtminſter, dreſſed like Engliſhmen, neither could they be diſcerned from ſuch. Stow's Ann. p. 483.

[h] She died in childbed, having been delivered of a daughter, called Elizabeth, in the Tower, who died ſoon after her mother. The queen was buried at Weſtminſter. Stow's Ann. Sandford, p. 469, &c.

[i] On Auguſt. 5, died ſir Reginald Bray, knight of the garter, often mentioned in this reign; of whom Hall gives this character, That he was a very father of his country, a ſage and grave perſon, and a fervent lover of juſtice; who would often admoniſh the king when he did any thing contrary to juſtice or equity, fol. 56. About the ſame time alſo died Henry Dean, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was ſucceeded by William Warham, biſhop of London. Ibid. Stow, p. 484.

[k] He was a ſieve-maker's ſon. Bacon, p. 629.

[l] And ſuing them for wardſhips, liveries, premier ſeiſines, alienations, &c. Bacon, 630.

[m] They vexed men alſo with informations of intruſion upon ſcarce colourable titles. Ibid.

[n] The lord Bacon obſerves, that their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they ſpared neither great nor ſmall nor conſidered whether the law was poſſible or impoſſible, in uſe or abſolete: and had ever a rabble of promoters and leading jurors at command, ſo that they could have any thing found as they pleaſed. See Hall, fol. 57.

It

It is needleſs to repeat any more of their courſes. Thoſe I have mentioned are ſufficient to ſhew, that men of this character ſcrupled not to commit the moſt enormous injuſtices, provided it was for the king's advantage. Herein leſs blameable than the king himſelf, who ſuffered them to abuſe thus his name and authority.

We do not find in the life of this monarch, that he ever exerciſed one act of grace in point of fines or confiſcations. On the contrary, he was always inflexible, even with regard to his moſt faithful ſervants. His hiſtorian relates a very remarkable particular, which ſerves to diſcover plainly the character of this prince. Of all the lords of the kingdom, he had the moſt confidence in the earl of Oxford, who had indeed done him the greateſt ſervice, as well in war as in peace. One day the king went to viſit him at his caſtle at Henningham, and was entertained with all poſſible magnificence. When the king was ready to depart, he ſaw a great number of men dreſſed in rich liveries, and ranged on both ſides to make him a lane. The earl it ſeems had forgot, that it was forbid by ſeveral acts of parliament to give liveries to any but menial ſervants, but the king remembered it. Wherefore turning to the earl, he ſaid, "My lord, I have heard much of your magnificence and hoſpitality; but I find they exceed all report. Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants."—The earl not perceiving the king's aim, ſmiled and anſwered, he did not keep ſo many domeſtics, but theſe people were only his retainers, come to do him ſervice on ſuch extraordinary occaſions. The king ſtartled a little, and ſaid, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I muſt not ſuffer to have my laws broken before my face. My attorney muſt talk with you." The hiſtorian adds, this treſpaſs coſt the earl fifteen thouſand marks[o].

The ſame hiſtorian ſays, he had ſeen a book of accounts of Empſon's, with the king's hand almoſt to every leaf, by way of ſigning, and was in ſome places poſtilled in the margin with the king's hand likewiſe, where among many others was this memorandum:

"Item, Received of ſuch an one, five marks for the pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not paſs, the money to be repaid, except the party be ſome other ways ſatisfied." And over-againſt this memorandum of the king's own hand, was written by him in the margin, "Other ways ſatisfied." He was unwilling to pardon the man, and yet could not reſolve to reſtore the five marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect ſmall profits.

It is eaſy to gueſs, the king's and the miniſtry's conduct bred great diſcontent and murmurs among the people. The great men themſelves meeting with no better quarter than the meaneſt, groaned under the oppreſſion of Empſon and Dudley, two leaches, who ſpared neither friend nor foe. The earl of Suffolk, whom the king had lately pardoned, fancied theſe diſcontents would raiſe in the end ſome violent ſtorm againſt the king, if the people could find a perſon of diſtinction to head them. As he was of the houſe of York by his mother, he imagined, the time was come to proſecute his rights, and the people would not fail to declare for him. In this belief he perſuaded ſeveral lords and gentlemen to promiſe to ſupport him at a proper ſeaſon, and then retired into Flanders, from whence he made his friends expect a powerful aid by means of the ducheſs of Burgundy[p].

The king ſurpriſed at the earl of Suffolk's retreat, did not queſtion that he had contrived ſome plot in England before his departure, and had his accomplices. To be fully informed, he believed the beſt way was to recur to the ſame arts he had uſed with repect to Perkin Warbeck. To that end, he ſent orders to ſir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes near Calais, who he knew to be fit for his purpoſe, and entirely at his devotion. Purſuant to his inſtructions, Curſon relinquiſhing his government, under colour of ſome affront deſignedly put upon him by the king, came to the earl of Suffolk with offers of his ſervice. He played his part ſo well, that the earl imparted to him all his ſecrets. By that means the king came to know, that William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire[q], married to Catherine daughter of Edward the fourth, William de la Pole, brother of the earl of Suffolk, ſir James Tyrrel, ſir John Windham, and ſeveral other meaner perſons, were concerned in the plot. They were all apprehended in one day[r]. But as probably there was not ſufficient evidence againſt the two firſt, the king was contented with detaining them in priſon. This gave occaſion to think they were not guilty, but that the king uſed that pretence to ſecure them, becauſe their relation to the houſe of York made him uneaſy. As for Tyrrel, againſt whom the blood of Edward V. and the duke of York cried for vengeance, he was beheaded, with Windham his accomplice. The reſt of inferior rank ſuffered the puniſhment of traitors.

Mean while Henry deſiring to be better informed of the earl of Suffolk's ſecrets, took care to preſerve Curſon's credit by an extraordinary method. He cauſed Innocent VIIIth's bull of excommunication to be publiſhed at Paul's-Croſs, againſt all perſons that ſhould diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne, and particularly againſt the earl of Suffolk and ſir Robert Curſon. But when Curſon had drawn from the earl all his ſecrets, he returned into England, where he was graciouſly received by the king, but the people looking upon him with horror, loaded him with curſes. The earl of Suffolk being diſconcerted by Curſon's flight, roved about for ſome time in Germany, and at length returned into Flanders, where the archduke, notwithſtanding his treaties with Henry, took him into his protection.

The king knowing the earl had not in England a party capable to ſupport him, ſhewed no farther uneaſineſs. Another affair troubled him much more. He had now received a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, in part of the portion of the princeſs of Wales his daughter-in-law, Arthur's widow. As that prince died without iſſue, he muſt either ſend back the widow to Spain, and conſequently return the hundred thouſand crowns, or, if he kept her in England, give her the third part of the principality of Wales[s], which was ſettled upon her. Both were equally grievous to a prince of Henry's temper. However, he could not diſpenſe with one or other, without breaking with Ferdinand, which did not agree with his preſent circumſtances. For indeed, the deference paid him by all other princes, and particularly by the king of France, was properly owing to his ſtrict alliance with the Spaniſh monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very proper expedient to preſerve the friendſhip of Ferdinand, with the ſum already received, and procure him the other hundred thouſand crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry Catherine to his ſon Henry, now prince of Wales by the death of his elder brother. The propoſal being made to the king and queen of Spain, they agreed to it, on condition the pope's diſpenſation was firſt obtained. This was the ſubject of an agreement between the two crowns the 23d of June, without a particular mention of the two articles of the intended marriage. It muſt be obſerved, that in this agreement, it was alledged, as a neceſſary reaſon for demanding the diſpenſation, not only that Arthur and Henry were brothers, but moreover that Arthur's marriage with Catherine was duly ſolemnized and conſummated.

Alexander VI. dying in the mean time, Pius III. ſucceeded him. But as he out-lived not the 18th of October, it was to Julius II. elected the firſt of November, that the two kings applied for the diſpenſation. The new pope granted a bull for that purpoſe, where he ſaid, that in the petition lately preſented to him, Henry and Catherine declared, that Catherine was married "per verba de preſenti," to the late prince Arthur, and that the marriage was ſolemnized in form, and perhaps conſummated[t]. Upon the word "perhaps," it muſt be remarked, that on this occaſion, it cannot be a term denoting a doubt, ſince it is not the pope that ſpeaks in the petition, but Catherine, who muſt know whether the marriage was conſummated or not. It is only a term which gives more ſtrength to the diſpenſation, or obviating all the objections that might be made. This evidently appears in the ſequel of the bull, where the pope permits Henry and Catherine to remain in the ſtate of matrimony, though they ſhould be married before, publicly or privately, and had perhaps conſummated their marriage by carnal copulation. It is eaſy to ſee, the word "perhaps," is inſerted only to give the more force to the diſpenſation, by preventing all caſes that might render it invalid. It was neceſſary to make theſe obſervations, by reaſon of the important conſequence of this affair in the following reign.

[o] It is ſaid in the original fifteen hundred; but I ſuppoſe it is an error of the printer; for the lord Bacon ſays, fifteen thouſand.

[p] Hall ſays, that the earl having made a very great appearance at prince Arthur's marriage ſolemnity, had thereby run himſelf extremely in debt, which was the occaſion of his retiring now into Flanders, fol. 54.

[q] He was not yet earl of Devonſhire, for his farther lived till 1510. See Dugdale's Baron, vol. i. 640.

[r] At the ſame time were taken up George lord Abergavenny, and ſir Thomas Green, but upon leſs ſuſpicion, and therefore were ſoon ſet at liberty. Bacon, p. Hall, fol. 59.

[s] And likewiſe of the dukedom of Cornwal, and earldom of Cheſter, for a third of all the three was ſettled upon. Bacon. Rymer's Fœd.

[t] —"Cum alias tu Catherina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus,—Matrimonium per verba legitima de præſenti contraxiſſetis illudque carnali copula forſan conſummaviſſetis". Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 98.

Henry 7

The king of Scotland's marriage was conſummated in September[u] according to agreement, Henry having conducted the queen his daughter, to York, from whence ſhe purſued her journey into Scotland[w].

The archduke Philip, returned this year into Flanders, having ſtaid about a year in Spain. As he paſſed through France, he endeavoured to adjuſt a difference between king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, and Lewis XII. concerning the kingdom of Naples. He even took upon him to conclude, in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards diſclaimed. Had he been concerned with a prince of leſs goodneſs and equity than Lewis XII. that diſclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble. But Lewis was ſo generous as not to take the advantage. The occaſion, in ſhort, of the rupture between the two monarchs was this:

They had, as I have obſerved, divided the kingdom of Naples after conquering it. It was hardly poſſible that theſe two princes ſhould long poſſeſs the portion fallen to each, without ſome occaſion of quarrel. Accordingly a diſpute aroſe concerning the province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his diviſion. Whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At firſt the French had the advantage, but afterwards loſt two battles, one near St. Severina, in Calabria, the 21ſt of April, the other on the 28th of the ſame month at Cerignoles, where the duke of Nemours, their general, was ſlain. After theſe two victories, Gonzalvo, who commanded Ferdinand's troops, became maſter of the whole kingdom of Naples. Lewis, deſirous to repair his loſſes, ſent a powerful army into Italy, which was by ſundry unexpected accidents rendered unſerviceable.

1504.

[1504] The 16th of January, the king aſſembled the parliament on pretence of the neceſſity of reviving certain ſtatutes, and making ſome new ones. But the real motive was to demand a ſubſidy for his eldeſt daughter's dowry. The cuſtom of demanding money on ſuch occaſions was too advantageous to the king to ſuffer it to be aboliſhed. The queen of Scotland's portion was but thirty thouſand nobles[x]; but this ſubſidy granted by the parliament may well be thought to be much more conſiderable, beſides a handſome preſent made him by the clergy on the ſame account. So, inſtead of emptying his coffers by the marriage of his daughter, he filled them the fuller. Nothing ſhews more the almoſt abſolute power of the king, then the choice of Dudley for ſpeaker of the houſe of commons[y]. He was the moſt generally hated perſon in the kingdom, except Empſon, his aſſociate, who was as odious as himſelf. Wherefore it muſt be that the fear of diſpleaſing the king, by rejecting the perſon he recommended, led the commons to that choice.

The ſubſidy was not the only thing the king politically turned to his advantage in this parliament. He found means to obtain acts which ſeemed to aim wholly at the good of the public, but in reality tended only to procure him money. For inſtance, all patents of leaſe or grant were diſannulled to ſuch as came not upon lawful ſummons to ſerve the king againſt the rebels[z]. As the number of delinquents in that reſpect was very great, this act was a very fertile ſource of treaſure to the king, by reaſon they were obliged to renew their leaſes and grants which could not be done but upon very hardy terms.

Another ſtatute made all ſorts of clipped or impaired coins of ſilver not to be current in payments, without ſuffering them even to paſs for the value of their weight. As there were ſcarce any other in the kingdom, every one was forced to bring in his ready money to the mint, in order to be new coined, by which the king was a very conſiderable gainer.

The ſtatute againſt giving liveries to any but menial ſervants, was alſo revived, from whence Empſon and Dudley had an opportunity to attach many perſons[a].

Thus the king continually amaſſing without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expences were very moderate, and huſbanded in the beſt manner poſſible, could not but be extremely rich in ready money. But then he doubly ruined his ſubjects; firſt by draining their purſes, and ſecondly by hindering the coin, of which he had great quantities in his coffers, from circulating in trade. On the other had, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortion without any reſerve, and with a rigour unexperienced by the Engliſh, under any of their former kings.

About this time Henry had thoughts of canonizing Henry VI. the laſt king of the houſe of Lancaſter. But there were two grand obſtacles. The firſt, that the miracles aſcribed to that prince ſince his death were not well atteſted, and the actions of his life, which were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed, ſhewed rather his weakneſs than ſanctity. But the ſecond difficulty, that is the neceſſary charges of this canonization, quite fruſtrated the project. As this is an act of grace and favour, the pope generally proportions the expences not to the perſon of the ſaint himſelf, but to the riches of him that ſolicits the canonization. The king even perceived, that the court of Rome's queſtioning Henry the ſixth's ſanctity, tended only to magnify the favour, and inhance the price accordingly. This was ſufficient to cauſe him to deſiſt from his intention. So avaricious a prince could hardly reſolve to empty his coffers for ſo needleſs a thing, and which at moſt, would have procured him only the praiſes of the Lancaſtrians. He was contented therefore to obtain a bull for the removal of Henry VIth's body to Weſtminſter, among his anceſtors[d]. He was obſcurely buried at firſt in Chertſey monaſtery, near London, from whence he was removed to Windſor.

The 19th of Auguſt, Henry iſſued out a proclamation, giving notice that he had appointed commiſſioners to whom his creditors, and ſuch as had any demands upon him, might apply for the ſpace of two years, to commence the 19th of Auguſt, and to continue until Michaelmas 1506. It is hard to to judge whether he did this from a principle of equity, and with intent to ſatisfy thoſe he had injured, or deſigned only to blind people's eyes by this act of juſtice. The firſt would be moſt probable, if from that time he had put a ſtop to the exactions of Empſon and Dudley. But it is difficult to believe that whilſt he ſuffered his ſubjects to be oppreſſed by theſe miniſters, he really intended to do juſtice to all the world.

Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, dying the 26th of November, Ferdinand, her ſpouſe, wrote the ſame day to Henry to give him notice thereof. He told him in his letter that the deceaſed queen had appointed him in her will adminiſtrator of the kingdom of Caſtile, for Jane, their daughter, wife of the archduke of Auſtria, and who, by the death of the queen her mother, was become queen of Caſtile.

When the archduke received the news of Iſabella's death, he was employed in making war upon the duke of Gueldres. This war preventing him from repairing into Spain ſo ſoon as he could have wiſhed, he was obliged to leave to king Ferdinand, his father-in-law, the government of Caſtile, fully bent however, to take it from him as ſoon as poſſible. On the other hand, Ferdinand improving Iſabella's will, pretended to keep the adminiſtration of that kingdom during his life, probably, becauſe the deceaſed queen had not limited the continuance.

This diſpute bred ſome uneaſineſs in Henry, whoſe caſe was the ſame with Ferdinand's in the opinion of many people. He was not ignorant that moſt of his ſubjects were perſuaded, Elizabeth his ſpouſe had been of right the true queen of England, and conſequently the crown was fallen after her deceaſe to Henry her ſon and lawful ſucceſſor. Though he affected to hold for certain, that the houſe of York had never any right to the crown, he was however very uneaſy, becauſe in general the Engliſh were of another opinion. It is true, that beſides his deſcent from the houſe of Lancaſter, he founded his right upon two other titles, namely, conqueſt, and the approbation of the parliament. But he perceived how weak theſe two foundations would prove, ſhould the houſe of York, by ſome revolution, come to gain ground.

[1505] Upon this account, he was very attentive to what paſſed in Spain, looking upon the deciſion of that conteſt as a precedent for or againſt him. On the other hand, he was afraid that Philip, who had appeared for ſome time cloſely

[u] Stow ſays, it was the 8th of Auguſt, at Edinburgh, p. 484.

[w] Being attended by Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. Hall. Hollingſhead, p. 791.

[x] Rapin calls them crowns. But Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 118, ſays, thirty thouſand angel nobles, the value of each noble being Viginti Groſſos.

[y] Hollingſhead ſays, that there was a parliament in 1503, in which a ſubſidy was granted by the lords and clergy, and another on Jan. 25, 1504, of which latter Dudley was choſen ſpeaker, p. 791.

[z] The like act had been made before (in the 11th of this king's) for offices, and by this ſtatute it was extended to lands. Bacon, p. 631.

[a] The other ſtatutes made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That no pewterers and braſiers ſell or change any pewter or braſs, new or old, at any place, within the realm, but in open fairs or markets, or in their dwelling-houſes. What gave occaſion to this law, was, that many perſons went about the kingdom privately, buying pewter and braſs, which encouraged wicked people to ſteal diſhes, plates, &c. knowing they had receivers for them. 2. It was ordained, That no bodies corporate make any acts or ordinances, but what are examined and approved by the chancellor, treaſurer of England, chief juſtice of either benches, or juſtices of aſſize, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. 3. That perſons concerned in a riot, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds, and be impriſoned. 4. That perſon bring, or cauſe to be brought into the realm, to be ſold, any manner of ſilk, wrought by itſelf, or with any other ſtuff, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. See Stat. 19 Hen. VII.

[b] At the ſame time the pope ſent a bull, wherein he ordered, That traitors and robbers, &c. who had taken ſanctuary, ſhould be carefully watched, ſo as not to be ſuffered to eſcape; and if they did, they ſhould be then delivered to juſtice. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xii. p. 104.

They

united with Lewis XII. would join in a league with that monarch and the emperor, to oblige Ferdinand to reſign him Caſtile. In that caſe he foreſaw, he ſhould be forced either to abandon Ferdinand to theſe three potent enemies, or enter into a war with them to ſupport him. Both were equally oppoſite to his intereſts. In fine he had caſt his eyes upon the queen-dowager of Naples, widow of king Ferdinand, for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dower aſſigned her in that kingdom. Perhaps he hoped by marrying that queen, to render himſelf umpire of the differences between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, concerning the kingdom of Naples.

To be fully informed therefore of the diſpoſition of the Caſtilians, and the qualities of the queen of Naples, he ſent three perſons into Italy and Spain, not as embaſſadors, but as travellers for their pleaſure [c]. However to procure them acceſs to the queen of Naples and Ferdinand, he ſo ordered that the princeſs of Wales gave them letters both for the king her father and the young queen. Theſe gentlemen's private inſtructions, with reſpect to the queen, were very particular. The king wanted to be exactly informed of her age, complexion, ſtature, health, temper, inclination, behaviour, and eſtate. This ſhews he was not willing lightly to reſolve. But the project vaniſhed when the king heard, from his envoys, that indeed the queen's jointure was very conſiderable; but had been changed by Ferdinand, ſince he was poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples, into a penſion for life.

When the gentlemen arrived in Spain, the conteſt between Ferdinand and Philip his ſon-in-law was ſtill in the ſame ſtate. They therefore acquainted the king, that Ferdinand continued to govern Caſtile as adminiſtrator, and even hoped to perſuade Philip to leave him the adminiſtration freely during life, both by means of ſome of his council, whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and ſo give an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: that therefore, there was a project of marriage between Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix, which would be certainly accompliſhed, in caſe Philip moleſted the king, his father-in-law. They informed him moreover, that Ferdinand's ſecretary had diſcovered to them, as a great ſecret, that the marriage of prince Charles, of Auſtria, with Claude of France, would not take effect, becauſe Lewis XII. was reſolved to give his daughter to Francis, duke of Angoulême, his preſumptive heir. That then, on ſuppoſition that Philip would remain in the Low-Countries with his queen, Ferdinand intended to demand Mary, the king's ſecond daughter for the young prince of Auſtria. Theſe informations containing nothing certain, Henry could take no meaſures, till he ſaw the courſe of the Spaniſh affairs.

Whilſt Ferdinand and Philip were in treaty concerning their differences, Philip and Jane were proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile at Bruſſels; which ſhewed, they intended not to reſign for ever the adminiſtration of Caſtile to Ferdinand, as he had flattered himſelf. Mean while, the war of Gueldres, and queen Jane's being near her time, hindered them from executing their reſolution of going to Caſtile. They knew, the Caſtilians were not pleaſed with Ferdinand, and did nor doubt that as ſoon as they appeared, all would declare for them. For the ſame reaſon, Ferdinand uſed all ſorts of artifices to diſſuade them from the voyage.

In the mean while, Margaret of Auſtria, Philip's ſiſter, loſt her ſpouſe, the duke of Savoy, who died the 10th of September. Some days after, the new queen of Caſtile was delivered of a princeſs, who was called Mary, and was afterwards queen of Hungary.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with regard to England. Beſides what has been related, we find only a treaty of alliance between Henry and George duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Friſe, to whom Henry had ſent embaſſadors [d] ever ſince February. The treaty was concluded the 30th of December.

The war of Gueldres being ended, and queen Jane able to travel, Philip reſolved to carry her into Caſtile, knowing it to be the only way to ſecure the government of that kingdom.

[1506] Though they intended to go by ſea, they choſe the winter, it ſeems to ſurpriſe Ferdinand, who probably would not expect them in that ſeaſon. They departed the 10th of January under a ſtrong convoy, prepared for that purpoſe. But before they got out of the channel, a terrible ſtorm [e] diſperſed their fleet, and the ſhip in which they were, with much difficulty ran into Weymouth [f] in England, having been in great danger. The king and queen were ſo fatigued and ſick, that contrary to the opinion of their council, they would land to refreſh their ſpirits. 1506

Mean while the people of the country ſeeing a numerous fleet was very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their arms, and ſir Thomas Trenchard at the head of ſome troops marched to Weymouth [g], to concert meaſurs with the inhabitants in caſe of an invaſion. When he heard, the king and queen of Caſtile were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his houſe, till the king was informed of their arrival. Philip would have gladly re-imbarked, but perceived he ſhould not be ſuffered till the king's orders were received, to whom an expreſs was diſpatched. So, without much intreaty, he conſented to ſtay till that time.

As ſoon as Henry had notice of the king and queen of Caſtile's arrival, he ſent the earl of Arundel [h] with his compliments, and to tell them, he would make all poſſible haſte to come and embrace them. The earl withal aſſured them from the king, that they were as much maſter in his dominions as himſelf. Philip finding there was no avoiding the king's viſit, believed he ſhould gain time by going to him. To that end, he poſted to Windſor [i] whilſt his queen followed by eaſy journeys. Henry received them with all imaginable marks of friendſhip, but however ruminating all the while, how to reap ſome advantage from the accident which had thrown them into his dominions [k].

Some days after, he inſinuated to Philip, that as his condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their treaty of commerce, to which Philip agreed, though the reaſon alledged by Henry was of no force. For Philip, by being king of Caſtile, was not leſs ſovereign of the Low-Countries, the firſt dignity cauſing no alteration in the laſt. But Henry had his aim, and Philip plainly perceived, that being in his power, he ought carefully to avoid all occaſions of offending him, leſt he ſhould find ſome pretence to detain him in England. He was not ignorant of the ſtrict union between Henry aad Ferdinand, and was under ſome apprehenſions, that Henry would think of obſtructing his voyage, in order to oblige his father-in-law. However, the treaty was renewed, but with ſome alterations to the advantage of the Engliſh. Amongſt other things, an article of the old treaty was ſuppreſſed, which permitted Philip's ſubjects to fiſh on the coaſts of England. This made the inhabitants of the Low-Countries call it Intercurſus Malus, or the bad treaty.

This affair being finiſhed, Henry opened his mind to Philip concerning his deſign to marry Margaret his ſiſter, widow of the duke of Savoy [l]. Philip ſeemed very well pleaſed with the propoſal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his advantage than to make Henry his friend by this alliance, leſt he ſhould openly eſpouſe the king of Arragon's quarrel. So the marriage was concluded at Windſor the 20th of March [m]. By the articles ſigned by both, Philip promiſed to give the ducheſs his ſiſter, three hundred thouſand crowns of French gold [n], with a yearly penſion of three thouſand eight hundred and fifty. Mean while, Henry fearing Philip would go from his word, when he was out of his power, cauſed to be inſerted in the treaty, that the principal lords of the Low-Countries ſhould ſwear, they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to procure the accompliſhment of the marriage. The oaths of ſeveral of the lords, in purſuance of this article, are to be ſeen in the Collection of the Public Acts.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of Philip, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to careſs him. And that was, to deliver to him the earl of Suffolk, who was then in Flanders. But at the firſt overture, Philip told him plainly, he could not comply

[c] They were Francis Marſin, James Braybrook, and John Style. Bacon, p. 632.

[d] Richard Nanſan, deputy of Calais, Nicholas Weſt, doctor of laws, and Hugh Conwey, treaſurer of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 114.

[e] This ſtorm laſted from the 15th to the 26th of January. Stow, p. 484.

[f] Falmouth ſays, Stow, ibid.

[g] And ſoon after was joined by ſir John Carew, with a choice body of men. Hall, fol. 58. Hollingſh. p. 792.

[h] Thomas Fitz-Alan. The earl came to king Philip in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horſe, and (for the more ſtate) by torch-light. Bacon, p. 633. Hall, fol. 58.

[i] He was received five miles from Windſor, in a very ſplendid manner, by the prince of Wales, who was accompanied with five earls, and ſeveral lords, knights, and others, to the number of five hundred perſons; and about a mile from Windſor, he was met by the king himſelf, and moſt of the nobility of the realm, who went out to welcome him. Hall, fol. 58.

[k] Philip at their firſt meeting told the king, "that he was now puniſhed for his refuſing to come within his walled town of Calais when they met laſt." The king replied, "That walls and ſeas were nothing, where hearts were open; and that he was here only to be ſerved." Bacon. p. 633.

[l] The famous Thomas Wolſey, being then the king's chaplain, was employed in managing this affair. Bacon, p. 634.

[m] This treaty of marriage is not found in the Fœdera, but is ſuppoſed and referred to by the acts which follow the treaty of alliance or commerce, dated Feb. 9. See tom. xiii. p. 127, 129, 151, &c.

[n] Each crown worth four ſhillings ſterling. Ibid, p. 130.

The

Henry 7.

1507

with his requeſt, being bound in honour not to ſacrifice a lord whom he had taken under his protection; that beſides, it would be diſhonourable to himſelf, ſince the world would not fail to ſay, he was uſed as a priſoner. Henry, who little regarded what the world ſaid, provided he obtained his ends, replied, he would take all the diſhonour upon himſelf. This anſwer threw Philip into great perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the earl of Suffolk, after his promiſe to protect him. But on the other hand, he perceived Henry was bent upon having that lord at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means to obtain him. Beſides, in the preſent poſture of his affairs, not being yet certain, whether he ſhould not be forced to go to war with his father-in-law, it was eaſy to foreſee, he might ſtand in need of the king of England, and conſequently it would be very wrong to diſoblige him. Wherefore, he ſuddenly came to a reſolution, and with an air of confidence ſpoke in this manner: "Sir, ſince you are pleaſed to give law to me, permit me to do the ſame by you. I will deliver the earl, but you ſhall give me your honour not to touch his life." Henry agreeing to the condition, Philip deſired the thing might be done in a manner honourable for both. "I will ſo order it, added he, that the earl ſhall come to England of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have ſolicited and obtained his pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it." Henry approving the expedient, the earl of Suffolk willingly accepted the offer made him [o]. Mean while, Henry being deſirous to have the earl in his power before Philip's departure, continued his entertainments and diverſions, on pretence of doing honour to the king and queen of Caſtile, but in reality, to gain time till the earl's arrival. He admitted Philip to the order of the gartar, and Philip made the prince of Wales, knight of the golden fleece. After that, Henry carried his gueſts to London, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after, the earl of Suffolk came from Flanders, and was conveyed to the Tower. Thus, Henry, under colour of doing him honour, kept Philip in England above three months, till he had obtained his deſires [p]. In all appearance, Philip ſaw plainly through all the careſſes he received, that it was not in his power to depart when he pleaſed. Elſe, it is not likely, as he intended to ſail into Spain in January, he would have willingly ſtaid in England till the end of April or the beginning of May.

When Philip and Jane were in Caſtile, the people ſhewed ſo great an affection for them, that Ferdinand could eaſily ſee, his endeavours to keep the government of the kingdom would be in vain. Accordingly, without inſiſting any more upon his adminiſtratorſhip, which could take place only in the queen his daughter's abſence, he withdrew into his own realm of Arragon. Afterwards, he made a voyage to Naples, where Gonzalvo, his general, began to make him uneaſy, and Philip and Jane remained, though not long, in poſſeſſion of Caſtile. Within a few months, Philip was ſeized with a diſtemper, of which he died the 25th of September. He left the guardianſhip of his ſon Charles to Lewis XII. who appointed the lord de Chievres for his governor. This choice, which was generally approved, and was a clear evidence of Lewis's ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs, proved fatal to France, as the governor made his pupil more able than was neceſſary for the good of the kingdom.

The death of Philip ſo affected his queen, that ſhe loſt her reaſon, and became uncapable of governing the ſtate. Whereupon Ferdinand, her father, reſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, of which he had been deprived but five months. He is ſaid to take no great care of the queen's cure, leſt, recovering her ſenſes, ſhe ſhould ſend him back again to Arragon.

The diſintereſtedneſs ſhewn by Lewis XII. with reſpect to the young archduke prince of Spain, did not hold long. He had promiſed to give him Claude his eldeſt daughter in marriage, but thought it more proper to marry her to Francis duke of Angoulême his preſumptive ſucceſſor. Moreover being apprehenſive of a league againſt him, between the emperor, the archduke, and Ferdinand, and that the king of England might alſo come into it, he endeavoured to embroil young Charles's affairs, by exciting the duke of Gueldres to renew the war.

[1507] The archduke being too young to govern, the Flemings prayed the emperor his grandfather to take the adminiſtration in his grandſon's name. Maximilian granted their requeſt, and till he could come himſelf, ſent them Margaret his daughter, widow of the duke of Savoy.

Upon that princeſs's arrival at Bruſſels, ſhe concluded with Henry a proviſional treaty of commerce, till ſome differences cauſed by the late treaty between the merchants of both nations could be adjuſted. The treaty was ſigned at Bruges the 5th of June.

The ſame embaſſadors that were aſſembled at Calais ſpent there the reſt of the year, in treating of the marriage of Charles archduke of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low-Countries, and prince of Caſtile, with Mary, Henry's ſecond daughter [q]. At length, on the 21ſt of December, they ſigned a treaty that Charles ſhould marry the princeſs Mary, as ſoon as he was fourteen years old, and that her portion ſhould be two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold [r]. The young prince ran the hazard of loſing the kingdom of Arragon, Valencia, Granada, and the principality of Catalonia, his grandfather Ferdinand having married Germaine de Foix. But happily for him, they had no children.

Though Henry's coffers were full, he was not weary of heaping up money. We have ſeen, that in the year 1504, the parliament gave him a ſubſidy for the marriage of the queen of Scotland his daughter. But the year was not expired before he iſſued out a proclamation to levy a benevolence by his own authority, and without any apparent neceſſity, ſo that this conduct could be aſcribed only to his inſatiable deſire of hoarding up money [s]. He was grown ſo abſolute in his kingdom, that no man durſt oppoſe his will, or even ſhew the leaſt diſcontent. Mean while, Empſon and Dudley continued their extortions and oppreſſions with all imaginable rigour. This very year 1507, they ſharply proſecuted the mayor of London [t], for neglecting to bring to juſtice a coiner of falſe money, and becauſe he would not, or could not pay an exorbitant fine, ſent him to the Tower. The ſheriffs, aldermen, and all that had borne any office in the city, were queſtioned and proſecuted with the ſame rigour, and compelled to pay to the king fines, proportioned not to their abilities, but to the king's and his miniſters' rapaciouſneſs [u].

Whilſt the king was wholly intent upon heaping up riches, he found himſelf frequently ſeized with the gout. At firſt he diſregarded it, as not believing it dangerous. But by degrees the humour falling upon his lungs, it turned to a phthſic, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He ſuffered however his two miniſters to continue their exactions without any reſpect of perſons. He was ſo charmed to ſee his coffers full of gold and ſilver, that he could not reſolve to put a ſtop to the ſhameful proceedings which daily brought him in freſh ſums. He is ſaid to have amaſſed eighteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This ſum will appear prodigious, if it is conſidered that money was then much ſcarcer in Europe than at preſent. He laid up his treaſures under his own key and keeping in ſecret places at Richmond [w].

[1508] As the marriage of the princeſs Mary with the archduke was then the only conſiderable affair Henry was employed in, he ſpent this whole year in taking meaſures to ſecure its accompliſhment. The acts of this year, in the Collection, ſcarce regard any other affair. At length, on the 17th of December, the marriage was accompliſhed "per verba de præſenti," the lord de Berghes, being the young prince's proxy. As ſuch, he eſpouſed the princeſs, gave her a ring and ſaluted her publicly in the name of the prince her ſpouſe [x].

About the ſame time the archduke pawned to the king a

[o] The two kings ſent ſeverally for him. He landed at Dover, and with a ſufficient guard was conveyed to the Tower of London. Bacon, p. 633.

[p] King Philip went by land to Falmouth, where he embarked April 23. Hall, fol. 58. Haræus.

[q] She was his third daughter. See Sandford and Speed.

[r] At the ſame time the treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and alliance, was renewed between the emperor Maximilian and king Henry. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 189—212.

[s] Beſides what he got by the recoinage of groats and half groats, now ſhillings and ſixpences; and the five thouſand marks which he made the city of London pay for the confirmation of their liberties in 1504, &c. Bacon, p. 631.

[t] Sir William Capel. He was not mayor this year; but was now fined two thouſand pounds, for having, in the time of his mayoralty (which was in the year 1503) received falſe money, and not inflicted due puniſhment upon the perſon that was accuſed of having coined it. Stow, p. 485.

[u] Sir Thomas Kneſworth, mayor in 1505, and both his ſheriffs, were impriſoned for abuſes committed in the execution of their offices; and not releaſed, but upon paying fourteen hundred pounds. Sir Laurence Aylmer, mayor in 1507, and both his ſheriffs, were fined a thouſand pounds, and ſir Laurence impriſoned for refuſing to pay his fine. Alderman Hawes was put to trouble, and died with vexation, before his buſineſs was decided. Stow, p. 485. Bacon, p. 635.

[w] This year the ſweating ſickneſs raged in England. Hall, fol. 59. And alſo this year died Giles lord d'Aubeney. Hollingſh. p. 795.

[x] Henry was ſo pleaſed with this alliance, that in a letter to the city of London, he expreſſes himſelf as if he thought he had built a wall of braſs about his kingdom, in having for his ſons-in-law a king of Scotland, and a prince of Caſtile and Burgundy. Bacon, p. 635.

There

jewel, called the rich fleur de lis[y], for the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns. The emperor, as grandfather and guardian of Charles, approved of the marriage and loan. In all likelihood, the money was borrowed for him. He had occaſion for it to make a figure in the league of Cambray, which he had concluded this year with the pope and the king of France againſt the Venetians, who were become formidable to all Italy.

As to Henry's marriage with Margaret of Auſtria, though it was concluded in 1506, it was no more thought of, after that monarch, fallen into a phthiſic, perceived he was fitter to think of death than a wife.

The king finding he daily grew worſe, was pleaſed to prepare for death by granting a general pardon. He diſcharged likewiſe with his own money, all priſoners about London, that lay for fees or debts under forty ſhillings. Then he made his will, ordering that his heir ſhould make reſtitution of whatever his officers and miniſters had unjuſtly taken from his ſubjects. But this remorſe came too late. As he could not reſolve to make this reſtitution in his life-time, the prince his ſon thought proper not to part with the money amaſſed by the king his father. He died at Richmond the 22d of April 1509, having lived two and fifty years, and reigned three and twenty and eight months. His death is ſaid to happen very ſeaſonably, for had he lived much longer, the prince his ſon, now in his ſeventeenth year, might not have had patience to wait till his father's death put him in poſſeſſion of the throne. In that caſe, he might have ſupported himſelf with the queen his mother's title, heireſs of the houſe of York, and pretended that the king his father reigned only in right of his queen. This pretenſion would have been capable of reviving the old quarrel, and rekindling a civil war in the kingdom. But the king's death removed the fears of the Engliſh.

Henry VII. had three ſons[z] and four daughters. Arthur his eldeſt, as was obſerved, died in his ſeventeenth year. Henry his ſecond ſucceeded him, and Edmund his third died at the age of five years. Of his four daughters, two died in their childhood[a], and the other two, Margaret and Mary, are ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid.

If the hiſtory of this reign be read with ever ſo little attention, it will eaſily be perceived, that Henry's views were but two. The firſt was to keep the crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and perhaps unthought of before he was invited into England by the duke of Buckingham. The other was, to accumulate riches. As he never ſuffered himſelf to be diverted by other thoughts, his whole application centered upon one ſingle object, namely, upon thoroughly examining every thing that could have any relation to the two ends he had propoſed. Ambition, honour, glory, love, pleaſures, and all the other paſſions which generally diſquiet the hearts of princes, made but little impreſſion upon his. Content with enjoying his crown, he thought neither of new acquiſitions, nor of rendering his name illuſtrious by great actions. All his thoughts were confined to prevent or defeat the deſigns of his domeſtic enemies, or to fill his coffers. He had a wonderful ſagacity to diſcover in the affairs that occurred, the ſide from whence ſome advantage could be drawn. This is what he plainly ſhewed in the affair of Bretagne, in his pretended wars with France and Scotland, and even in his domeſtic troubles, which by his addreſs turned all to his profit[b].

Though he was ſometimes forced to take up arms, never prince loved peace more than he[c]. As he had no ambition, he ſaw no advantage for him in war. On the contrary, he conſidered that all the events of a war, whether foreign or domeſtic, were againſt him. The former could at moſt but procure him ſome glory and acquiſitions abroad, of which he was not very fond, and by the latter he might be a great loſer. Beſides, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches. So, laying down this fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any war without an abſolute neceſſity, he never ſwerved from it. It is this that made him unconcernedly behold the loſs of Bretagne, and without reſentment ſuffer the inſults of the king of Scotland, becauſe it was not from war that he intended to reap any advantage, but only from the preparations to ſupport it. However, this policy would have been unſeaſonable when he was attacked by domeſtic enemies, whoſe aim was to rob him of his crown. As his all was then at a ſtake, he chearfully faced the danger, though with all the precautions poſſible not to run any hazard. He won two battles upon the rebels, one at Stoke, the other at Blackheath. But in both he was very ſuperior in number of troops, and fought againſt perſons ill-armed and unſkilled in the art of war. So, it cannot be ſaid what he would have done, had he been oppoſed with equal forces. It is no leſs difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage that he headed his armies in perſon, or to his diſtruſt of thoſe that ſerved him. However this be, he was always fortunate in his domeſtic wars, and thereby gained ſo great a reputation, that all the princes of Europe earneſtly courted his alliance. On the other hand, the eſteem foreigners expreſſed for him, did not a little contribute to render him formidable to his ſubjects. I ſay, formidable, for it is certain he was never beloved. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, eſpecially towards the end of his reign, his inſatiable avarice, his haughtineſs, his pride, and his dark and reſerved temper, were no proper qualities to win the affection of his people.

He never opened his mind to any man, except perhaps to one or two of his miniſters. As for the reſt, he ſet them to work without their knowing themſelves the motives of their own proceedings. The world was ſo perſuaded, he had always ſome hidden deſign even in his moſt indifferent actions, that what was only a pure effect of chance, was often aſcribed to his policy.

His ſpies in foreign courts gave him an extenſive knowledge of all that paſſed there. On the other hand, his embaſſadors were always charged to inform themſelves by all ſorts of ways of the ſecrets of the princes to whom they were ſent. Very often this was the principal article of their inſtructions. By that means he made ſuch diſcoveries as enabled him to convince the foreign miniſters reſiding at his court of his great inſight into their maſter's affairs. Hence he reaped many conſiderable advantages, chiefly in that the princes of Europe fearing his abilities, were very forward to live in a good underſtanding with him. His ſtrict friendſhip with Ferdinand king of Arragon, a prince of much the ſame character, was extremely uſeful to him. Probably it hindered the court of France from interpoſing more in the affairs of England, and was one of the principal cauſes of his conſtant peace with his neighbours.

Inſtead of increaſing the credit of the nobility, he took all poſſible care to leſſen it. His council was almoſt wholly compoſed of churchmen and lawyers, who being devoted to him, and aiming only to pleaſe him, never oppoſed his will. This unlimited compliance of his council, was the cauſe of his entirely addicting himſelf to his natural paſſion of heaping up money, there being no perſon about him that had boldneſs or conſcience enough to give him good advice upon that head. This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the Engliſh, which at firſt made him a little uneaſy, but when he had ſurmounted all his troubles, he regarded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an abſolute power, making of his council a court of juſtice, where all the pleas of the crown were decided, which had never been ſeen before.

He has been extremely praiſed for the good laws made in his reign, as if he had been the ſole legiſlator, and his parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps was given him the glorious name of the Solomon of England, though he much more reſembled that prince in the heavy yoke he laid on his people. But if theſe laws are carefully examined, it will doubtleſs be found that the king's intereſt was the true motive, though in appearance they ſeemed for the good of the people. Thus did William the Conqueror formerly act, whom our Henry reſembled in ſo many things, that they may be very juſtly compared. In ſhort, Henry's moſt diſtinguiſhing character was, that he lived entirely for himſelf, conſidered things only with reſpect to his own private intereſt, and regarded not any affairs where that was not concerned. But he had this in particular, and whereas the intereſt of other princes is uſually divided into ſeveral branches, Henry's was in a manner contained in one ſingle branch, namely, to have always full coffers.

He was extremely ſuſpicious, as are generally thoſe who act by ſecret ways, becauſe they think all the world like themſelves. The houſe of York's title, and the people's opinion concerning it, filled his mind with fears and ſuſpicions, with which he was continually racked. It is true, he took great care to conceal his uneaſineſs: but his conduct and precautions plainly demonſtrated, his mind was not as he would

[y] There is in the Fœdera the inventory of the jewels contained in the rich fleur-de-lis, which weighed, in gold and precious ſtones, 211 ounces and a half, tom. xii. p. 241.

[z] He had four ſons. The fourth, born in February 1500, was named Edward. Hollingſhead, p. 788.

[a] Their names were Elizabeth and Catherine. Sandford, p. 477.

[b] Hall gives however this inſtance of his generoſity, that he lent merchants a great deal of money, without gain or profit, in order to encourage trade, fol. 51.

[c] His uſual preface to his treaties was, that when Chriſt came into the world, peace was ſung, and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. Bacon, p. 635.

Henry VII.

Character.

have it thought to be, at reſt. This perpetual diſtruſt led him inſtantly to ſeek means to prevent the dangers, in which he was not always ſucceſsful. Witneſs the report he cauſed to be ſpread that the duke of York was alive, which had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but narrow: he ſaw better near then at a diſtance, and his wiſdom conſiſted more in extricating himſelf out of difficulties, than in finding means to avoid them. The chief troubles of his reign, may be ſaid to have happened by his fault. However, he acquired, by a long experience, qualities which by nature he had not.

It is not ſurpriſing that a prince always intent upon preventing the rebellion of his ſubjects, and continually employed in heaping up money, ſhould have performed nothing glorious for himſelf or the kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greateſt kings. On the contrary, peace would have been very advantageous to the Engliſh had it rendered them happy. But it was ſtill more fatal to them than war itſelf, ſince the king's inſatiable avarice inceſſantly carried him to deviſe means to acculate riches, which could not be done but at their expence. There are princes that heap up money ſolely to diſperſe it; but Henry kept it carefully in his coffers, without any communication. Liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to. If he made any preſent, it was only to ſpies or informers.

As for his religion and morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, by reaſon of the contrarieties which met in him. he was chaſte, temperate, an enemy to open and ſcandalous vices, conſtant in the exerciſes of devotion, and obſerving ſtrict juſtice where his intereſt was not concerned. But on the other hand, his extreme avarice made him commit many injuſtices, and the fear of loſing his crown, cauſed him to conſider as lawful all means which could free him from that danger, how unjuſt ſoever they might be in other reſpects. The earl of Warwick's death will be an everlaſting ſtain to his memory. His making a jeſt of religion, in cauſing a ſolemn proceſſion to be made on purpoſe to ſhew that prince to the people, and the excommunications he ordered to be pronounced againſt his own ſpies, are clear evidences that his religion was not proof againſt his intereſt.

In general, it cannot be denied, this prince had great abilities. But as theſe abilities centered only in himſelf, they would have been more valuable in a private perſon than a great monarch. Though all his projects were crowned with ſucceſs, his reign cannot be ſaid to be happy, either for himſelf or for England. He lived under continual fears and ſuſpicions, and his ſubjects were always expoſed either to domeſtic troubles or oppreſſion. One thing rendered this reign remarkable, namely, that by Henry's abilities, the civil wars, which had ſo long afflicted England, were at length happily ended. I ſay happily, ſince it was very indifferent, with reſpect to the welfare of the Engliſh, whether the kingdom was governed by a prince of the houſe of Lancaſter, or a prince of the houſe of York.

Henry VII. was of a ſerious temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleaſures, to which he was a little addicted. He had a book wherein he marked down with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the perſons he knew in order to employ them upon occaſion. A monkey [d] that he kept in his chamber, having one day tore his note-book all to pieces, he appeared grieved as at ſome very great loſs.

He was of ſtature taller than the common ſort. His face was long, thin, and lean, like the reſt of his body, but withal very grave, which made people ſpeak to him with fear.—He could however be affable when his affairs required it. He was rather ſtudious than learned. What he read in his leiſure hours was generaly in French, though he underſtood Latin too.

He founded a chapel at Windſor, for which he obtained of the pope privileges and indulgencies. He turned into an hoſpital the palace of the Savoy, built by Peter earl of Savoy, in the reign of Henry III. He founded likewiſe ſeveral convents of Dominicans and Franciſcans [e]. But of all theſe ſtructures, that which did and ſtill does him the greateſt honour, is his chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey, which gives not place in any reſpect to the moſt ſtately chapels in Chriſtendom [f]. There he was buried [g], and there the bodies of his ſucceſſors lie with his [h].

[d] Set on, as it was thought, by one of his chamberlains. Bacon, p. 637.

[e] He built three houſes for Franciſcans called Obſervants, at Richmond, Greenwich, and Newark; and three others for Franciſcans, called Conventuals, at Canterbury, Newcaſtle, and Southamton. Stow, p. 486—He alſo new built Baynard's caſtle, and enlarged Greenwich, calling it Placentia. Hollingſhead p, 796.

[f] In the 18th year of his reign, the chapel of our Lady above the eaſt ſide of the high-altar at Weſtminſter-Abbey church, with a tavern adjoining called the White Roſe, were taken down, and in their room was built king Henry VIIth's famous chapel. Stow, p. 484. Hollingſhead, p, 790, 797.

[g] May 11. Stow, p. 486.

[h] In the fifth year of king Henry the VIIth it was ordained, that the mayors of London ſhall have conſervation of the river Thames, from Staines-bridge to the waters of Yeuſdale and Medway. In this eighteenth year, king Henry being himſelf a brother of the Taylors company, as ſeveral kings had been before him, namely, Richard III. Edward IV. Henry IV. V. VI. and Richard II. beſides dukes eleven, earls twenty-eight, lords forty-eight, he gave them the name of Merchant-Taylors. Hollingſhead, p. 790. In his thirteenth year, was the paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies round the Cape of Good-Hope diſcovered, by Vaſco de Gama, a Portugueſe. In his tenth year, the body of Alice Hackney is ſaid to be found in the church of St. Mary-Hill, London, whole of ſkin, and the joints of the arms pliable, after having been buried a hundred and ſeventy-five years. In this reign John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, founded Paul's ſchool in the church-yard. The college founded in the two univerſities in this king's reign, were, Chriſt's college, and St. John's in Cambridge, by Margaret counteſs of Richmond, the king's mother; Jeſus college in the ſame univerſity, by John Alcock, biſhop of Ely; Corpus Chriſti in Oxford, by Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Brazen-Noſe college by William Smith, biſhop of Lincoln. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XII. p. 653. Stow, p. 482.

H 7

It appears by an indenture of the 9th of Henry VII. that a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into as many, and the ſame pieces, as in the 5th of Edward IV. (See the coin-note at the end of that king's reign. The gold coins of Henry VII. where a ſovereign, half ſovereign, ryal, half ryal, and quarter ryal; angel, and half angel. His ſilver money was groats half groſſes or two-penny pieces, pennies, half-pence and farthings. Thoſe old pennies that bore divers ſpurs or the mullet betwixt the bars of the croſs, were to go only for half-pennies. To avoid clipping for the future, the king cauſed new groats and two-pennies to be coined, having a circle round the outer part; and ordered, that the gold hereafter to be coined, ſhould have the whole ſcripture or inſcription, about every piece. See Statut. 19 Hen. VII. c. 5. He was the firſt that after Henry III. added the number to his name. He left off the roſe that uſed to ſurround the king's head, and inſtead thereof, give his head with a ſide-face, which was uſed before only on the coins of William Rufus; but was continued by all his ſucceſſors, except on the bad money of Henry VIII. and beſt of Edward VI. and likewiſe crowned with an arched crown; having this inſcription, HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX ANG. Z. FR. leaving out of the ſmaller monies the title of France. On the reverſe, inſtead of the inner circle with the place of coinage and the pellets, he placed the arms of France and England quartered, which he the firſt of our Engliſh monarchs uſed conſtantly, but retained the outer circle and motto, POSVI DEV. ADIVTORE MEV. except on the ſmall coins, whereon ſometimes is the place of coinage. Of theſe, the pennies exhibit the king in his robes upon the throne, with a crown, ſceptre and ball: reverſe, the keys, which diſcover it to be of the archbiſhop's coinage. Theſe are the only pieces that have not the number, and are inſcribed HENRIC. DI. GRA. ANG. In his 20th year, there were ſome few ſhillings coined. and they (being only forty in a pound of ſilver) were fair and large pieces, a full third heavier than our's at this day. They are now choice rarities in the cabinets of the curious. He is likewiſe ſaid to have coined ſmall pieces, called Dandy-Prats, but of what metal, value, or faſhion, is unknown. Num. Brit. Hiſt.

THE

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH, OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Chriſtian church had never been in ſo deplorable a ſtate as in the XVth century. God's juſtice and mercy, and Chriſt's meritorious death, were ſcarce any more the object of a Chriſtian faith. Moſt people's religion conſiſted in pilgrimages, and in the worſhip of the bleſſed virgin, ſaints and reliques. As for the clergy, their whole attention was confined to ſuport that grandeur and power they had enjoyed for ſeveral centuries, and to take care that no man preſumed to diſpute their immunities. Diſcipline was never more remiſs. The clergy ſeemed to look upon their ſpiritual juriſdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their temporal privileges. Provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what ſeemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the church was become the capital point of religion.

The papal power had ſtrangely increaſed every century, each pope having made it his buſineſs to enlarge it as much as poſſible. They were come at length to diſpoſe of all the church-preferments in Chriſtendom, and to be the ſupreme judges in all cauſes eccleſiaſtical. National ſynods were no longer held: and indeed, of what uſe would they have been, ſince the court of Rome claimed the cognizance of all church-matters? In a word, the pope was become the center of religion, to which every thing was to tend. The privileges of churches, the prerogatives of ſovereigns, were all annulled by the Non-obſtante clauſe, uſually inſerted in every bull. But it was not only over ſpirituals that the popes had ſtretched their authority; they pretended alſo to extend it over temporals, under colour that religion was concerned in all affairs. Kings themſelves were not out of their reach. In all the marriages of princes, there was occaſion for the pope's diſpenſation: neither peace nor truce of any moment, was concluded without the pope's mediation or guaranty. Some popes were ſeen to carry their pretenſions ſo far, as to enjoin peace or truces without the conſent of the parties. In ſhort, it is extremely probable, they would have wholly engroſſed the temporal power as well as the ſpiritual, if the chiſms of the XVth century had not cauſed them to loſe ground. The revolutions of the following century, made them loſe ſtill more. However, the pope's were become real ſovereigns, not only with reſpect to the power they had aſſumed, but alſo with regard to the immenſe riches, which through numberleſs channels flowed into the vaſt ocean of the apoſtolic chamber. Tenths, firſt-fruits, taxes for the ſervice of the chamber, diſpenſation for all ſorts of caſes, as well contrary to the law of God as to the canons of the church, ſubſidies extracted from time to time from the clergy, for the occaſions of the holy ſee, cruſades, benefices which were ſeldom beſtowed without a previous bargain with the apoſtolic chamber; in a word, ſimony openly practiſed by many popes, ſome of whom were accuſed and convicted, were inexhauſtibly fountains which maintained the affluence and luxury of the court of Rome. It was almoſt impoſſible, that purity of life and true religious principles ſhould be preſerved undefiled, amidſt ſo much grandeur and riches. On the contrary, the popes were the more liable to make an ill uſe of their power, as moſt of them were not born for ſo high a ſtation. Accordingly we find in hiſtory, that Rome and Avignon were the center of pride, avarice, luxury, ſenſuality, and all the moſt ſcandalous vices. The popes were neither learned nor religious. Hardly was there one to be found that might paſs for an honeſt man, even according to the maxims of the world. And yet, all the preambles of their bulls were only expreſſions of their zeal, their charity, their humanity, their juſtice; whilſt for the moſt part, what they enjoyed was an authentic proof of their pride and tyranny. This is no aggravation; for the authors who wrote before the reformation, have ſaid a hundred times more: nay, it has even been publicly preached before the councils.

It may be eaſily imagined, that ſuch popes did not take much care to fill, what they called the ſacred college, with perſons truly pious and devout. It is true, during this century, there were cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their wit, their eloquence, their political virtues, and their capacity for temporal affairs. But theſe, for the moſt part, were men governed by the maxims of the world, and who conſidered religion but as a means to eſtabliſh their fortune. The legates, ſent to the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, were ſo many incendiaries, who ſought only to ſow diſcord and diviſion among princes, or excite them to ſhed the blood of their own ſubjects. In a word, they regarded only the intereſt of their maſter and the Roman ſee, making no conſcience to violate all the rules of religion and equity to accompliſh their ends.

The reſt of the clergy in general were no better. Moſt of the biſhops were promoted to the epiſcopacy, purely for having rendered themſelves commendable by their attachment to the intereſts of the court of Rome, or for their ſervices to princes in their temporal concerns. They were perſons educated at court, and inſtructed in the maxims of the world. Cruelty, injuſtice, diſhoneſty, were but too common among them. Nay, they were conſidered as ſo many virtues, when employed in the perſecution of ſuch as were termed Heretics, eſpecially of thoſe that dared to conteſt any of the pope's or the clergy's pretended rights.

As for real learning, it was ſcarce heard of in this century. Shool-divinity, and the knowledge of the canon-law, made the whole merit of the eccleſiaſtic. It was the only thing by which they could hope to arrive at church dignities. On the other hand, the monks who were crept into moſt of the profeſſorſhips in the univerſities, had overwhelmed divinity and philoſophy with ſuch a heap of jargon, as ſerved only to give their diſciples falſe notions of learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the ſtate of the church in the century we are ſpeaking of. As for the civil affairs of Europe, they were in this and the following centuries, as in the foregoing. The ſovereigns divided among themſelves, by their different intereſts, thought only of ſupplanting one another, and making their neighbour's loſs turn to their own gain. This drew them into bloody wars, which rendered their people miſerable, and ſuffered neither princes nor ſubjects to attend to the breaches in the church, nor think of means to heal them. Corruption was ſo great in the world, and in the church, that God ſeemed to have abandoned men to a reprobate ſenſe, ſo blind and inſenſible were they grown. We may add, for the farther repreſentation of the ſad eſtate of the church, the great progreſs of the Turks in Europe, during this unfortunate century. The Greek empire entirely deſtroyed, and ſeveral other Chriſtian ſtates over-run by the infidels, were plain tokens of the divine wrath againſt Chriſtians, to move them to ſearch after the cauſe. But inſteed of ſeeking the Lord, they perſecuted with fire and ſword ſuch as ſought God alone, and refuſed to pay divine worſhip to creatures.

To accompliſh a reformation in the church, which was ſo much wanted, all or at leaſt the chief princes of Europe ſhould have joined their endeavours to promote ſuch a project. But how was it poſſible that ſo many ſovereigns who had religion ſo little at heart, ſhould ſacrifice their paſſions to ſo great a good? or how could ſo many different intereſts be reconciled? All Europe paſſionately wiſhed that the church were reformed: ſeveral biſhops appeared to have the ſame deſire: nothing was talked of in the councils but the neceſſity of executing ſo noble a deſign: nay, it ſeemed that the councils of Conſtance and Baſil intended to ſet about it effectually. But the well inclined had neither prudence nor reſolution enough to oppoſe to the artifices and violence of the contrary party. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that it was the popes, the cardinals and the principal clergy, who oppoſed to their utmoſt the projected reformation, becauſe they were ſenſible it would prove prejudicial to their temporal intereſts. On the other hand, when it is conſidered with what eagerneſs and animoſity they laboured to root out the pretended hereſies which combated the temporal grandeur of the clergy, no other inference can be

be made than that they themſelves perceived the neceſſity of a reformation which they would not admit, and that the fountain of corruption was in the principle members of the clergy, from whence it had but too great an influence upon the reſt.

To repreſent to the life the ſtate of the church of the fifteenth century, and ſet it in its true light, it would be neceſſary to give a particular account of what paſſed at the councils of Conſtance and Baſil. But this detail would lead me too far: beſides the hiſtory of the firſt of theſe councils has lately been publiſhed, and wrote with that plainneſs, circumſpection, and impartiality, that there is no room to ſuſpect that the author[i] has ſuffered himſelf to be biaſſed by paſſion or prejudice; the hiſtory of the council of Baſil, by the ſame hand, is ſoon to appear[k]: ſo, referring the reader to theſe two hiſtories, I ſhall only relate in a few words the moſt remarkable paſſages of theſe councils. This knowledge will be of uſe to underſtand the ſtate of the church of England, which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of.

The ſchiſm begun in 1378, by Urban VI. and Clement VII. was continued to the beginning of the fifteenth century by Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. their ſucceſſors. Boniface ſucceeding Urban VI. reſided at Rome, and Benedict, ſucceſſor of Clement VII. remained at Avignon, where he was kept by the king of France, for fear he ſhould eſcape before the ſchiſm was ended.

The univerſity of Paris had propoſed a method to end the ſchiſm, namely, that the two popes ſhould reſign the pontificate, which was called the method of ceſſion. Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. pretended both to be willing to take this method for reſtoring peace to the church: but withal they uſed ſo many evaſions, that it was eaſy to ſee they had no ſuch deſire; and therefore the king of France had thought fit to ſecure the perſon of Benedict. That monarch's illneſs afterwards placing the duke of Orleans, his brother, at the head of affairs, the young prince was a great favourer of Benedict XIII. and in 1404, gave him an opportunity to make his eſcape. The ſame year Boniface IX. died, and the cardinals of his party choſe Innocent VII. who behaved like his predeceſſor with reſpect to the ceſſion. To Innocent, who ſat in the papal chair but two years, ſucceeded Angelo Corario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory XII. Thus the ſchiſm ſtill continued between Gregory and Benedict. Theſe two popes pretending to deſire to end it by the method of ceſſion, long amuſed the world with their diſſimulation and artifices. In ſhort, the ſchiſm having now laſted thirty years, without any appearance that the two popes would perform their promiſe, Gregory XII. ſaw himſelf deſerted on a ſudden by his cardinals, who retired to Piſa: there remained but four with him. On the other ſide, France, which was the principal ſupport of Benedict XIII. being tired with his evaſions, withdrew from his obedience, and the pope having loſt that protection, went and reſided in Spain: but his cardinals refuſing to join him, choſe to join Gregory's. Preſently after, the cardinals of both parties, with one conſent, called a general council at Piſa, to which moſt of the princes of Europe ſent their embaſſadors and prelates.

This council, held in 1409, depoſed the two popes, and gave the cardinals leave to chuſe a new one, who aſſumed the the name of Alexander V. But as Gregory and Benedict did not think themſelves lawfully depoſed, it happened that inſtead of the two popes before the council, there were now three.

Alexander V. dying in 1410, John XXIII. was elected in his room, who called a general council to meet at Conſtance in November, 1414[l]. This council found no better way to end the ſchiſm, than by removing the three popes, John XXIII. and Benedict XIII. were depoſed, and Gregory XII. voluntarily reſigned the pontificate. After that, the council elected cardinal Odo Colonna who took the name of Martin V. John XXIII. who was committed to the cuſtody of the emperor Sigiſmund, having made his eſcape, ſubmitted to Martin V. who honoured him with a cardinalſhip. As for Benedict XIII. he ſtill kept the title of pope; and retiring to the caſtle of Reniſcola, belonging to the kingdom of Valencia, was ſuffered by the king of Arragon to live there in quiet. After his death, which happened not till 1424, his cardinals choſe a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII. But in 1429, he quitted his dignity in favour of Martin V. Thus ended the ſchiſm at length, after one and fifty years continuance.

This abſtract, though ſhort, will enable us to judge of the character of the popes who governed the church during theſe fifty years: they were men who ſacrificed the peace and tranquillity of the church to their own private intereſts, and damned without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were not of their party. They would without ſcruple have engaged all Chriſtendom in a bloody war for their intereſts, if the ſovereign princes, had not been wiſer than they. Surely one cannot but form a very melancholy idea of the ſtate of the church in thoſe days, when it is conſidered that the Chriſtians of both ſides acknowledged for Chriſt's vicars, popes whom they abhorred, and who indeed were ſo little worthy of the ſtation they enjoyed, that ſeveral were depoſed for hereſy, ſimony, and perjury.

But I have ſtill one important reflection to make upon the conduct of the council of Conſtance, the motive whereof is at firſt hard to be conceived. If the council of Piſa was general and lawful, as that of Conſtance could not forbear owning, why were her deciſions not obſerved? Why was Gregory XIIth's reſignation accepted, a reſignation which ſuppoſed him ſtill to be pope notwithſtanding his being depoſed? Why were terms offered him to induce him to quit the pontificate? Why was Benedict XIII. once more depoſed when he had been already depoſed by a general council? In ſhort, why was John XXIII. deprived of his dignity for not keeping his promiſe to reſign the papacy, ſince it could not be queſtioned that he was really pope and his miſſion lawful? Was not the authority of the council of Piſa ſacrificed by theſe proceedings?

Let it not be objected that John XXIII. was not depoſed for any defect in his miſſion but for his crimes. It is certain, when his promiſe to reſign the pontificate was required, it was ſolely with a view to put an end to the ſchiſm. Had he reſigned with a good grace, he would never have been accuſed, much leſs condemned for the crime for which he was afterwards depoſed. It will be ſaid perhaps, that this inconvenience was not ſo great as that of perpetuating the ſchiſm. But ſhould the ſtriking at the authority of a general council be deemed a ſlight inconvenience? Did not the council of Conſtance give occaſion to have her own authority diſputed? For there is no reaſon why the depoſing of Benedict XIII. and of John XXIII. by the council of Conſtance ſhould be more valid than the depoſing of the ſame Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. by the council of Piſa.

However, through all this intricacy, the motive of the council of Conſtance's proceedings is diſcoverable. The ſchiſm manifeſtly tended to the diſſolution of the papal dignity, which ſerved for baſis and foundation to moſt of the clergy's privileges, and to the hierarchy itſelf. Caſtile, Arragon, Navarre, Portugal, had been neutral ſome years, without owning any of the contending popes. France had withdrawn her obedience from Benedict XIII. without transferring it to Gregory XII. In a word, the whole world in general began to contemn their excommunications, which they ſo viſibly abuſed. There was danger therefore that by degrees a pope would be thought uſeleſs, and thereby the foundation of the hierarchy would have been undermined, and perhaps a new form of government introduced into the church. The cardinals and prelates, of whom the council of Conſtance was compoſed, were ſo highly concerned to avoid this inconvenience, that their ſacrificing all to that end is not ſurprizing. This is the true reaſon of their conduct. But they took care to proceed very different with regard to the pretended heretics, who openly proteſted the privileges of the clergy. To extirpate a hereſy ſo prejudicial to them, they made uſe of fire and ſword rather than ſacrifice the leaſt of their intereſts. This is what we are going to ſee in the manner they acted on that account.

All the world knows that John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were burnt alive at Conſtance. But every one has not been at the pains to examine for what errors they ſuffered that rigorous puniſhment. They were then and ſtill are to this day charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable tenets. They were condemned as ſeditious, obſtinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of Wickliff, hardened, crafty, malicious, and convictive heretics: had there been yet ſtronger terms to expreſs their abhorrence of theſe hereſies,

[i] Mr. l'Enfant, late miniſter at Berlin.

[k] It was publiſhed in 1724.

[l] The deputies to this council from England were, firſt, the biſhops of Saliſbury, Bath, and Hereford, the abbot of Weſtminſter, and prior of Worceſter; but upon the death of the biſhops of Saliſbury and Hereford, the Engliſh prelates underſtanding that other churches were repreſented by a more numerous delegation, ſent Clifford, biſhop of London, the chancellors of both univerſities, with twelve doctors, to this council. Walſingham, p. 387. The deputies mentioned in Rymer's Fœd. are this, Nicholas, biſhop of Bath and Wells, Robert of Sarum, John of St. David's, William, abbot of Weſtminſter, John, prior of Worceſter, Thomas Spofford, abbot of St. Mary's at York, Richard earl of Warwick, Henry Fitz-Hugh, lord-chamberlain, ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Ralph Rocheford, John Honyngham, doctor of laws. Tom. ix. p. 162, 167, 169.

Otherwiſe

they would have been uſed without ſcruple. But, wherein conſiſted theſe hereſies? In their being diſciples of Wickliff? If the authors who ſpeak of their ſentence be conſulted, ſcarce one will be found that ſays more. John Huſs and Jerome of Prague (ſay they) were followers of Wickliff, and conſequently abominable wretches deſerving to be burnt. In the opinions of Wickliff therefore we are to ſearch for their errors. Now here is an ambiguity, which has been conſtantly uſed to juſtify the condemnation of theſe two doctors; it is hardly to be doubted, that the council of Conſtance had the ſame ambiguity in view, when ſhe cauſed the errors and memory of Wickliff to be firſt ſtigmatized, before John Huſs and Jerome of Prague were brought upon their trial.

Wickliff's opinions were of two kinds: ſome concerned the principal doctrines of faith; others related to the hierarchy, the clergy, their juriſdiction, power, and riches. Wickliff did not believe tranſubſtantiation; he rejected the invocation of ſaints, the adoration of the croſs and images, pilgrimages, and reliques. On the other hand, he thought the hierarchy, had no foundation in ſcripture; from whence he drew ſeveral concluſions againſt the exceſſive authority uſurped by the popes, the cardinals, and the biſhops. Moreover he taxed the clergy with leading very immoral and diſſolute lives, and maintained that the revenues of the church were greatly miſapplied. From theſe principles his enemies inferred numberleſs conſequences, ſome whereof had never perhaps entered into his thoughts. There were at leaſt found in his writings two hundred and ſixty capital errors: his followers added many more which he had never taught, and the whole was imputed to him as if he had maintained them all in expreſs terms.

However it be, John Huſs embraced Wickliff's opinions, but it was only in what concerned the hierarchy and clergy. It is certain he believed tranſubſtantiation, and died in that belief. As for images, his opinion was that a man might honour them, kneel to them, light up wax tapers before them, kiſs them, becauſe the intention referred that worſhip to the originals. So, it is a thing out of doubt, that he was not burnt for maintaining errors in the principal doctrines of faith, but for opinions which combated the exorbitant power and riches of the church, that is to ſay, of the clergy. All poſſible endeavours were uſed to make him confeſs he believed not tranſubſtantiation, but he could never be brought to ſuch a confeſſion. And yet, by the advice of the cardinal of Florence, the council condemned him upon the depoſition of the witneſſes, who accuſed him of rejecting that doctrine, without regarding his own expreſs declaration to the contrary. It is not very difficult to conceive the council's aim in cauſing that article to be inſerted in Huſs's ſentence. The council was ſenſible it muſt have appeared very ſtrange, that a perſon ſhould be burnt, whoſe principles tended to a reformation in the head and in the members of the church, which all Chriſtendom required, and which the council itſelf feigned to believe neceſſary. It was requiſite therefore to juſtify the ſentence by rendering the man odious, as rejecting a fundamental article of faith. For this reaſon, without diſtinguiſhing Wickliff's errors, John Huſs, and Jerome, of Prague, were condemned as followers of that arch-heretic. It was thereby inſinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their maſter.

But to ſhew by an unexceptionable teſtimony that theſe two men were burnt for their opinions concerning the clergy, I need only quote what Æneas Sylvius, alias pope Pius II. ſays in his Hiſtory of Bohemia. The deputies of the council having admoniſhed the accuſed to forſake their errors, and conform to the church's ſentiments, they anſwered, "That they were indeed lovers of the holy Goſpel, and true diſciples of Chriſt: that the church of Rome, and all the other churches of the world, were far ſwerved from the apoſtolical traditions: that the clergy ran after pleaſures and riches: that they lorded it over the people, affected the higheſt ſeats at entertainments, and bred horſes and dogs: that the revenues of the church, which belonged to the poor members of Chriſt, were conſumed in vanity and wantonneſs: that the prieſts were ignorant of the commandments of God; or if they did know them, lightly regarded them.

"The fathers of the council (continues the hiſtorian) perceiving and knowing the invincible obſtinacy of theſe people, judged that the corrupted members of the church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, leſt they ſhould infect the reſt of the body. Accordingly ſentence was paſſed upon them, all the fathers unanimouſly agreeing, that perſons who rejected found doctrine approved by the church, deſerved to be burnt."

This account moſt evidently ſhews wherein conſiſted the hereſy of John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, namely, in their accuſing the clergy of corruption. It was therefore to deſtroy theſe enemies of the clergy, that the council made no ſcruple to violate the ſafe-conduct given by the emperor Sigiſmund to John Huſs, or at leaſt to allow him to violate it himſelf. Moreover, the council had no regard to the promiſe they had publicly given to Jerome of Prague, in order to draw him to Conſtance: it is true, the council had inſerted theſe words in their engagement, "Without prejudice to juſtice, and as far as the catholic faith requires it:" a captious clauſe, if ever there was one. For was not the catholic faith the very point in queſtion; and of what uſe could the council's promiſe be to Jerome of Prague, unleſs againſt juſtice? Did he run any hazard, or ſtand in need of ſuch a promiſe, if he had not the tenets he was charged with?

Let us now proceed to the decree of the council againſt communion in both kinds. We ſhall ſee in this, as well as in the foregoing articles, that the authority of the church or the clergy, was the ſole point in queſtion. The fathers of Conſtance condemned not communion in both ſides as ſinful in itſelf; on the contrary, they owned it was practiſed in the primitive church, and that the church had power to grant it to the laity, if ſhe thought proper. But they anathematized ſuch as maintained the church had not a right to aboliſh that practice. What did they mean then by the church? Did they not mean the councils compoſed of the ſeveral members of the clergy? It is ſo true, that in this decree the council's ſole view was to ſupport the authority of the church repreſentative, that ſome years after another general council made no ſcruple to allow the Huſſites the liberty of communicating in both kinds, without any apprehenſion that the faith was therein concerned, when they were willing to receive that liberty as a favour from the church.

As to other opinions which appeared at the ſame time, but which attacked not the clergy, the council of Conſtance behaved with an aſtoniſhing coolneſs. John Petit, advocate of the duke of Burgundy, maintained it was lawful for any private perſon to kill a tyrant even by ſurpriſe. This tenet being brought before the council, how did they proceed? After much ſolicitation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the author, or attacking his perſon, though they had ordered Wickliff's bones to be dug up thirty years after his burial. The ſect of the ſcourgers [m] broached ſeveral capital errors: but the council was content with the bare propoſal of finding ſome gentle means to reſtore them to the unity of the church.

What reformation could be expected from a council which ſo rigorouſly proſecuted ſuch as conteſted the privileges of the pope, the cardinals, and the clergy? The reformation muſt have begun with the ſuppreſſion of moſt of theſe prerogatives. Indeed, before Martin Vth's election, the reforming of the court of Rome was talked of in the council, and a liſt of the abuſes to be redreſſed was drawn up: but by the artifices of ſome, and particularly of the cardinals, that deſign came to nothing. A pope was elected, and a pope elect found means to have that article deferred to a more convenient ſeaſon.

This is the ſum of the moſt remarkable tranſactions in the council of Conſtance. A very full account of theſe things will be found in the fore-mentioned new hiſtory, to which the reader is referred. Let us ſee now what the council of Baſil acted with reſpect to the Huſſites, and the quarrel of pope Eugenius IV. with the ſame council. Nothing is more proper to ſhew the ſtate of the church in thoſe days.

The Bohemians, who for the moſt part had embraced the opinions of John Huſs, highly reſented the uſage he had met with. This ſeverity ſerving only to confirm them in their tenets, they reſolved to maintain them in ſpite of the council's decrees. Communion in both kinds was the principal doctrine. This occaſioned terrible commotions in Bohemia, which Martin V. greatly inflamed by his haughty treatment of the Huſſites. In the midſt of theſe troubles, Wenceſlaus, king of Bohemia, dying, Sigiſmund, his brother, who was emperor, pretended to the ſucceſſion. But the Bohemians rejected him, becauſe they would not conſent they ſhould live in the faith they profeſſed. Martin V. ſupporting Sigiſmund, publiſhed a cruſade againſt the Huſſites, and thereby

[m] Otherwiſe called Flagellantes. This ſect appeared firſt at Perouſa, in 1260, having for its author a hermit named Rainerus. They carried a croſs in their hands, wore a cowl on their heads, and went naked to the waſte. Twice a day, and once in the night, they laſhed themſelves with knotted cords ſtuck with points or pins, which gave occaſion to their name. They affirmed, that their blood united in ſuch a manner with Chriſt's, that it had the ſame virtue. They perſuaded the people that the Goſpel had ceaſed, and ſuffered all ſorts of perjuries.

oblige them to arm in defence of their lives. It is needleſs to enquire here, whether Sigiſmund had any right to mount the throne of Bohemia without the conſent of the ſtates; this is a quere which would lead me too far. However that be, Ziſka, a Bohemian, heading the Huſſites, defeated Sigiſmund ſeveral times, and made him as well as the pope, deſpair of extirpating theſe pretended heretics by arms. The war laſted till the council of Baſil, without Sigiſmund's being able to take peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The council of Baſil, which met in 1431, finding that the arms of Sigiſmund and the Croiſees had not the ſucceſs that was expected, reſolved to make peace with the Huſſites. Probably, their aim was to ſet Sigiſmund at any rate on the throne of Bohemia, in order to enable him the better to take proper meaſures to extirpate theſe people. For that purpoſe, they ſent deputies into Bohemia, to invite the Huſſites to come and produce their reaſons before the council. They agreed to it, and their deputies being arrived at Baſil, required theſe four things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the church.

Firſt, That communion in both kinds ſhould be adminiſtered to the Bohemian laity.

Secondly, That offenders ſhould be puniſhed according to the law of God, and by thoſe whoſe proper buſineſs it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God ſhould be preached by able prieſts.

Fourthly, That the clergy ſhould have no temporal juriſdiction.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the Huſſites, for which ſo bloody a war had been made upon them, even to the exciting all Europe againſt them. But it was not ſo much for their doctrines that they were thus cruelly perſecuted, but for their obſtinate refuſal to ſubmit to the deciſions of the church, and for their contempt of the clergy. The council uſed all poſſible endeavours to perſuade the Bohemian deputies to an unconditional ſubmiſſion to the church. But at laſt, perceiving they inſiſted upon the four articles, the council thought fit to grant them upon this condition, that they ſhould be firſt explained, becauſe being couched in general terms, they might give occaſion to freſh diſputes. The Huſſites conſenting, the council explained the four articles as they judged convenient. After that, an agreement was drawn conformable to the four articles and their explication.

The affair being thus ſettled, Sigiſmund demanded to be received for king of Bohemia, and was ſo accordingly, after ſigning certain conditions; namely, the approbation of the agreement, and ſome others relating thereto. It ſeemed that the perſecution againſt the Huſſites was thereby to ceaſe. But Sigiſmund was no ſooner on the throne of Bohemia, but he diſappointed them. On the other hand the pope pretending, they obſerved not the conditions on which the four articles were granted, poſitively refuſed to confirm the agreement. This occaſioned in Bohemia freſh troubles, which were always fomented by the court of Rome, and which properly ended not till the middle of the laſt century, in the utter ruin of the Huſſites.

Before we leave this ſubject, let us make one reflection. Let the Huſſites be inveighed againſt as much as you pleaſe: let them be accuſed of holding impious and deteſtable errors, yet theſe errors muſt be reduced to the four articles exhibited by themſelves to the council of Baſil. For this, cruſades were publiſhed againſt them, and John Huſs and Jerome of Prague, were burnt. Yet a general council, owned for ſuch by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged that theſe articles might be ſuffered without prejudice to the Catholic faith. It follows therefore, that war was made upon them ſolely for the ſupport of the church's authority. That was the main point of religion. But why were they perſecuted afterwards? It was becauſe the popes would never ſtand to the agreemeet, though the Huſſites frequently offered to ſubmit to the church upon that condition. It is therefore evident, that the war from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded upon this principle, that the church had a deſpotic power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions. But what church is this, inveſted with ſo high a prerogative? It cannot be a general council, ſince ſuch a council has not judged that article unqueſtionable. It is therefore the pope alone which can be meant by the church. It will be ſaid perhaps, that the authority of the council of Baſil is not acknowledged by a great part of the church: but this will be groundleſs. For the agreement with the Huſſites, was made before the council was removed to Ferrara, and the council of Baſil is acknowledged by all the world for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to ſee a quarrel of another nature, not of the church with her heretical enemies, but of the church with herſelf, of the members with the head. Till the council of Baſil, the popes and the councils were very well agreed to improve the church's authority and cauſed it to be abſolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word Church, an entire ſubmiſſion was required of Chriſtians, ſometimes to the pope as the head, ſometimes to the councils as repreſentatives of the body, according as occaſion offered to improve that term for the benefit of either. As for the Chriſtian laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word Church. However, though in confining the ſignification of the word Church to the clergy alone, there ſtill remained ſome ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding whether the authority of the church was lodged in the body of the clergy, or in the pope as head. The councils of Piſa and Conſtance had taken ſome ſteps towards aſſuming this authority, in depoſing the popes themſelves. But Martin V. after his election, had artfully evaded the deciſion of this important point, either by breaking up the council, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the doctrines, without meddling with any of the other articles. He knew, it would be very prejudicial for him if the queſtion was decided by the council, as it would be for the council the moment they broke up. At length, the council of Baſil had occaſion to take this queſtion into conſideration.

The council had been called by Martin V. who had now appointed cardinal Julian Cæſarini to preſide as legate. Martin dying in 1431, before the council was aſſembled, Eugenius IV. was choſen in his room. The new pope oppoſed not the opening of the council, but intended it ſhould not continue long. For ſome time the neceſſity of reformng the church, both in the head and members, had been every where talked of. Now as ſuch a reformation muſt have been made by a general council, ſuch a council could not but terrify a pope, who had not yet had time to taſte the ſweets of the pontificate. The council of Baſil was no ſooner aſſembled, but Eugenius ſought means to diſſolve it. He found a pretence in the council's invitation of the Huſſites to Baſil, during the firſt ſeſſion. He affirmed, theſe heretics having been condemned in the council of Conſtance, ought not to be allowed a re-hearing. Upon this frivolous pretence, he publiſhed a bull for diſſolving the council.

Inſtead of ſubmitting to the pope's pleaſure, the council reſolved to continue their ſeſſions. Hence ſprung a quarrel, which produced a real ſchiſm, ſome maintaining the authority of the council, and others remaining attached to the pope. The council made ſeveral decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of the pope, and the pope annulled theſe decrees, affirming, the body could not act but by the direction of the head. The emperor, the king of France, and moſt of the other princes, declairing for the council, Eugenius ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity to confirm the council, and conſent that the ſeſſions ſhould be continued. But having ſent other legates to preſide in his name, the council refuſed to receive them as preſidents. This was a freſh occaſion of diſſenſion. The pope threatened to diſſolve the council, and the council threatened to ſuſpend the pope. Accordingly, they made ſome advances towards it: whereupon Ugenius finding himſelf the weakeſt, was obliged once more to approve and confirm the council.

The forced compliance of the pope, appeaſed the quarrel for ſome time. But in 1435, the council having ſhewn, they would ſeriouſly endeavour a reformation of the church in the head and members, and having made for that purpoſe decrees to aboliſh the firſt-fruits [n], and ſettle the rights of the apoſtolic chamber, the pope ſaw himſelf ruined, unleſs he found ſome way to ſtop their proceedings. On the other hand, the cardinals eaſily perceived, that ſince the pope was begun with, their turn would ſoon come. There were biſhops too, who were ſorry to ſee a reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice in many things, though they might hope to be gainers by it in ſome reſpects. This occaſioned the forming of two oppoſite parties in the council; but however, the reformers had the majority. Mean while, the pope continued to gain ground, ſince the cardinals and ſeveral biſhops thought it for their intereſt to ſupport him.

Another thing helped likewiſe to ſet the pope's affairs upon a good footing. Some time ſince, John Emanuel Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, had been vigorouſly attacked by the Turks. As he wanted aſſiſtance, he imagined, if he could unite the Greek church with the Latin, the pope and princes of Europe would aſſiſt him with all their forces in defence of his empire. This affair had been already propoſed to Martin V. and it was chiefly with deſign to accompliſh the union, that

[n] The annates or Firſt-fruits were deviſed by Boniface IX. on pretence of carrying on a war againſt the Infidels

The

pope Martin had called the council of Basil, where the Greek emperor was to come in person, with the bishops of his church. Eugenius IV. failed not to improve the opportunity to strengthen his party. He sent nuntios to the emperor, to acquaint him, that the time was come to perform his promise; but as it might be inconvenient for him and his attendants to repair to Basil, he promised to remove the council to some good town in Italy, provided he would engage to be present. On the other hand, the council sent likewise embassadors to Constantinople, to dissuade the emperor from coming to any other place than Basil. But the emperor had already resolved to repair wherever the pope should appoint. The fathers of Basil plainly perceiving, the pope intended to move the council elsewhere, made haste and passed several decrees, which very much lessened the papal authority, and at length cited the pope before them.

Eugenius little regarded the proceedings against him at Basil. When he heard the Greeks were arrived at Venice, he published a bull for translating the council of Basil to Ferrara. The council refused to comply with the bull, and by a majority of votes, suspended the pope till he should come in person and make his defence. Mean while, cardinal Julian, president of the council, and the rest of the cardinals, except one, left Basil, carrying with them a good number of bishops, and repaired to Ferrara, where the pope opened his council the 10th of February, 1438. Thus arose a new sort of schism between the councils, both which stiled themselves general, and condemned each other. But the pope's had soon a considerable advantage of the other, by the arrival of the Greek emperor at Ferrara, with a great many prelates of his nation. The next year Eugenius translated the council of Florence, where a sort of union was made between the Greeks and Latins, which lasted not long[o].

Mean time, the council of Basil still continuing their proceedings against Eugenius IV. came at last to depose him, and elect another pope in his room, namely, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who having resigned the government of his dominions, was retired to the solitudes of Ripaille. The new pope assumed the name of Felix V. Hence was formed in the church a double schism between two general councils and two popes, who thundered their Anathemas against one another, to the great scandal of Christendom. It was no small embarrassment to most people to see thus two popes, and two councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the adherents of the other party, without sparing even those who thought to escape by standing neuter.

Charles VII. who then reigned in France, caused a synod to be held on the occasion, in which it was resolved, that France should own the council of Basil for lawful, but should remain however in the obedience of pope Eugenius: another embarrassment to the French. Indeed it is hard to conceive, how two such opposite things could be reconciled.

In 1441, was held in Germany another such assembly, where no better expedient was found, than the calling a new council somewhere else than at Basil and Florence; and that Germany should remain neuter, till the new council was assembled A diet held at Franckfort in 1442, approved of this expedient, and the council of Basil consented to it, though with reluctance. But obstacles occurred, that prevented the execution of that design.

Mean while Felix V. not being pleased with the council of Basil for taking so much upon them, resolved to withdraw to Lausanne, on pretence that Basil air did not agree with him. On the other hand, Eugenius translated the council of Florence to Rome, in the church of St. John of Lateran, where they began their session in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the princes of Germany assembled at Francfort, unanimously resolved, that if Eugenius would not redress the grievances complained of, they would all recognize pope Felix. Eugenius demurred at first. But the emperor telling him, he must comply, or resolve to lose all Germany, he granted whatever the Germans desired, whereupon an agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the council of Basil, who had now lost Italy, Arragon, and several other states. As for France they would not much rely upon her, since she still continued in obedience to pope Eugenius. England had likewise so far declared for that pope, as that we find in the Collection of the Public Acts, Henry VI. sent an embassy to make a league with him.

Eugenius IV. died whilst these things were transacting, and had for successor Nicholas V.

The council of Basil losing great part of their authority, and Felix V. having but very few friends, the king of France held a synod at Lyons, to seek means to put an end to the schism. Felix V. sending legates thither, it was resolved, with his consent, that if Nicholas V. would grant him certain conditions, he would resign the pontificate. This was the subject of a negotiation, which lasted the whole year 1448. Mean while, the council of Basil, finding themselves forsaken by almost all the world, and despairing of farther protection at Basil, since the emperor and Germany had declared for Eugenius, resolved to remove to Lausanne.

At last Felix having obtained most of his desires, resigned the papal dignity in 1449. But it was with the consent of his council, who found means to preserve still some remains of authority. By their last decree, they approved of Felix's resignation, created him cardinal and legate a latere[p] in Savoy and the Tarentaise, and allowed him to wear the papal habit all his life. Nicholas V. confirmed the decree according to agreement. Thus ended at length the schism, in which there was a complication of three schisms: first, between Eugenius IV. and the council of Basil; then between two general councils; and lastly, between two popes. The first may be said not to be yet ended, since the dispute which occasioned it still subsists. The court of Rome's adherents perpetually inveigh against the council of Basil, for decreeing, that a general council is above the pope. On the other hand, their opposers rest upon the decrees of that council to support their opinion: very probably this question will remain long undecided.

I have a little enlarged upon what passed in the two famous councils of Constance and Basil, because nothing in my opinion is more proper to discover the wretched state of the church in those days. From the close of the last schism, to the end of the XVth century, the papal chair was filled with popes cruelly bent upon the destruction of the Hussites, contrary to the faith of the agreement, or wholy employed in maintaining exorbitant power usurped by their predecessors, and generally in satisfying their avarice.

[1455] Calixtus III. successor to Nicholas V. so opposed the Germans, that they were forced at length to break the Concordat[q] made with Eugenius IV. plainly perceiving it was entirely useless.

[1448] Pius II. lately canonized, was so far from consenting to a reformation in the head of the church, that he excommunicated by a bull, all persons that should dare to appeal from the pope to a general council.

[1464] Paul II. was no sooner chosen than he broke the oath taken before his election, concerning the redress of certain abuses, which himself, with the rest of the cardinals, had deemed necessary. Never were the Gratiæ expectativæ (or bulls for church preferments before they become void) more frequent than whilst he sat in the papal chair. He spent the whole time of his pontificate in striving to abolish the Pragmatic sanction[r] in France, which debarred him of the liberty of doing there whatever he pleased.

[1471] Sixtus IV. raised by one of his bulls the hierarchy to the highest degree it could be carried, at a time when the excessive power usurped by the clergy was generally complained of.

[1484] Innocent VIII. quarrelled with Ferdinand of Arragon, king of Naples; and by his solicitations inclined Charles VIII. to carry his arms into Italy.

[1492] Alexander VI. was one of the most corrupt men of his age. It is of him a famous Roman catholic writer gives this fine character, that he would have been the wickedest man in the world, if his bastard-son[s] had not been more wicked than himself.

I pass over in silence the cruel eagerness of all these popes to persecute the Bohemians, contrary to the faith of their Concordat. The crusades against the Turks, in which they would have engaged all the princes of Europe, appeared very specious: but sovereigns were so well satisfied that in publishing crusades the popes had only their own private interest in view, that they could never confide in them.

[o] The emperor, in order to compass his ends, compelled the Greek fathers to assent to the four articles: 1. "That there is a purgatory. 2. That the pope is head of the church. 3. That the holy ghost proceeds from the father and the son. 4. That unleavened bread may be used in the Eucharist." But when they came home, they declaimed against the council, and recanted their subscriptions.

[p] Legates a latere are properly the pope's extraordinary embassadors to emperors and kings.

[q] Or agreement. Whereby the pope reserved to himself the collation of all benefices in Rome, and two days journey from it: the confirmation of metropolitans, bishops, &c. The disposal of certain benefices; and the annates.

[r] This is an edict passed in the council of Bourges, in the reign of Charles VII. It was levelled against papal provisions, the payment of first-fruits, and other encroachments of the court of Rome. In a word, it contains the privileges of the Gallican church, and was taken out of the acts of the councils of Constance and Basil.

[s] Cæsar Borgia. See the history of them published by Mr. Gordon.

Such

Such in general was the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in the fifteenth century, upon which I ſhall make but one ſingle remark, leaving my readers at liberty to add as many as they pleaſe. What I would obſerve is, that the abſtract I have given evidently ſhews how trifling their opinion is, who ſay it is not the buſineſs of private perſons to endeavour a reformation of the church, but it muſt be left to the care of the church herſelf. What then is this church, from which we are to expect this happy reformation? Is it all Chriſtians in general agreeing together, as by a ſudden inſpiration, to reform abuſes? Doubtleſs this is not what is meant by the word Church. Is it the pope with his cardinals? But theſe are the very men who have all along hindered it, and very probably will to the utmoſt of their power, hinder it for ever. Shall a general council undertake this reformation? But what has hitherto paſſed in theſe aſſemblies affords no room to expect ſo great a benefit: beſides, who ſhall call this general council? of whom ſhall it be compoſed? who ſhall preſide? Can the pope be perſuaded to convene a general council to reform the church? will he give the precedency to another, that himſelf and court may be with more freedom reformed? In a word, will it not be the pope, the cardinals, the prelates, that will have the deliberative vote in this council? but theſe are ſo many perſons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be ſaid with ſome, that the church had no need of reformation? that ſhe is innocent and pure, without ſpot or wrinkle, or any thing like it? that all the prerogatives enjoyed by the popes, the cardinals, the biſhops, belong to them by divine right? that the pope exerciſes only the power committed to him by Chriſt? that his deciſions are infallible, as well in point of fact as of right, and the ſame obedience muſt be paid to his decrees as to thoſe of God himſelf? but if, purſuant to this principle, the popes ſhould unhappily enlarge their phylacteries, and every day form new pretenſions, as it has but too frequently happened, how ſhall they be ſtopped, if it is confeſſed the church has no need of reformation, or muſt be left to reform herſelf?

After viewing the ſtate of the Church in general, it is time to proceed to that of the church of England in particular. England, with regard to religion, was in the ſame condition with the reſt of Europe. The peopie paſſionately wiſhed for a reformation of ſundry abuſes crept into the church: the clergy ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the kings, they made religion ſubſervient to their intereſt. When they imagined they wanted the clergy they found ways enough to evade the people's deſires. But when the parliament's favour was requiſite, they aſſented to the ſtatutes by which the incroachments of the pope and clergy were reſtrained.

In the beginning of the century, Heney IV. whoſe chief aim was to fix himſelf on the throne, and who thought he could not effect it without the clergy, he ſeemed throughout his whole reign to have a great deference for them: hence proceeded all the ſtatutes paſſed in thoſe days againſt the Lollards. Henry V. ſhewed at firſt great inclination to ſtrip the clergy of their riches, according to the parliament's deſire; but afterwards, turning his thoughts to the conqueſt of France, he carefully avoided that religion ſhould cauſe any troubles in his kingdom. It was highly neceſſary, in order to execute his grand projects, that his ſubjects ſhould be ready to aſſiſt him with their purſes. But on the other hand, he was no leſs concerned to live in a good underſtanding with the court of Rome, leſt ſhe ſhould hinder his enterprize. He knew what ſhe was capable of, when ſhe thought herſelf injured; ſo, artfully managing both the pope and his ſubjects, he prevented the firſt from abuſing his power too much, without depriving him however of what he poſſeſſed. By this prudent conduct he made his reign peaceable with reſpect to religion. We muſt expect however what he did in the beginning againſt the Lollards. He had ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed that they had conſpired againſt his life, and that belief made him at firſt a little ſevere. But as he was endued with an excellent judgment, he ſoon diſcerned the intereſts of the clergy from thoſe of religion, and put a ſtop to the perſecution of the unhappy Lollards. Henry VI. was a weak man, ever ready to receive the impreſſions that were given him. Had he held the reins of the government himſelf, very probably the clergy would have gained much ground in his reign. But the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority as after, were men of a very different character: beſides the French war, the diſturbances at court after the king's marriage, and the civil war which quickly followed, gave thoſe at the helm no time to think much of religious affairs. For the ſame reaſon the reign of Edward IV. was not diſturbed either by the Lollards or their adverſaries. It is true, Edward ſhewed a great condeſcenſion for the clergy in granting them a favour conſtantly denied by the former kings: but his complaiſance did not go ſo far as to indulge perſecution. The reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. were wholly ſpent in domeſtic troubles, which had no influence upon the affairs of the church. As for Henry VII. he made it a rule to keep the church upon the ſame footing he found it when he mounted the throne. He ever avoided as a rock all innovations which might obſtruct the execution of his two ſole deſigns, namely, to ſecure the crown to himſelf and his heirs, and to heap up money. Such was, with regard to religion, the diſpoſition of the kings that reigned in England during the fifteenth century.

As for the Engliſh nation, it is certain, it was generally Wickliffite in ſome reſpects. Wickliff's opinions manifeſtly tended to theſe two principal ends: firſt to reform the government of the church, and to ſet bounds to the power of the pope and clergy: ſecondly, to alter the church's creed concerning ſome doctrines long ſince received, and which he thought contrary to ſcripture. Now as he found it almoſt impoſſible that Chriſtians ſhould return to what he believed the ancient faith of the church, becauſe the clergy were concerned to maintain the eſtabliſhed errors, he ſtrongly inſiſted upon the firſt point, as being abſolutely neceſſary to the attainment of the ſecond. It is certain, that with reſpect to his general aim in the firſt of theſe two articles, not only his profeſſed followers, but all the reſt of the people did as it were join with him. For many ages the Engliſh had felt the oppreſſion wherein the pope and clergy had kept them. In all Chriſtendom no nation had more experienced the rigour of this dominion. The hiſtory of England ſhews it ſo manifeſtly, that a man muſt be blind not to ſee it. But though the hiſtory were ſuſpected, the ſtatutes of Proviſors and Preminure ſo frequently revived, leave no room to queſtion that the Engliſh thought themſelves oppreſſed. So it may be ſaid, that in general the Engliſh nation was Wickliffite as to the firſt point, though many believe Wickliff would have carried the reformation a little too far, and to correct the abuſes of the hierarchy was fallen into the contrary extreme. But the nation was not generally Wickliffite with reſpect to the ſecond article, namely, the alteration of belief, concerning the doctrines. Indeed Wickliff had in this reſpect many followers, but they were not the majority. Thus the name of Wickliffite, or Lollard, was an equivocal term, capable of being underſtood in two different ſenſes: ſometimes it ſignified a man, who ſeparating from the church, embraced all Wickliff's opinions: it might likewiſe be underſtood of one, who remaining in the church as it was then, and adhering to the received doctrines, was however of Wickliff's opinion concerning the temporal and ſpiritual juriſdiction of the clergy. In this laſt ſenſe there were more Lollards in England than can be imagined. This diſtinction may ſerve to account for divers proceedings of the parliaments in the beginning of the fifteenth century, which ſeem to be contrary one to another. Sometimes they were ſeen to ſpeak and act like Lollards, earneſtly demanding that the clergy ſhould be ſtripped of their riches; and ſometimes to condemn theſe ſame Lollards to the flames, when they conſidered them in the firſt ſenſe before-mentioned. The clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term: when a man was ſo hardy as to ſhew that it were to be wiſhed ſome alteration were made in the government of the church, he was infallibly accuſed of being a Lollard, and charged with all Wickliff's opinions. Hence he became odious, becauſe the true Lollards maintained doctrines repugnant to the faith of thoſe days. The firſt parliament which petitioned Henry IV. to ſeize the church lands, could not eſcape that imputation, which made a deep impreſſion in the king's mind. Thus it often happened, that people did not dare openly to approve Wickliff's firſt opinions, for fear of being taxed alſo with holding the others, and expoſed to ſuffer for tenets they received not, as it happened to John Huſs and Jerome of Prague. It was not without cauſe that the clergy proſecuted the Lollards with ſuch animoſity, ſince their principles tended to no leſs than to deprive them of all their prerogatives. At this very day, the church of England, though embracing Wickliff's opinions concerning the doctrines, cannot forbear expreſſing very little eſteem for that doctor, becauſe he has combated the hierarchy, which ſhe has thought proper to retain.

The Lollards were periecuted ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs, according to the character of the kings, archbiſhops, and the reſt of the prelates, but chiefly according to the circumſtances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the fifteenth century was much more ſevere for them than the mid-

dle

dle or the end. The reaſon is evident: for as their numbers continually increaſed, their enemies found much leſs ſupport, and themſelves more protection. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, which was the moſt troubleſome time for them, there were however but very few burnt, of which three principal reaſons may be given: firſt, as the ſtatutes did not enact that all in general ſhould be burnt who held the tenets of Wickliff, but only ſuch as preached or taught them publicly, the number of the guilty was not very great. Theſe ſtatutes were not obſerved after the manner of the inquiſition, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the Engliſh nation. In the next place, the idea which the clergy were pleaſed to give of the Lollards, was that they entirely ſubverted religion: but often in the examination of the parties accuſed as ſuch, it appeared that they only believed the pope and clergy abuſed their power too much, which was the general opinion of the kingdom. It was well known the parliament had not that in view in their ſtatute againſt the Lollards. Laſtly, the judges themſelves ſometimes happened to be of the ſect, and this was the occaſion of the ſtatute in the reign of Henry V. obliging all magiſtrates at their entrance into office, to ſwear to the execution of the laws againſt the Lollards: but I do not know whether the ſtatute was ever punctually obſerved. If we believe Walſingham the monk, the judges and ſeveral biſhops themſelves were very remiſs in the proſecution of the Lollards. This he aſcribes to the general corruption which reigned in England: but this corruption was nothing elſe but the inclination of the Engliſh for Wickliff's opinions, or at leaſt their ſcruple to put people to death on account of religion. The moſt remarkable thing in England concerning the Lollards, was the trial and puniſhment of ſir John Oldcaſtle, otherwiſe called lord Cobham, of whom I have ſpoken in the reign of Henry V. We muſt now proceed to another ſubject, namely, the conteſt which England had with the court of Rome during the fifteenth century.

Notwithſtanding all the complaints frequently carried to the court of Rome concerning her continual encroachments, and the precautions taken by ſeveral parliaments to ſcreen themſelves from the ſame, the popes did not abate their pretenſions. The acts of parliament were to them but like thunder without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occaſion they made no ſcruple to act contrary to the ſtatutes as if they had not been made, and aſſert their apoſtolic power, without troubling themſelves whether they prejudiced the king or his ſubjects. The parliaments, willing to remedy the abuſes flowing from the continual diſpenſations granted by the pope without hearing the cauſe, paſſed in 1400, an act, "That all perſons who purchaſed or executed any bulls to be diſcharged from the payment of tythes, ſhould incur the penalties contained in the ſtatute of Proviſors." It was enacted by another ſtatute paſſed at the ſame time, "That if any perſon ſhould procure a proviſion to be exempt from the juriſdiction of the biſhops, he ſhould incur the ſame penalties." Theſe acts being made chiefly with a view to the monks, were not capable of producing the intended effect, becauſe the pope, by the fulneſs, of his apoſtolic authority, exempted the monks from the obſervance of theſe parliamentary ſtatutes. The biſhops, whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to diſpute the power aſſumed by the pope, it was the parliament's buſineſs to defend their cauſe as well as their own. To that purpoſe the ſtatutes upon this ſubject were revived, with an additional clauſe prohibiting the monks in particular to purchaſe or execute any ſuch exemptions, upon the penalty compriſed in the ſtatute of Premunire.

This ſtatute, which I have mentioned upon ſeveral occaſions, was a terrible fence againſt the court of Rome's uſurpations. Indeed it did not directly attack the pope, ſince the parliament had no juriſdiction over him: but as it hindered the Engliſh from applying to the court of Rome for things contrary to the prerogatives of the crown and the laws of the realm, it abridged the pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his apoſtolic power. It will perhaps be thought ſtrange that the popes ſhould be ſilent when and long after this ſtatute was paſſed. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. The ſchiſm, which began in 1378, and laſted till 1409, hindered them from ſtirring. The popes owned by England, took care to give no offence in ſuch a juncture. It is true, there was an interval of ſome years, during which, Alexander V. and John XXIII. might have made ſome attempt againſt that law: but Alexander's pontificate was very ſhort, and John was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. Martin V. conſidered not this affair with the ſame indifference: in 1426, he wrote a thundering letter to Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remiſſneſs, and enjoining him to exert his utmoſt that this ſtatute might be repealed. Henry VI. who then reigned, not being above five years old, the pope thought it a favourable juncture to compaſs his ends. It will not be perhaps unacceptable to inſert part of this letter, which ſhews the pope's ſentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his ſee.

MARTIN, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to his reverend brother, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, greeting, and apoſtolical benediction.

"HAD you conſidered what a ſtrict account you muſt give to almighty God for the flock committed to your care: had you called to mind the obligations of your office, and how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the Roman church, of whom you hold your dignity: had you, I ſay, duly recollected theſe things, you would never have ſuffered yourſelf to be ſeized with ſuch a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty long ſince: you would have endeavoured to ſet right the miſled, and oppoſed with all your power thoſe who had ſacrilegiouſly invaded the privileges granted by our Saviour to the church. Was the authority of your character beſtowed upon you only to enrich yourſelf, and give you opportunity of ſeeking your own, and not the things which are Jeſus Chriſt's? If this be your opinion, you greatly miſtake the inſtructions of our bleſſed Saviour, who, when he committed his ſheep to St. Peter's care only commanded him to feed them; neither received he this command till he had given his maſter repeated aſſurances of his love. Is this then your manner of ſhewing your love to Chriſt? Is this feeding and taking care of the flock? Will ſuch conduct as this diſcharge your duty to the holy ſee? Alas, your flock are running down a precipice before your eyes, and you are regardleſs of their danger, and make no attempt to ſave them: you ſuffer them to feed in dangerous paſtures without warning them; and which is horrible, you ſeem to put poiſon in their mouths with your own hands; you ſee the wolves ſcatter and tear them in pieces, and like a dumb dog vouchſafe not ſo much as to bark. You can behold the authority of our bleſſed Saviour and the holy ſee deſpiſed and trampled on, without dropping one word of remonſtrance. One would have thought you might at leaſt have whiſpered your diſlike, though you had been ſo very prudent as not to have declared it publicly. Are you not ſenſible you muſt one day account to the utmoſt farthing for all omiſſions and prevarications of this kind? Do not you think, if any of your flock are loſt by your neglect (and, alas! there are a great many) their blood will be required at your hands? Conſider and tremble what vengeances God denounces by his prophet Ezekiel: Son of man, I have ſet thee a watchman unto the houſe of Iſrael: if thou ſeeſt the ſword come, and doſt not blow the trumpet, and any perſon is taken away, his blood will I require at thy hands."

To ſee this beginning, would not one think the point in queſtion was ſome new hereſy, tending to ſubvert the foundations of religion? At leaſt, one ſhould believe, the pope had the Wickliffites in view. But it was not ſo: we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the letter what the affair was; namely, the ſtatute of Premunire, which the archbiſhop had not cauſed to be repealed, the pope groundleſsly ſuppoſing, it was in that prelate's power to annul the laws of the realm. He continued in this manner:

"I leave it to yourſelf to conſider, what abominable violence has been committed upon your province. Pray read that royal law, if there's any thing in it that is either law or royal. For how can that be called a ſtatute, which repeals the laws of God and the church? Or how can it deſerve the name of royal, when it deſtroys the ancient cuſtom of the realm; and it is ſo contrary to theſe words of ſcripture, "The king loveth judgment!" Tell me then, reverend brother, whether you, who are a catholic biſhop, can think it reaſonable ſuch an act as this ſhould be in force in a Chriſtian country?

"In the firſt place, under colour of this execrable ſtatute, the king of England graſps at the ſpiritual juriſdicton, and governs ſo abſolutely in eccleſiaſtical matters, as if our Saviour had appointed him his vicar. He makes laws for the church and clergy. In ſhort, he makes ſo many proviſions about clerks, benefices, and the concerns of the hierarchy,

that one would think "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" were put into his hands, and the ſuperintendency of theſe affairs had been entruſted with him, and not with St. Peter.

"Beſides theſe hideous uſurpations, he has enacted ſeveral penalties againſt the clergy. Such a rigour is the more unjuſtifiable, as the Engliſh government does not treat Turks and Jews with ſo great ſeverity. People of all countries and perſuaſions have the liberty of coming into England. Only thoſe who have cures beſtowed upon them by Chriſt's vicar are excluded: only thoſe, I ſay, are baniſhed, ſeized, impriſoned, ſtripped of their fortunes. If any eccleſiaſtical perſon, charged with the execution of the mandates and cenſures of the holy ſee, happens to ſet foot on Engliſh ground, and proceed in the buſineſs of his commiſſion, he is treated like an enemy, thrown out of the king's protection, and expoſed moreover to ſtill greater hardſhips. Was ever ſuch iniquity as this paſſed into a law? Pray conſider whether ſuch ſtatutes as theſe are for the honour of the kingdom; and whether it becomes you to be ſilent under all this outrage. Is this an inſtance of filial obedience? Is this the Engliſh people's way of ſhewing their regard to their mother church and holy ſee? Can that be called a catholic kingdom, where ſuch profane laws are practiſed, where application to Chriſt's vicar is prohibited, where St. Peter's ſucceſſor is not allowed to execute our Saviour's commiſſion? Chriſt ſaid to St. Peter, and in him to his ſucceſſors, "feed my ſheep" But this ſtatute will not ſuffer him to feed them, but transfers that office upon the king, and pretends in ſeveral caſes to give him apoſtolical authority. Chriſt built his church upon St. Peter; but this act of parliament hinders the effect of this diſpoſition, not permitting St. Peter's ſee to proceed in the functions of government, or to make proviſions ſuitable to the neceſſities of the church. Our Lord has ordered, that whatever his high-prieſt "ſhall bind or looſe on earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in heaven:" But this ſtatute over-rules the divine command: for if the immediate repreſentative of our Saviour thinks fit to delegate any prieſt to execute the power of the keys, contrary to the intent of the ſtatute, he is refuſed admittance, forced out of the kingdom, ſtript of his effects, and made liable to farther penalties. If any diſcipline, if any apoſtolic cenſure, appear againſt this uſage, it is puniſhed as a capital offence.

"And what does your prudence think of all this? Is this a catholic ſtatute? Can it be ſuffered without diſhonour to our Saviour, without a breach upon the laws of the goſpel, and the ruin of people's ſouls? Why therefore did you not "cry aloud?" Why "did you not lift up your voice like a trumpet? ſhew your people their tranſgreſſion, and the houſe of Jacob their ſins, that their blood may not be required at your hands?" If all perſons who have the cure of ſouls, are bound to this duty, how much more are you, who have both the prieſts and people committed to your care by the holy ſee, by whoſe favour you enjoy the privilege of primate and legate for the church of England, and have the honour of being ſucceſſor to that glorious martyr St. Thomas, who, to remove the oppreſſion of ſuch ſtatutes, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice himſelf for the intereſt of the church.

"Theſe things conſidered, you, who ought to have ſet up the church's ſtandard, been moſt forward in the defence of religion, and animated your fellow biſhops to a noble conteſt, are the firſt that turn your back, and decline the ſervice. Thus, either by your great cowardice, or, as it is generally believed, by your downright prevarication, you diſcourage thoſe who offer to make a ſtand. If therefore the church complain of your conduct; if the whole be laid to your charge, be not ſurprized, but troubled at the imputation. Let this reproach ſerve to put you upon reforming your conduct, and make you boldly perform the duties of your office; which, were you but inclined to make the moſt of your power, would not be very difficult. Exert therefore your character among the laity; inform their underſtandings in this point, and endeavour to reclaim them. Shew them what a ſnare this ſtatute will prove, and how much guilt it will draw upon their conſciences. Let your admonitions be preſſing and ſharp, and then, "The crooked will be made ſtrait, and the rough places ſmooth."

After ſo ſevere a reprimand, the pope continues to tell the archbiſhop, that he thought himſelf bound in conſcience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him upon pain of excommunication, to go immediately to the privy-council and make what intereſt he could, for repealing the ſtatute of Premunire, to apply to both houſes of parliament for the ſame purpoſe, and let them know, that all thoſe who obey that ſtatute were under excommunication. Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the clergy to preach publicly, and every where the ſame doctrine; to take with him two grave perſons to atteſt his diligence, and to certify him of the reſult of the affair.

If it be required what made Martin V. ſo very angry with Chicheley, who was not concerned in the ſtatute of Premunire, paſſed long before he was archbiſhop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reaſon is this. Chicheley had oppoſed to his utmoſt, the papal exemption. He had diſſuaded Henry V. from conſenting, that Henry Beaufort his uncle ſhould be made cardinal, Legate a latere for life, and hold the biſhopric of Wincheſter in Commendam. Moreover he had ſaid publicly, that all the pope's proceedings tended only to drain England continually.

The archbiſhop willing to juſtify himſelf, did not do it to the pope's ſatisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himſelf a ſtill more thundering letter, and after that a third, directed to the two archbiſhops, wherein, to mortify Canterbury, York is named firſt. Chicheley fearing the pope's threats, got ſome biſhops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him. At length, he ſent him a letter himſelf, telling him, he heard by common report, that his holineſs had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him, which had never happened to any archbiſhop of Canterbury ſince the days of St. Auguſtine. That however, he was not certain of the thing, becauſe he was commanded by the king to bring all the inſtruments received from Rome, with the ſeals whole, and lodged them in the paper-office till the parliament ſat.

Mean while, Martin V. reſolving to puſh this affair, wrote to the king and parliament in a more haughty ſtrain than had ever been uſed by any pope. He admoniſhes, or rather commands them to repeal the ſtatute of Premunire, otherwiſe he aſſures them they cannot be ſaved.

At laſt, the archbiſhop, ſeeing the pope thus obſtinate, and not daring any longer to diſobey him, went with ſeveral other biſhops to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, tending to perſuade the houſe to repeal the ſtatute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict upon the whole kingdom. But neither his arguments nor threats were capable of inducing the commons to repeal, or even explain the act. On the contrary, they addreſſed the king to take the archbiſhop into his protection, and to write to the pope in his behalf.

Pope Martin's letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the ſtatute of Premunire, afford matter for three remarks. The firſt is, this letter is a demonſtration, that the main of religion was then made to conſiſt in the pope's prerogatives, and the clergy's immunities. Hence it alſo appears, how averſe Martin was to conſent to the leaſt dimimution of his pretended rights, and conſequently to a reformation in the head and members of the church, demanded with ſo much earneſtneſs at the council of Conſtance where he was preſent himſelf.

The ſecond remark is, that at all times the popes, in their conteſts with the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom, have always had great advantages. Theſe advantages conſiſted, in that, by the threats of excommunication and interdict, they puſhed matters ſo far, that there was need of great reſolution not to be over-awed, and loſe ground either by agreement or otherwiſe. But if this reſolution was proof againſt all attempts, and the circumſtances of affairs were not favourable to the court of Rome, ſhe had the power to ſtop when ſhe pleaſed, in expectation of a better opportunity. They who had the misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned it a great victory not to be vanquiſhed, being ſatisfied if ſhe would but ſuffer them to live in peace.

The third remark, is a conjecture which I ſhall leave to the reader's judgment. Though Henry VI. was then but five years old, and his minority ſeemed to countenance the pope's deſign, it is certain, however, England had never been in a more proſperous condition. The Engliſh were quiet, and pleaſed with the government, and the victories of Crevant and Verneuil had put their affairs in France upon a very good foot. On the other hand, the affairs of Charles VII. were in ſuch diſorder, that there was no appearance of their being ever reſtored; and therefore Martin V. could not but deem it a proper time for him. Beſides, the king's two uncles were not diſpoſed to ſuffer the prerogatives royal, and the people's rights to be trampled upon, when the affairs were in ſo flouriſhing a condition. It is therefore probable, that Martin V. who was much more inclined to France than to England,

England, made then all that ſtir, only to excite troubles in England, which would be of ſervice to king Charles, and give him time to breathe. If the archbiſhop had punctually obeyed him, and the clergy every where preached againſt the ſtatute of Preminure, purſuant to the pope's expreſs orders, the parliament would have been forced to ſupport their act, and puniſh the clergy's preſumption. Then the pope would have had a pretence to put the kingdom under an interdict, which would have greatly embroiled the affairs of the Engliſh in France. But Chicheley's prudence prevented the miſchief which might have ſprung from Martin's haughty proceedings. In ſhort, Martin perceiving, he was ſupported neither by the king's council, nor the clergy, nor the people, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expoſe his authority any farther. This conjecture is built upon Martin's continual partiality to France, whether out of inclination, or becauſe, indeed, it was not for the intereſt of the court of Rome, that France ſhould be ſubject to England.

Before I leave the Preminure, it will not be improper to obſerve, that this ſtatute had two principal clauſes. The firſt containing the ſtatute of Proviſors in the reign of Edward I. prohibits the procuring of benefices from the court of Rome by way of proviſion, contrary to the rights of the crown or the patrons. The ſecond forbids to carry to the court of Rome, or elſewhere, cauſes belonging to the king's courts. The clergy complained that by theſe words, or elſewhere, the king's judges pretended to deprive the eccleſiaſtical courts of numberleſs cauſes, which before they had the cognizance of. They maintained, that theſe words, or elſewhere, inſerted in the act, had no relation to the eccleſiaſtical courts, but only to the ſeveral places where the pope might reſide. That nevertheleſs the judges underſtood them in the firſt ſenſe, and if there was in a proceſs the leaſt point belonging to the royal juriſdiction, took occaſion, from theſe two words, to remove it from the eccleſiaſtical court, as well as from the court of Rome. In 1439, the convocation complained to the king of the explanation of theſe terms by the lay judges, pretending it was contrary to the intent of the law, for ſeveral reaſons alledged in their addreſs. For that time, the clergy had no anſwer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But in the reign of Edward IV. they obtained the king's charter, prohibiting his judges to meddle with criminal matters where the clergy were concerned. I do not know whether Edward granted this charter out of policy, to gain the clergy's protection, or was convinced that the words, or elſewhere, were explained contrary to the parliament's intention.

Beſides the conteſts occaſioned by the ſtatute of Premunire between England and the court of Rome, there were alſo others which I ſhall but juſt mention. In 1400, in the reign of Henry IV. the parliament paſſed an act, forbidding all perſons that ſhould have proviſion of any benefice, to pay into the apoſtolic chamber more than was paid in old time. The penalty for offenders was, that they ſhould forfeit to the king the ſame ſum they paid the pope. The occaſion of this ſtatute was a grievance introduced ſome time before by the court of Rome, which was, that no perſon ſhould have proviſion of any benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the apoſtolic chamber, as well for the firſt-fruits, as for other leſſer ſervices in that court, and paid beforehand the ſum agreed upon.

But the greateſt diſpute between England and the popes, was concerning the collation of the biſhoprics. Though the popes, when the Anglo-Saxons were converted, had ſent Italian or other foreign biſhops into England, it is certain that towards the latter end of the Saxon monarchy, the biſhops were choſen by the chapters. The ſame privilege was continued to them after the Norman conqueſt, and confirmed by king John's charter. Mean while, the popes having gradually extended their authority, aſſumed the power of beſtowing archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics, by way of proviſion, ſometimes on one, ſometimes on another pretence. This is what I have had frequent occaſion to remark. They would have at once eſtabliſhed this rule, that the diſpoſal of all the biſhoprics belonged to them by divine right; but meeting with obſtacles, bethought themſelves of another expedient, and that was, to get poſſeſſion by degrees, in order afterwards to plead preſcription. Thus being content at firſt with maintaining, that on certain occaſions they had a power to fill the vacant ſees, they afterwards framed theſe occaſions whenever they pleaſed. In ſhort, they multiplied them ſo very faſt, that hardly was there a vacant biſhopric but whot they filled by way of proviſion. Time and favourable junctures confirming them in this prerogative, there was no poſſibility to wreſt it from them. Thus the privilege of the chapter was entirely deſtroyed.

Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, dying in 1413, the monks of St. Auguſtine choſe Henry Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's. But pope John XXIII. annulled the election, declaring, that for this turn, he had reſolved to diſpoſe of the archbiſhopric by way of proviſion. However to avoid diſputes, he made choice of the ſame Chicheley; preſerving thereby his pretended right, without detriment to the perſon elected.

But Martin V. dealt not ſo gently with England. He was no ſooner ſeated in the papal chair, than he boldly diſpoſed of all the vacant ſees, without any regard to the privilege of the chapters. In two years only he filled, by way of proviſion, thirteen biſhoprics in the province of Canterbury. It was not only with reſpect to the ſees, that England had cauſe to complain of the pope; he diſpoſed likewiſe of all the other benefices of the kingdom, without troubling himſelf about the right of the patrons, or the inſtructions of the people. The beſt preferments were generally conferred upon foreigners, who underſtood not a word of Engliſh, or reſided not in England, and ſometimes even upon children. For inſtance he made Proſper Colona, his nephew, who was but fourteen years old, archdeacon of Canterbury. Henry V. a high-ſpirited prince ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to complain both of theſe, and other grievances. But Martin V. delayed his anſwer ſo long, that the embaſſadors told him, the king their maſter, purely out of reſpect to the holy ſee, had proceeded by way of reſpect to which he was not obliged; but for the future he would uſe his prerogative: that accordingly they had inſtructions to make a ſolemn proteſtation before himſelf and the conclave, if his holineſs would not give them immediate ſatisfaction. I know not what anſwer the pope returned; but not long after, Martin having tranſlated the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of York, by way of proviſion, the chapter refuſed to admit him, and the pope was forced to revoke his bull.

In 1438, the univerſity of Oxford complained, that church-preferments were beſtowed without any regard to learning or merit: that the colleges were thereby become empty, becauſe there was no need of ſtudy or learning, to be qualified for a benefice. Whereupon the convocation, to whom this complaint was addreſſed, paſſed a canon. That none but graduates in the univerſities ſhould be capable of benefices. But this was a weak fence againſt the papal power.

Mean while, though the court of Rome made the apoſtolic authority ſound very high, the popes now and then met with mortifications. For example, in the reign of Henry IV. the parliament ordered, that the peter-pence ſhould be depoſited in the king's hand till the ſchiſm was cloſed.

In the reign of Henry V. the alien priories were ſuppreſſed without aſking the pope's conſent.

Under Henry VI. pope Nicholas V. demanding an extraordinary ſubſidy of the clergy of England, for the occaſion of the holy ſee, the king forbad the clergy to grant it.

The like demand, made ſome years after by Vicentini, a nuntio, was ſharply denied by the clergy. The papal power, formerly ſo dreadful to the whole church, and particularly to England, began to be leſs feared. The ſchiſms did the pope irreparable damages.

During the whole XVth century, it does not appear that any national councils were held in England, but only convocations of the clergy, in the two eccleſiaſtical provinces of Canterbury and York. The condemnation of the Lollards was almoſt the ſole buſineſs of theſe convocations. As for national ſynods, they were become uſeleſs, ſince the popes had engroſſed the cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical affairs. Beſides, the leaſt appeal to the pope was ſufficient to annul all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the popes had ſo managed, that no national ſynods could be held without their licence. Now, as in theſe ſynods there was but too frequent occaſion to enquire into the extent of the papal authority, they were grown ſo odious to the court of Rome, that the uſe of them was inſenſibly laid aſide. At this day, in the ſtates which have not yet received the reformation, national councils are no more talked of, or at leaſt, ſo very rarely, that it is plain the popes allow them with reluctance and very great difficulties. Of this we have in France a late remarkable inſtance in the tranſactions concerning the famous conſtitution Unigenitus of Clement XI. King Lewis XIV. though powerful and formidable, could never obtain the pope's leave to call a national council, except on ſuch terms as rendered things impracticable, though that monarch's ſole aim was to cauſe the conſtitution to be approved.

The article of the eminent men, who flouriſhed in the church of England during this century, will not long detain us.

us. Indeed, there were cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety nor learning. Their poſts at court, their embaſſies, intrigues, of the cabinet, and ſhare in the revolutions in the court and kingdom, were the only things by which they were diſtinguiſhed. Henry Chicheley, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was one of the beſt. For which reaſon he obtained not the honour of the cardinalate, laviſhly beſtowed upon Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, upon Kemp, Bourchier, Morton, who were leſs worthy of it than he, if true merit had been regarded. But Chicheley wanted one indiſpenſable quality of a cardinal, namely, to be entirely devoted to the holy ſee [a].

If there were any learned men beſides, they were ſo with reſpect to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be very needleſs to ſpeak of each in particular, ſince their fame hardly out-lived them. Some were noted for their great animoſity againſt the Lollards, and amongſt the reſt, Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury. That prelate in his funeral ſermon for Ann of Luxemburgh, Richard the Second's queen, highly commends her for ſpending her time in reading the holy ſcriptures in the vulgar tongue: And yet, ſome years after, in the reign of Henry IV. he condemned in convocation the tranſlations of the bible, as very pernicious [b].

[a] In 1439, he ordained, That vicarages ſhould not be endowed with a leſs ſum than twelve marks a year. Spelman Conc. tom. II. p. 686.

[b] As there was a ſcarcity of perſons eminent in other parts of learning in this rude and illiterate century, ſo was there likewiſe of hiſtorians. The moſt noted were:

Sir John Froiſſart, who wrote a general hiſtory of the affairs of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his youth in the court of Edward III. and familiarly converſant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. In the Engliſh edition, publiſhed by ſir John Bourchier, at the command of Henry VIII. the miſtakes that had crept into the French copies are corrected. His account of matters ſeems to be plain and honeſt; and perhaps no one gives a better of the affairs of Edward III. and Richard II. Rapin has made good uſe of him.

Enguerrand de Monſtrelet, and Philip de Commines, may not improperly be called Froiſſart's continuators. They gave a faithful and complete account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to, thoſe of France, Burgundy, &c.

Thomas Walſingham, a Benedictine Monk of St. Alban's. His Hiſtoria Brevis, [or ſhort hiſtory] begins at the concluſion of Henry IIId's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of thoſe times. His Ypodigma Neuſtriæ (as he calls it) gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came firſt into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the ſixth year of Henry V. wherein the readers will find many occurrences not elſewhere to be met with. Both theſe works were publiſhed by archbiſhop Parker, in 1574, and reprinted at Francfort in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Engliſhman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the ancient vaſſalage of Scotland to the crown of England; and hearing of an old record in that kingdom which put the matter paſt diſpute, he went in diſguiſe, with much ado brought it away, and ſhewed it to Henry V. Henry VI. and Edward IV. To the laſt of theſe he dedicated his two books of Chronicles in Engliſh rhime. Printed at London, 1543.

William Caxton was a menial ſervant for thirty years together to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy (ſiſter to Henry IV.) in Flanders. Finding, as he ſays, after his return to England, an imperfect hiſtory, he continued it in Engliſh, under the Lattin title of Fructus Temporum. It begins with the firſt inhabitant of this iſland, and ends (the laſt year of Edward IV.) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

John Roſe, or Rous, travelled over the greateſt part of England, and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, he wrote the hiſtory of our kings, which was publiſhed in 1716, by T. Hearne, from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. He died 1491.

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XV.

The Reign of HENRY VIII. containing the Space of Thirty-ſeven Years and nine Months.

20. HENRY VIII.

[1509] HENRY VIII. ſon and ſucceſſor of Henry VII. came to the crown at the age of eighteen years, wanting a few months [a]. The lord Herbert, his hiſtorian ſays, the king his father deſigned him at firſt for the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, becauſe having an elder ſon, there was no likelihood that Henry would aſcend the throne. And therefore, continues he, care was taken to inſtruct him in all the parts of learning neceſſary for a prince that was one day to be a churchman. He would have ſpoken more juſtly, if he had only ſaid, that Henry VII. had ſuch a deſign when he firſt put him upon his ſtudies. But as the young prince was become his heir apparent at the age of eleven years, it could not be with the ſame view, that he cauſed him to purſue the ſtudy of ſuch parts of learning as were proper for a clergyman. It is more likely therefore, that the king his father kept him to his ſtudies, for fear his active and fiery ſpirit ſhould carry him to more dangerous employments [b]. He was only ſon of queen Elizabeth, heireſs of the houſe of York. Conſequently, he might have given the king his father ſome trouble, had he thought of aſſerting his right as heir to his mother. However Henry having taken a reliſh for learning in his younger years, preſerved it ever after. He always delighted in peruſing good books, and converſing with the learned, even when the multitude of his affairs ſeemed to divert him from ſuch kinds of employment. By that means he made great advances in the ſciences very uncommon to great princes. Francis I. his cotemporary, ſtiled by the French hiſtorians, the father of the muſes, was in learning much his inferior. He ſpoke French and Latin very well and readily. He was perfectly ſkilled in muſic, as two entire maſſes compoſed by himſelf, and often ſung in his chapel, do abundantly witneſs. He was exerciſed in the moſt abſtruſe points of the Ariſtotelian philoſophy, which alone was in vogue in thoſe days. But he applied himſelf chiefly to the ſtudy of divinity, as it was then taught in the univerſities, all ſtuffed with uſeleſs queſtions. Thomas Aquinas's ſummary was his favourite book.

This knowledge, which was conſidered as a great accompliſhment, even in ordinary perſons, had upon the young prince an effect which is not unuſual. It gave him a good opinion of himſelf, which had but too much influence upon all the actions of his life. The exceſſive commendations beſtowed upon him by all, helped to confirm him in this conceit. When he was yet unexperienced in the affairs of the ſtate, he fancied himſelf very able; and this preſumption was the cauſe of his being often the dupe of thoſe princes with whom he was concerned, as will more amply appear in the courſe of his reign.

But in remarking that this prince had a great deal of ſelf-conceit. I don't pretend to rob him of, or any ways leſſen, the noble qualities he had from nature or education. In his youth he was very handſome, and expert in all bodily exerciſes, as much as, or more than, any prince of his time. Accordingly, he was paſſionately fond of all thoſe diverſions, which gave him an opportunity to ſhew his activity. He was courageous without oſtentation, of a free and open temper, an enemy to fraud and inſincerity, ſcorning to uſe indirect means to compaſs his ends. His liberality

[a] He was born June 28, 1491, and came to the crown April 22, 1509.

[b] Burnet ſays, his father had given orders, that both his elder brother and he ſhould be well inſtructed in matters of knowledge, not with deſign to make him archbiſhop of Canterbury, for he had made ſmall progreſs when his brother died.

Eraſmus

London. Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England.

HENRY THE EIGHTH

King of England, France, & Ireland,

&c. &c.

Goldar sc.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE

DIEU ET MON DROIT.

Published as the Act directs, May 24.th 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

perhaps was as much too great as the king his father's avarice. Henry VII. ſeemed to have been ſolicitous to accumulate riches, only to afford his ſon the pleaſure to ſquander them away without any diſcretion.

As Henry VIII. when he mounted the throne, was little experienced in the affairs of the government, he made uſe at firſt of the king his father's miniſters and councellors. The principal were, William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and lord chancellor of England (of whom honourable mention is made by Eraſmus [c] ſomewhere in his writings), Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy ſeal, who had been employed in the late reign, in the niceſt affairs: Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer of England, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth-field, fighting for Richard III. George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, lord ſteward of the king's houſhold; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law; ſir Edward Poynings, knight of the garter, comptroller, whoſe name is ſtill famous for a ſtatute enacted in Ireland in the former reign, whilſt he had the government of that iſland: ſir Charles Somerſet, lord Herbert of Gower, Chepſtow, and Ragland, lord chamberlain [d].

Henry VIIth's funeral was celebrated with great magnificence a few days after his death. His body was interred at Weſtminſter, in the chapel built by himſelf, and for the adorning whereof he had ſpared no coſt. This chapel paſſed then for one of the ſtatelieſt in Chriſtendom. Henry VII. covetous, as he was, laid out fourteen thouſand, ſome ſay, twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, a very conſiderable ſum in thoſe days, when money was much ſcarcer in Europe than at preſent [e].

While the obſequies were preparing, the new king privately retired from his palace of Richmond to the Tower of London, under colour of withdrawing on account of the king his father's death. But it was rather to ſettle with his miniſters ſome affairs which would not admit of delay. Whilſt he was thought in his retirement to be employed in devotion, he ordered Henry lord Stafford, brother of the duke of Buckingham, to be apprehended, probably upon ſome groundleſs ſuſpicion, which ſoon vaniſhed, ſince, ſhortly after, he was created earl of Wiltſhire.

The ſee of Durham, vacant by the tranſlation of Chriſtopher Bambridge, to the archbiſhopric of York, was conferred on Thomas Ruthal, doctor of law, and one of the privy council [f].

A few days after, the king confirmed his father's general pardon granted before his death [g]. But all offenders had not the benefit thereof. A proclamation quickly appeared, wherein the king ſaid, that being informed his good ſubjects had been oppreſſed under the ſpecious pretence of preſerving the prerogatives of the crown, he gave them leave to bring their complaints, and promiſed them ſatisfaction. The deſign of the proclamation was not to reſtore to his ſubjects the ſums unjuſtly extorted by the late king, but only to encourage them to exhibit their complaints againſt Empſon and Dudley, the inſtruments made uſe of by Henry VII. and to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, by puniſhing theſe two miniſters.

When the proclamation was publiſhed, numberleſs petitions were preſented againſt them. This was what the court wanted, not only becauſe theſe men were odious to the whole nation, but moreover to ſhew the people the new king intended to rule in a very different manner from the king his father. Upon all theſe petitions, Empſon and Dudley, were called before the council, where they were briefly told the principal articles alledged againſt them. Empſon anſwered for both, "That the accuſation was of a very new and ſtrange nature: that uſually men were proſecuted for acting againſt the laws, or diſobeying their ſovereign; but for their part, they were accuſed by the people of executing the laws, of which they themſelves were the authors: that on the other hand, the king called them to an account for obeying his father's expreſs orders, a crime unheard-of, the puniſhment whereof would be apt to throw all his ſubjects into rebellion: that if they muſt be puniſhed for ſuch offences, he deſired it might not be divulged to foreign nations, leſt they ſhould infer, that the final diſſolution of the Engliſh government was approaching." To this it was briefly replied, "That he had ſpoke with great freedom; but his eloquence was fruitleſs and unſeaſonable: that they were not accuſed of executing the laws, or of obeying the king, but of ſtretching the laws beyond their due bounds, and exceeding the ſovereign's commiſſion, which accuſations they had reaſon to fear were too well proved." Then they were both committed to the Tower [h]. The king was reſolved to make them an example, in order to content the people, who were extremely incenſed againſt them. Thus their condemnation was reſolved on before their appearance, though it was not yet known on what to ground their proceſs. In any other country, an act of ſovereignty to ſend theſe two men to the gallows, would have been ſeen with joy. But it is not the ſame in England, where the greateſt criminals have privileges, of which they cannot be debarred, without giving the people occaſion to think, the court is forming deſigns againſt liberty. It was neceſſary therefore to ſearch for ſome expreſs law to condemn them. But upon examining the accuſation, already brought againſt them, great difficulties occurred. It appeared that though they were accuſed of numberleſs offences, nothing could be proved but their mercileſs execution of the laws. But notwithſtanding they had ſtretched theſe ſame laws as far as the words would bear, it could not be charged to them as a crime, ſince they had the king's warrant, in whom the execution of the laws is lodged. It is true, Henry VII. contrary to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, had acted according to the utmoſt rigour of the ſtatutes. But he might do it, and if the former kings had done otherwiſe, it was more out of condeſcenſion than juſtice. Theſe two miniſters, therefore, could not be tried for obeying him. Beſides, to condemn them for executing their maſter's orders, was publicly to diſhonour that prince's memory, and renew the remembrance of his ſeverities upon his ſubjects. It was reſolved therefore to put them to death upon a falſe accuſation, of intending to withdraw their allegiance from the king ſince his acceſſion to the throne. It is evident, the accuſation was entirely groundleſs. For how could two perſons, ſo odious to the whole nation, and deprived of all credit by the death of Henry VII. think of ſuch a deſign, and ſtill leſs put it in execution [i]! Mean while, it was not ſcrupled to take away their lives for a forged crime, becauſe they were believed worthy of death, though not condemned by the letter of the law. Upon this frivolous accuſation, they were brought before their proper judges, and found guilty, whether falſe witneſſes were ſuborned againſt them, or by a mental reſervation, hitherto unknown in England in judgments of this nature. Dudley was tried at London the 16th of July, but Empſon was not condemned till the 14th of October at Northampton. Henry, either out of ſcruple, or ſome other motive, ſuſpended their execution till the next year [k].

Whilſt means were contriving to diſpatch theſe two miniſters, the king and the council had a much more important affair to take into conſideration. We have ſeen, in the former reign, prince Arthur's marriage with Catherine of Arragon: that prince's death without iſſue; the reaſons inducing king Henry VII. to deſire, that prince Henry, become his heir apparent, ſhould marry his brother's widow; the conſent of Ferdinand and Iſabella, father and

[c] Eraſmus, of Rotterdam, came over into England, in 1497, and ſtudied ſome time in Oxford and Cambridge. His inſtructions mightily promoted the new learning, and particularly the knowledge of the Greek tongue.

[d] He bore that title upon marrying a daughter of William Herbet, earl of Huntingdon. He was natural ſon to Henry Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, killed at Henham. To theſe councellors the lord Herbert adds, ſir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards, and conſtable of the Tower, ſir Henry Wyat, ſir Henry Marney, afterwards (1532) lord Marney, ſir Thomas Darcy, afterwards (1511) lord Darcy. Theſe he ſays were ſelected out of thoſe his father moſt truſted, by the counteſs of Richmond his grandmother, and farther obſerves, that this council was of ſcholars chiefly and of ſoldiers, without ſo much as one lawyer, which he wonders at, p. 2.

[e] His tomb, perfected by his executors 1519, coſt a thouſand pounds, which, as money went then, might be thought a ſumptuous monument. Herbert, p. 2.

[f] And pope Julius ſent him the form of the oath he was to take to the holy ſee, of which the curious reader may ſee a copy in Rymers Fœd. tom. XII. p. 256.—About this time, the king confirmed to John, earl of Oxford, the poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Colcheſter, granted to his anceſtor Alberic de Vere, by the empreſs Maud; and appointed ſir Edward Howard, ſtandard-bearer, with a ſalary of forty pounds a year; and ſir Thomas Boleyn, warden of the exchange at Calais, with a ſalary of thirty pounds ſix ſhillings and eightpence. Ibid. p. 251, 258.

[g] Out of which were excepted all perſons guilty of murder, felony, and treaſon. In the ſame pardon, all vagabonds and ſturdy beggars were ordered to depart out of London, and repair to the ſeveral places where they were born. Stow, p. 486.

[h] Their promoters and inſtruments were alſo apprehended, and put in the pillory. Hall, fol. 1. Stow, p. 487.

[i] They were accuſed, as appears in the indictments upon record, of a conſpiracy againſt the king and ſtate, of ſummoning, during the late king's ſickneſs, certain of their friends to be at arms at an hour's warning; and upon the king's death to haſten to London, from whence it was inferred by the jury, that they intended either to ſeize the king's perſon, or to deſtroy him. Herbert, p. 4.

[k] King Henry the VIIth's executors made reſtitution, this year, of great ſums of money extorted from many perſons by thoſe two oppreſſors. Hall, fol. 7.

Henry 8
1509

mother of the princeſs; and pope Julius's diſpenſation for the marriage. The true reaſon why Henry VII. propoſed this match was his unwillingneſs to reſtore the hundred thouſand crowns received in part of Catherine's dower. He was alſo afraid of loſing the other half, which remained to be paid. In ſhort, he foreſaw, that after the receipt of the whole, the princeſs his daughter in-law would indiſpenſably enjoy her ſettlements of the third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, and the county of Cornwall. However, as it was not decent to urge ſuch a motive to the pope, to obtain a diſpenſation for ſo ſtrange a marriage, which could not but be deemed ſcandalous, it was pretended to be neceſſary to preſerve the peace between Henry VII. and the king and queen of Spain. That was the motive alledged to the pope, which he readily conſidered as ſufficient, though there was but too much reaſon to queſtion whether it was the true one.

In conſequence of the pope's diſpenſation, Henry and Catherine were ſolemnly affianced. Nevertheleſs, whether Henry VII. intended only to deceive Ferdinand, and get the remaining hundred thouſand crowns, or was moved by the remonſtrances of Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, concerning the marriage, he ſo ordered it, that the prince, his ſon, on the very day he was fourteen years of age, made in the preſence of certain witneſſes, a proteſtation in form againſt the conſent he had given. But the proteſtation was kept ſo ſecret, that it came not to the knowledge of the public till it was neceſſary, many years after, to divulge it. Upon the news of Henry VIIth's death, Ferdinand ſent to the earl of Fuenſalida, his embaſſador in England, a very ample power to renew the treaty of alliance made with the deceaſed king, ordering him withal, to demand the confirmation and execution of that which was concluded for Catherine's ſecond marriage with prince Henry, now become king of England.

The Spaniſh embaſſador having preſented a memorial upon this occaſion, it was deliberated in council whether the king ſhould conſummate the marriage with Catherine. The affair was debated with great attention. Againſt the marriage it was alledged, that for a man to marry his brother's widow was a thing unheard of among chriſtians: that ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, and therefore it was a queſtion, whether the pope had power to diſpenſe with it. This was the archbiſhop of Canterbury's opinion, who could not forbear conſidering the marriage as really inceſtuous. But Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, was of another mind. He ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the pope's diſpenſation, and the unlimited power of Chriſt's vicar. He affirmed, "That the pope's granting a diſpenſation, was a certain proof that he had the power, and was ſufficient to ſatisfy the king's conſcience: that no perſon upon earth could limit, or ſo much as inquire into the papal authority; and though ſuch a power ſhould be aſcribed to a general council, at leaſt the council of England could not pretend to it." To theſe arguments concerning conſcience, the biſhop added others drawn from reaſons of ſtate, and the king's particular intereſt. He ſaid, "That probably, the king would have, during the courſe of his reign, many diſputes with France, England's old enemy, and whether he would attack or only defend, the alliance with Spain was abſolutely neceſſary: that in ſending back the princeſs Catherine after having affianced her, he would affront king Ferdinand, which he would certainly revenge by leaguing with France, and ſuch a league could not but endanger England, or at leaſt be extremely expenſive to the nation: that moreover, if the king refuſed to conſummate his marriage with Catherine, he muſt reſolve either to reſtore her dower, or ſuffer her to enjoy her ſettlement: but by marrying her, he would ſave the hundred thouſand crowns received by the king his father, gain another hundred thouſand, which the king of Arragon was to pay, and avoid the great charge of marrying another princeſs, and conducting her into England. In fine, he enlarged upon the ſweet and virtuous temper of the princeſs of Wales, capable of making a huſband perfectly happy." Adding, "there was no room to doubt, that the princeſs was ſtill a virgin, ſince ſhe herſelf affirmed it, offering even to be tried by matrons, to ſhew ſhe ſpoke the truth."

All theſe arguments, except the firſt, concerning the diſpenſation, were very ſtrong. As to that, it was ſo dangerous for a churchman to diſpute the pope's authority, eſpecially ſuch a pope as Julius II. who was ſtill in his vigour, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury durſt not perſiſt openly in his opinion. So, the king cloſing with the biſhop of Wincheſter's and almoſt the whole council's ſentiments, it was reſolved he ſhould conſummate his marriage. But firſt he required of the princeſs that ſhe ſhould renounce by a ſolemn act her dower of two hundred thouſand crowns, and conſent that the ſum ſhould belong to the king her ſpouſe, to be claimed again neither by herſelf nor heirs, nor by king Ferdinand, her father, nor queen Joan, her ſiſter, nor any perſon living, on any pretence whatſoever. Two days after, the earl of Fuenſalida made the like renunciation in the name of king Ferdinand and queen Joan. Catherine's letters patent, wherein ſhe ſtyles herſelf only princeſs of Wales, bearing date June the 7th, it is evident, the king married her not on the third of that month, as hiſtorians affirm, nor ſooner than the day theſe letters were ſigned. The coronation was ſolemnized on the 24th of the ſame month, and five days after died Margaret counteſs of Richmond and Derby, the king's grandmother [l].

In the beginning of his reign, Henry willingly left to his council and miniſters the care and management of his affairs. As he was in peace with all his neighbours, what paſſed in the kingdom could not keep him much employed. He thought only of ſuch pleaſures and diverſions, as were more ſuitable to his years, than application to buſineſs. But as he was naturally liberal, his entertainments at court were very expenſive. The antient biſhop of Wincheſter, Henry VIIth's old miniſter, could not help murmuring to ſee the money laviſhed away without any neceſſity, which his deceaſed maſter had amaſſed with ſo much care, pains, and injuſtice, in which he had himſelf been employed. He threw all the blame upon the earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer, who was his rival in favour under the late king, and continued to be ſo ſtill under the preſent, by gaining the affection of his new maſter by a blind compliance to his will. During Henry VIIth's life he was more cloſe, and harder to part with money than the king himſelf. How expreſs ſoever the orders were for payments, he always found difficulties, and by that means made his court admirable to his maſter. Being continued in his poſt in the preſent reign, he became quite another man. He not only paid, without examination, whatever was ordered, but alſo put the king upon ſpending extravagantly. This gained him the favour of the young prince, who was naturally addicted to prodigality. The biſhop of Wincheſter openly blamed this conduct, as highly prejudicial to the king's intereſt. But he was little regarded in a court where every one was ſtriving to make an advantage of the ſovereign's liberal temper. Mean while, his diſcourſes exaſperated more and more the earl of Surrey and the young courtiers againſt him, who never ceaſed to do him ill offices with the king. Thus the biſhop, who was in ſo great credit in the late reign, gradually loſt it in this. His diſgrace, which ſat heavy upon his mind, threw him upon deviſing means to ſupplant his rival, by introducing at court Thomas Wolſey, whoſe qualifications he was no ſtranger to. Wolſey was a clergyman, already eminent for his merit, though he was but a butcher's ſon of Ipſwich. The biſhop of Wincheſter eaſily foreſaw, the king would ſoon be in want of perſons about him, fit and able to eaſe him; and as he knew Wolſey's genius, did not queſtion that when he was at court, he would render himſelf neceſſary to the king. To that end, he procured him the place of almoner. We ſhall ſee preſently that the biſhop was not miſtaken in his judgment, or rather that his foreſight was far ſhort of Wolſey's fortune [m].

About the middle of the year, the treaties concluded be-

[l] She was buried at Weſtminſter. Stow, p. 487.

[m] Thomas Wolſey was born at Ipſwich, in March 1471. He was ſent ſo early to Oxford, that he was batchelor of arts at fourteen years of age, and from thence called the boy bachelor. Soon after he was elected fellow of Magdalen college, and when maſter of arts, had the care of the ſchool adjoining to that college committed to him. Being charged with the education of the marquis of Dorſet's three ſons, his lordſhip preſented him to the rectory of Lymington, in Hampſhire, October the 10th, 1500. He had not long reſided at his living, before ſir Amias Pawlet, a juſtice of peace, put him in the ſtocks for being drunk (as is ſaid,) and raiſing diſturbances at a fair in the neighbourhood. By the recommendation of ſir John Nafant, he was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1506, he was inſtituted to the rectory of Bedgrave, in the dioceſe of Norwich; having then, beſides the Rectory of Lymington, the vicarage of Lyde, in Kent. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 217. Whilſt he was king's chaplain, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and of ſir Thomas Lovel, who recommended him to the king as a fit perſon to be employed in negotiating the marriage between Henry VII. and Margaret ducheſs of Savoy. He was diſpatched to the emperor her father, and returned with ſuch ſpeed that the king ſeeing him, ſuppoſed he had not been gone. Having reported his embaſſy, he was made dean of Lincoln, February 8, 1508, and on the 20th of the ſame month, prebendary of Walton Brinbold, in that church. In theſe circumſtances he was when he was introduced at court by biſhop Fox, after Henry VIIth's death, where he ſoon found means to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his ſon and ſucceſſor. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. Fiddes.

So

tween Henry VII. and the king of Scotland, were confirmed or renewed by the biſhop of Murray, who was ſent into England to congratulate Henry upon his acceſſion to the crown.

The emperor Maximilian ſent alſo an embaſſy to Henry to congratulate him, and confirm the treaties made with Henry VII. in the year 1502.

Chriſtopher Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, being at Rome, where he was gone to have his election confirmed, received a commiſſion from the new king to act as his embaſſador. We ſhall ſee preſently the reaſon, why the pope wanted to have an Engliſh embaſſador reſide at his court, and why the king was deſirous to be particularly informed of what paſſed at Rome, and in all Italy.

Theſe were the moſt remarkable occurrences in England, during the firſt eight months of the reign of Henry VIII. They were for the moſt part domeſtic affairs of little importance, except the king's marriage, which was attended with very great conſequences. But there paſſed abroad matters of great moment, which became as it were the ſource of the troubles wherewith almoſt all Chriſtendom was agitated for above fifty years, and wherein England was but too much engaged. For ſome time, the affairs of Europe had began to have a new face, and what happened this year in Italy put them upon ſuch a footing, as obliged almoſt every ſovereign to be concerned therein. Henry VIII. unhappily entangled himſelf in the troubles of that country, which ſeem to have had no relation to him. This makes the knowledge of the affairs of Italy ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that without it neither the events of this reign can be underſtood, nor the king's character fully known. It will therefore be proper to enlarge upon this ſubject, which concerns not only the hiſtory of England, but alſo thoſe of France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland; the principal events whereof, for a long ſpace of time, flowed properly from the affairs of Italy. It is true, moſt of the authors who have wrote the hiſtories of the ſtates, ſuppoſed their readers to be acquainted with what paſſed in Italy at the ſame time. They have thereby much ſhortened their works, but withal rendered them very obſcure to thoſe who were not ſo fully inſtructed as they have ſuppoſed. For my part, I intend another courſe. Since the affairs of Italy are the foundation of moſt of the occurrences in Europe, and particularly in England, during almoſt one-half of the ſixteenth century, I think they ought to be ſpoken of ſomething largely, which alone can clear the particular hiſtories proceeding from thence. But to avoid tedious digreſſions, it is neceſſary to give firſt a diſtinct idea of the ſtate of Italy, as well as of the character and intereſts of the ſeveral princes.

I have already related, in the foregoing reign, how Lewis XII. aſſiſted by the Venetians, conquered the duchy of Milan upon Ludovico Sforza, pretending a right to it as grandſon to Valentini Viſconti, daughter of John Galeazzo I. duke of Milan. I have likewiſe had occaſion to ſpeak of the conqueſt of Naples by the united arms of Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, and of the means uſed by Ferdinand to remain ſole maſter of that kingdom. It will ſuffice therefore to add here, that though Lewis XII. loſt his portion of that conqueſt, he deſiſted not from his pretenſions, but was waiting for a favourable opportunity to aſſert them. I muſt now briefly ſpeak of the other ſtates of Italy, and firſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

Before the kings of France and Spain had ſet foot in Italy, the popes were as ſovereign arbiters of that country. But it was not ſo much by their temporal arms as their ſpiritual, of which they make frequent uſe. For ſome centuries paſt they had loſt great part of the demeſns formerly belonging to the church. About the end of the reign of Otho I. the eccleſiaſtical ſtate conſiſted of the city of Rome and its territory, with Tuſcany, the marquiſate of Ancona, the duchy of Spoleto, Ravenna, all La Romagna, and the whole country in general compriſed formerly under the exarchate [n]. But afterwards, during the wars of the Guelphs and Gibelins, the emperors wreſted from the popes all Tuſcany and ſeveral towns in other parts. Some of theſe towns had thought fit to withdraw their obedience from the church, and the popes themſelves had been forced to grant others in fee to lords who ſerved them, or from whom they expected aſſiſtance. At length, the emperor Rodolphus I. having ſold liberty to as many cities of Italy as would purchaſe it, there were ſeveral formerly belonging to the church that embraced the opportunity to ſhake off at the ſame time both the emperor's and the pope's yoke [o]. Hence there were quickly in Italy almoſt as many ſovereignties as cities. The ſtrongeſt ſubdued the weakeſt, and fell at laſt themſelves under the dominion, or rather the tyranny of ſome of their own citizens, who found means to ſeize the whole power. In this manner were formed in Italy ſeveral petty ſtates, out of the ruins of what the ancient kings of Italy, the emperors, and the popes had formerly poſſeſſed.

In the pontificate of Alexander VI. the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was reduced within narrower bounds than before, though the popes had preſerved the ſovereignty of ſeveral cities, of which they were no longer proprietors. Of this number, were Ravenna, Bologna, Ferrara, Urbino, Faenzo, Rimini, Pezzaro, Imola, Ceſenna, Peruſa. Notwithſtanding all theſe loſſes, they were ſtill very powerful, becauſe their ſpiritual arms gave them great advantages over their neighbours. Moreover, beſides the revenues of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, they had very conſiderable incomes from all Chriſtendom.

But when Lewis XII. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of the kingdom of Naples, the affairs of Italy had quite another face. Then the temporal power of the popes was nothing in compariſon to that of theſe two monarchs, who, beſides their dominions in Italy, had moreover at their command the forces of two large kingdoms. On the other hand, the Roman pontiffs met with much more oppoſition, when they had a mind to brandiſh their ſpiritual weapons, whoſe force was in proportion to the weakneſs of thoſe againſt whom they were darted. For that reaſon they ſought all ſorts of means to drive the foreigners out of Italy. But as they could not by their own ſtrength execute ſuch a deſign, they were forced to make uſe of one of theſe kings to deſtroy the other, in which their policy was often deceived. For they could not humble one without giving the other a ſuperiority more deſtructive of their intereſts than the equality which was between them before. This for many years was the occaſion of all the popes' intrigues, and withal an incumbrance they could never get clear of. Sometimes they joined with one to pull down the other; ſometimes ſetting them at variance, they remained ſpectators of the war; and ſometimes they called in foreigners to make the balance incline to the ſide they intended to favour. But whatever was the ſucceſs of theſe wars, the conqueror always became very formidable to the pope and all Italy. It is certain therefore that the conqueſt of Naples and Milan gave a mortal wound to the temporal power of the popes, and were alſo very prejudicial to their ſpiritual authority. As the popes from thence forward had frequent occaſions of quarrel with the kings of France, now become their neighbours, they ſometimes uſed their ſpiritual arms, but not with the ſame ſucceſs as formerly againſt the ſovereigns of Italy. As they had to deal with princes who did not eaſily bend, they only gave them occaſion to examine the grounds of the papal authority; and this inquiry was not to the advantage of the popes.

Beſides the intereſt of their ſee, the Roman pontiffs had alſo that of their family, of which they were no leſs mindful. Each of them ſeeking to raiſe his nephews or other relations, all the cities formerly belonging to the church were ſo many objects that inflamed their deſires. Alexander VI. who of all the popes his predeceſſors was the leaſt ſcrupulous, had formed the deſign of making Cæſar Borgia his baſtard a great prince, by erecting him a ſtate out of ſeveral cities of la Romagna, which ſtill owned the pope's ſovereignty, and were under his protection. To execute this deſign it was that Cæſar Borgia, either by fraud or force, became maſter of Peruſa, Urbino, Imola, Faenza, Rimini, Pezzaro, Ceſenna, under colour that the poſſeſſors had not been punctual in paying the tribute or annual relief to the holy ſee. But Alexander VI. dying before his ſon was well ſettled in his conqueſts, it happened, during the ſhort pontificate of Pius III. and the interval between his death and the election of Julius II. that the former owners of theſe cities found means to recover them. This was chiefly by the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, who for their pains kept Faenza and Rimini.

Julius II. who ſucceeded Pius III. formed for the houſe of la Rovere, of which he was, the ſame projects as Alexander VI. had formed for that of Borgia. He was no ſooner in the papal chair, but he began the execution of his deſigns with imperiouſly acquainting the Venetians, that his intention

[n] So was this diſtrict formerly called, becauſe it was governed by the emperor of Conſtantinople's general in the weſt, named his exarch, who reſided at Ravenna. The firſt exarch was under Juſtin the Young, in 567, after Beliſarius and Narſes had driven the barbarians out of Italy: the laſt was Eutychius, defeated by Aſtolphus, king of the Lombards, in 751. Pepin, king of France, turned him out of the exarchate, and made a preſent of it to the pope.

[o] As Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Bologna, &c.

The

Henry 8

was to re-annex to the church whatever had been alienated, and therefore they muſt reſtore Faenza and Rimini. Upon their refuſal he demanded aid of the emperor Maximilian. This was properly the firſt riſe of the league of Cambray, mentioned in the foregoing reign, and of which I ſhall be obliged to ſpeak more fully hereafter.

The ſenate of Venice had long paſſed for the wiſeſt and moſt politic aſſembly in the world. By their prudence and abilities they had by degrees formed in terra firma [p] a ſtate, which being ſupported by a very ſtrong naval force, was inferior to none in Italy. This ſtate conſiſted of Friuli, Treviſo, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Bergamo, Breſcia, Crema, Cremona, Rovigo, and the whole Zoleſin, Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini. Moſt of theſe cities with their territories were formerly part of the kingdom of Italy. After that, they fell under the dominion of the German emperors, who governed them by their vicars. At length, either theſe vicars were become ſovereigns, or being expelled, the cities had recovered their liberty, to fall again afterwards under the tyranny of ſome private perſons, who had uſurped an abſolute power. Of theſe it was that the Venetians had acquired them either by money or arms. But however it be, when they had made theſe acquiſitions, it is certain, the authority of the emperors was ſeldom acknowledged. Mean while the emperors ſtill preſerved their pretenſions to all theſe cities, as having been formerly parts of the empire, or rather of the kingdom of Italy, enjoyed by ſome of their predeceſſors. Friuli was conquered upon the church of Aquileia, to whom it was preſented by Otho I. Ravenna, Faenza, Rimini, formerly belonged to the ſee of Rome. Rovigo and Poleſin were conquered upon the duke of Ferraro. Cremona and Gierradadda appertained to the duchy of Milan, having been reſigned by Lewis XII. Breſcia was taken from the dukes of Milan, and Crema freely given up by duke Francis Sforza. They had ſtill in the kingdom of Naples five maritime places, mortgaged to them by one of the kings.

Bologna [q] was a rich and powerful city, but not ſo conſiderable as formerly. Civil diſcords had at length compelled her upon certain terms to ſubmit to the church. After that, the city was governed by the pope's legates, ſent thither from time to time. But their dominion ſuffered frequent interruptions. The legates oppreſſing the people forced them often to ſhake off their yoke, and expel them the city. But it was only to fall again under the tyranny of the heads of faction, who, by their oppreſſions, forced them to have recourſe to the pope, and receive the legates again. This is what happened ſeveral times. In the year 1440, Hannibal Bentivoglio became ſo powerful, that he was little leſs than a ſovereign. From that time to 1506, ſome one of the family of Bentivoglio held the government, though the pope's legates were ſtill admitted and honoured, but without having any real power. At laſt Julius II. not content with this ſhadow of authority, demanded in 1506, aid of Lewis II. to make himſelf maſter of Bologna. Though France had hitherto protected the Bentivoglios, Lewis however ordered the governor of Milan to ſend the pope troops. Whereupon John Bentivoglio, head of that houſe, ſeeing himſelf forſaken by the king of France, quitted Bologna with all his family, and retired to Milan, leaving the city to the pope.

The duchy of Ferrara [r] was a fief of the church, long poſſeſſed by the family of Eſte, who were inveſted by the pope, and paid a yearly relief in money. This petty ſtate bordering upon the pope and the Venetians, and being very convenient for both, preſerved itſelf by their mutual jealouſy, but however, the Venetians had taken from them Rovigo and the Poleſin. But Julius II. had greater views, and thought ſeriouſly of annexing the whole duchy to the church.

Modena and Reggio were likewiſe under the dominion of the family of Eſte, not as belonging to the duchy of Ferrara, but as a diſtinct ſtate acquired by that family after being poſſeſſed of Ferrara. Julius II. had alſo pretenſions to theſe two cities, as having been formerly given to the church by Charles the Great, and perhaps on the ſole pretence that they belonged to the duke of Ferrara, his vaſſal.

Urbino [s] had formerly been of the church's demeſn. But the popes had not for many years challenged more than the right of ſovereignty. Cæſar Borgia had ſeized this city, and expelled duke Guidobaldi Ubaldini, who recovered it after the death of Alexander VI. As Guidobaldi had no children, Julius II. perſuaded him to adopt Francis Maria de la Rovere, nephew to both, ſon of the pope's brother and the duke's ſiſter. Shortly after, la Rovere became duke of Urbino, by the death of Guidobaldi, his adoptive father.

Parma and Placentia had been under the dominion of ſeveral lords or tyrants, till at laſt they became ſubject to the dukes of Milan. Lewis XII. took poſſeſſion of them after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

Florence, a very potent city, and the chief of Tuſcany, was fallen at length under the dominion of the family of Medicis. But afterwards an oppoſite faction prevailing, they were driven from thence, and were now in exile, attempting however from time to time to be reſtored to their country.

Piſa had been formerly a very conſiderable city by reaſon of her naval forces, but at lengeth becoming ſubject to the dukes of Milan, a baſtard of that family, to whom it was given, ſold it to the Florentines. The Piſani were againſt the ſale, and would have recovered their liberty, but were overcome. After that, Charles VIII. in his way to Naples, reſtored Piſa to her liberty; but as ſoon as the Florentines had nothing more to fear from him, they beſieged Piſa, though aſſiſted by the Venetians, and the ſiege was ſtill carrying on at the time of the league of Cambray.

The city of Genoa, after ſundry revolutions cauſed by the factions of the Fregoſſas and the Adornas, was at length fallen into the hands of the French, in the reign of Charles VIII. After that, Lewis XI. reſigned it to the duke of Milan, and Lewis XII. ſeized it after his conqueſt of the Milaneſe.

This ſurvey of the ſtates of Italy ſhews that it was then divided between ſix powers, namely, pope Julius II. Lewis XII. king of France and duke of Milan, Ferdinand king of Arragon and Naples, the republics of Venice and Florence, and the duke of Ferrara. To theſe ſix may be added, the emperor Maximilian, who without poſſeſſing a foot of land in Italy, had however pretenſions to whatever was formerly enjoyed by the emperors, and particularly to the firm land ſtate of the Venetians, whoſe ruin the other ſix were equally concerned to procure. The emperor pretended that all the Venetian dominions belonged to the empire; he paſſionately deſired to wreſt ſome place from them that would give him entrance into Italy, and an opportunity to re-eſtabliſh the imperial power in that country. Julius II. as I ſaid, had formed a project to annex to the church whatever had been alienated, and eſpecially the duchy of Ferrara and the towns of La Romagna. This deſign could be effected only by the deſtruction of the Venetians, ever attentive to oppoſe the growth of their neighbours. Beſides, the pope had a mind to begin with them, and wreſt from them Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini. Lewis XII. repented of yielding to them Cremona and Gierradadda. He wanted to diſpoſſeſs them, and under that pretence to get poſſeſſion alſo of Crema, Bergamo, and Breſcia, and in general of whatever had belonged to the dukes of Milan. Ferdinand was deſirous to recover without money the five maritime towns of the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them.

Moreover, his intereſt required that there ſhould be always troubles in Italy, to hinder Lewis XII. from thinking of the conqueſt of Naples. The duke of Ferrara wiſhed to recover Rovigo and the Poleſin. Laſtly, the Florentines, obſtinately bent upon the ſiege of Piſa, protected and defended by the Venitians, could deſire nothing more advantageous than to ſee that republick unable to aſſiſt the Piſani.

Such were the motives of the league formed againſt Venice, of which the pope, the emperor, and the king of France were the chief promoters. For the greater ſecrecy, they ſpread a report that the emperor, as guardian to Charles of Auſtria, his grandſon, had agreed that his differences with the duke of Gueldres ſhould be amicably adjuſted. To that purpoſe, the city of Cambray was appointed for the place of congreſs, whereby to intimate, that the affairs only of Flanders would be conſidered. Here the famous league againſt the republick of Venice was concluded; and the better to deceive the ſpies, was ſigned at firſt a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, the emperor, Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, which was indeed made publick. But a ſecond treaty, which care was taken not to divulge, contained a league offenſive and defenſive againſt the Venetians, the principal articles whereof were theſe:

In the firſt place it was ſet forth in the preamble, that the Turks having began to make great progreſs in Europe, it was

[p] The towns belonging to the republic of Venice are of two ſorts: thoſe in Lombardy, that compoſe terra firma, or the firm land ſtate; the reſt are maritime, and called the ſea ſtate.

[q] The ſecond city of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the third of the four moſt conſiderable univerſities in the world, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca, ſays la Foreſt.

[r] The birth-place of the poet Arioſto, who has a tomb and epitaph in the benedictines' church.

[s] The birth-place of the famous painter, Raphael, and Polydore Virgil, who wrote the Engliſh hiſtory.

Called

abſolutely neceſſary for the Chriſtian princes to join their forces againſt them, but that the Venetians by their continual incroachments greatly obſtructed this union. From thence it was concluded, that they were to be diſpoſſeſſed of what they had uſurped. This was the pious motive of the league. And therefore it was agreed, that of their ſpoils, the pope ſhould have Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini; the emperor, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, and as duke of Auſtria, Treviſo, and Friuli: Lewis XII. as duke of Milan, Cremona, Gierradadda, Breſcia, Crema, and Bergamo: the king of Arragon, Manfredonia, Trani, Monopoli, Brindiſi, and Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples: that the dukes of Ferrara and Savoy, and the marquis of Mantua, ſhould be admitted into the league if they deſired it; the firſt to recover Rovigo, and the Poleſin; the ſecond to get the kingdom of Cyprus out of the hands of the Venetians; and the third, to obtain ſatisfaction concerning certain pretenſions he had upon Venice. Laſtly, that all who had any claim upon the Venetians, ſhould be received into the league as principals, if they declared themſelves within three months. Thus, in order to wage war againſt the Turks, no other means were found than to ſtrip the Venetians of all their firm land ſtate, and leave them only the ſingle city of Venice.

To accompliſh this deſign, it was agreed, that the king of France in perſon ſhould enter the territories of the Venetians, the firſt of April, in the year 1509, with an army of forty thouſand men: that the pope ſhould ſend an army into la Romagna, and Ferdinand have another in Lombardy, with a fleet in the gulf, and the emperor attack the Venetians from the ſide of Germany. But as he had lately made a three years truce with them, an admirable expedient was deviſed to furniſh him with a pretence to break it, which was, that the pope ſhould ſummon him as the church's advocate, to come and defend the patrimony. In fine, Julius II. engaged to thunder out all the eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt Venice. This league was ſigned at Cambray, December 10th, 1508.

The time of executing the projects of the league being come, Lewis XII. departed from Milan the beginning of April 1509, at the head of forty thouſand men, whilſt the pope's army entered la Romagna, under the conduct of Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino, and Raymond of Cardona, threw himſelf into Lombardy, with the king of Arragon's troops. At the ſame time, the duke of Ferrara, took the field in the Poleſin. But the emperor contented himſelf with ſtaying at Trent, and ſeeing the reſt of the allies act, in order to be ready to reap the fruits of their labours. Mean while the Venetians, having firſt provided their towns with ammunition, raiſed an army, under the command of count Pitigliano their general, whoſe lieutenant was Barthelein d'Alviano.

The van of the French army commanded by Chaumont, paſſed the Adda, the 15th of April, and at the ſame time the pope excommunicated the Venetians, and put the city of Venice under an interdict. On the 14th of May, was fought the battle of Gierradadda or Agnadel [t], between the French and Venetians, contrary to the opinion of Pitigliano, though general in chief of the Venetians, and to all reaſon. For the Venetians having no refuge but their army, it was by no means proper to hazard a battle. But the heat of Alviano, prevailed over his general's prudence. The Venetian army was entirely routed, and Alviano taken priſoner. Whereupon the Venetians being no longer able to reſiſt their enemies, Lewis, in leſs than a fortnight, became maſter of Cremona, Peſchiera, Crema, Breſcia, Bergamo, and of all the places in general, formerly belonging to the Milaneſe. Moreover, Vicenza, Verona, and Padua, ſent him their keys. But as by the treaty of Cambray, theſe places were in the emperor's diviſion, he ſent their deputies to him. Maximilian was then at Trent, expecting the ſucceſs of the confederate arms. Upon the arrival of the deputies, he ordered his troops to advance towards the ſtate of Venice, and as theſe cities freely opened their gates, he had nothing to do but to garriſon them. Treviſo alone refuſed him admittance, and remained firm to the Venetians, though reduced to the laſt extremity. Friuli and the towns of Iſtria followed the ſtream, and ſubmitted to the emperor. On the other hand, the duke of Urbino, with the pope's army, took Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, whilſt the duke of Ferrara became maſter of Rovigo, and the marquis of Mantua of ſome caſtles which were convenient for him. Thus, in a moment, the Venetians ſaw all their dominions reduced to the ſingle city of Venice, with five places in the kingdom of Naples, which could not be of much ſervice to them. Mean while, they were not entirely diſcouraged amidſt ſo many calamities, though the ſenate and people were under the greateſt conſternation. Their chief care was to re-aſſemble their ſcattered troops, and uſe their endeavours to break ſo deſtructive a league.

The misfortune befallen the Venetians occaſioned the loſs of Piſa. This city deſpairing of being relieved by Venice, or the king of France, who had deſerted her at laſt, ſurrendered to the Florentines, after having endured a long ſiege.

Lewis XII. having compaſſed his ends, returned into France, after he had detached a body of his troops, under the command of la Paliſſe, to join the emperor, who probably had not men enough to ſupply his garriſons, and to keep an army in the field againſt the Venetians, who were drawing together again. Upon the king of France's departure, affairs began to have a new face. The Venetians took Padua by ſurpriſe, and kept it ever after. Moreover they found means to ſend into Friuli, an army which employed the greateſt part of the emperor's troops. In ſhort, they appeaſed the pope by their humble ſubmiſſion, and obtained his poſitive promiſe to give them abſolution, and take off the interdict upon certain conditions, which they could not refuſe him. On the other hand, Ferdinand, who had not yet reaped any benefit by the league, was eaſily gained by the offer of the five cities held by the Venetians, in the kingdom of Naples.

Whilſt the ſenate was labouring to draw off the pope and the king of Arragon from the league, Maximilian with his own and la Paliſſe's forces, laid ſiege to Padua, but after an unſucceſsful aſſault, raiſed it and retired into Germany. At the ſame time the French general alſo returned to Milan. By which means the Venetians had time to breathe a little, and continue with the pope negotiations, which made them hope the event of the war would not be ſo fatal as they had hitherto apprehended.

The union of the king of France with the emperor, made Julius II. extremely uneaſy. He beheld the French king ſo firmly ſettled in the duchy of Milan, that it ſeemed impoſſible to diſlodge him. On the other hand, the emperor could not but be formidable to him, ſince he had an entrance into Italy, by means of Verona and Vicenza. He did not know what to think of the powerful aid lent that prince by Lewis XII. to complete the ruin of the Venetians, and he was not without fear, that theſe two monarchs had made a private treaty together to ſhare all Italy. Mean while, he hardly ſaw how theſe two formidable potentates could well be oppoſed. Venice was reduced to nothing. The Florentines were drained by the long Piſan war. As for the king of Arragon, it was almoſt impoſſible to treat with him, without being liable to be deceived. He knew how to improve all the treaties, and ſcrupled not to forſake his allies, when it was for his intereſt. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, the pope formed the project of putting the affairs of Italy upon another footing, in order to execute his firſt deſigns. He reſolved therefore to agree and league with the Venetians, to take off Ferdinand from the league of Cambray, by inveſting him with Naples, to uſe his endeavours to ſet the emperor and the king of France at variance; to bring a Swiſs army into the Milaneſe: in fine, to perſuade the new king of England to make a diverſion in France. Theſe were the pope's projects, the ſucceſs whereof we ſhall ſee hereafter. He began with making a peace with the Venetians upon three conditions. Firſt, that they ſhould deſiſt from all their pretenſions to the cities of La Romagna, lately taken from them. Secondly, that they ſhould renounce the right of placing in Ferrara, a certain magiſtrate, called Biſdomina. Thirdly, that they ſhould leave the navigation of the gulf free to all the ſubjects of the church. In the preſent circumſtances of Venice, there were no other conditions to be inpoſed upon her.

After ſo long a digreſſion concerning the affairs of Italy, which however is not uſeleſs, as will appear in the ſequel, we muſt return to the affairs of England.

[1510] The parliament being aſſembled the 21ſt of January, the commons repreſented to the king, that certain ſtatutes made in the former parliaments, had given occaſion to the king his father's miniſters, to oppreſs the people, by putting forced interpretations upon them, contrary to the natural meaning of the words: that therefore it was neceſſary to ſoften, or ſo explain them, as to prevent ſuch abuſes for the future [u]. Henry readily agreed to what was propoſed by the commons, not only becauſe the thing was juſt in itſelf, but

[t] Called alſo the battle of Rivolta.

[u] The benefit of forfeitures for penal laws was alſo reduced to the term of three years next preceding. There was likewiſe a ſumptuary law againſt exceſs in apparel repealed, and a more decent one ſubrogated. Herbert, p. 6.

chiefly because it naturally led to his design of having Empson and Dudley attained by the parliament. Though these men had been already condemned by their proper judges, the king had deferred the execution of the sentence. He could not help having some scruple, for causing them to be accused of a crime of which he knew them not to be guilty. Nevertheless he wanted to sacrifice them to the people, without incurring the imputation of a false accusation, and withal to vindicate his father's memory, by intimating, that they had exceeded his orders. To reconcile these two things, he so managed it, that the parliament, passed an act of attainder against them; that is, they were condemned to die by the authority of the king and parliament, without any particular mention of the crimes they had incurred, or of the proofs upon which their sentence was founded. This method, which till then had been seldom practised, was but too frequently used in the sequel of this reign, so dangerous is it to establish such precedents. Mean while, Henry having still some difficulty to overcome his scruples, delayed their execution till the following August [w].

Whilst the parliament was thus employed, Lewis XII. sent embassadors to England, to renew with the king the treaties made with Henry VII. As by the peace of Estaples, after the death of one of the two kings of France or England, his successor was to signify to the survivor, whether he would continue the alliance, it was Henry's business to inform Lewis XII. of his intention. However, he had done nothing towards it. But as he was a lively young prince, and abounding in riches, Lewis thought doubtless it would be proper to prevent him, for fear he might engage in designs destructive of the welfare of France. His embassadors therefore concluded with Henry a new treaty of alliance, wherein the former treaties were not mentioned. By this it was agreed, that the peace between the two kings should last till the death of the shortest liver: that it should be confirmed by the states-general of France, and the parliament of England: that each of the two kings should take care to obtain the pope's approbation, with a previous sentence of excommunication against the first violator.

There was nothing said in the new treaty of the 745,000 crowns that Charles VIII. had promised to pay to Henry VII. or his successors, and for which Lewis XII. himself was engaged by a subsequent treaty, because the business was only to renew the peace between the two present kings. However Henry forgot not to secure the debt, by requiring of Lewis letters patent, wherein he promised to pay the arrears by twenty-five thousand livres every six months, till the whole was discharged. After which the peace was ratified and sworn by both the kings.

Julius II. was meditating great designs against Lewis XII. The success of the league of Cambray, though he had turned it to his advantage, made him very uneasy. He saw the French more firmly settled in Italy than ever, and Lewis XII. better able to protect the duke of Ferrara. To accomplish his projects against France, he doubtless wanted assistance; and to that end, tried to excite all the states of Europe against that kingdom, as will be seen presently. So, to insinuate himself into the king of England's favour, he sent him this year the golden rose, which the popes, after solemnly consecrating it, were wont to present to some prince [x]. Probably also, the king of Arragon, in concert with the pope, began now to take measures to engage Henry, his son-in-law, in a league against France.

The success of the last campaign made the king of Arragon no less uneasy than the pope. He was sensible, Lewis never loved him, nor had any reason to love him, and saw this enemy, since the ruin of the Venetians, in a condition to disturb him in the possession of Naples. On the other hand, the league of Cambray could not procure him any further advantages, whereas the offers made him to leave it were very considerable. The Venetians agreed to restore him the cities they possessed in the kingdom of Naples and the pope was willing to depart from his claim of forty thousand crowns, and give him the investiture of that kingdom for a Spanish genet only. This was sufficient to induce him to break his engagements at Cambray. In all appearance, ever since the end of the last year, he had taken measures with the pope to form a new league against France. But as he never acted openly, he desired these measures to be kept private, in order to attack Lewis the more irresistibly. To that purpose, on the 6th of January this year 1510, he commissioned Lewis de Caroz, of Villaragud, his embassador at London, to treat with Henry VIII. about a stricter alliance than had been concluded between the crowns of England and Spain.

Whether Henry could not so soon resolve to conclude this new alliance with Ferdinand, or was willing first to finish his affairs with Lewis XII. it was not till the 24th of May, that the new treaty was signed. It was only a defensive alliance between the two kings, with a promise of mutual aid upon occasion. But Ferdinand, who had his views, caused these words to be inserted: that in case one of the two kings was attacked by any prince whatsoever, the other should be obliged to proclaim and wage war against the aggressor, though he should be his ally: that if one was attacked by the king of France, the other should be obliged to go against him in person with a powerful army. This treaty secured to Ferdinand the kingdom of Naples, because if Lewis XII. had intended to undertake the conquest, the diversion he would have been threatened with from England would have infallibly kept him from his purpose. But it is hard to conceive what advantage Henry could reap from such a treaty, since it was not likely, Lewis designed to attack him; so that all the advantage was on Ferdinand's side. It must be either that Henry's ministers were not very clear-sighted, or he, from a motive of generosity for a father-in-law, whom he did not yet sufficiently know, was imprudently persuaded to this proceeding, the more strange, as he had lately renewed the peace with France.

But it must not be thought that Henry was then a complete politician. He was still young, and minded his diversions more than the public affairs. There was nothing every day but tournaments, balls, entertainments, concerts of music, which consumed by degrees the eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, found in the king his father's coffers [y]. He used likewise to play at tennis and dice with certain strangers, who cheated him of this money, which he discovered at last, and though a little too late, shamefully chased them from court. He was so passionately fond of music, that it devoured great part of his time; which, added to the hours he spent in his studies and other diversions, left him but little leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the government, the management whereof he willingly left to his ministers. And therefore it may be affirmed, that in matters of policy, never prince committed grosser faults, or was more imposed upon than himself, especially in the first years of his reign.

Whilst Henry was wholly addicted to his pleasures, there was a person gradually rising at court, who was one day to have an absolute power over him, and to manage all his affairs, as well foreign as domestic. I mean Thomas Wolsey, who was made the king's almoner last year, and in the beginning of this dean of Lincoln [z]. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that on the 30th of January, the king gave him a house in London [a], formerly Empson's, no inconsiderable present, since the patent mentions thirteen gardens belonging thereto. We must now return to the

p. 6.——It having been enacted in the 3d of Henry VII. that a coroner should have for his fee, upon every inquisition taken upon view of the body slain and murdered, thirteen shillings and four pence of the goods and chattles of the murderer; since the enacting of which, coroners would not perform their office without receiving the said sum of thirteen shillings and four pence; which was contrary to the common law, and the intent of the same statute of Henry VII. It was therefore now enacted, that upon a request made to a coroner, to come and enquire upon the view of any person slain, drowned or otherwise dead by misadventure, the said coroner diligently shall do his office upon the view of the body of every such person or persons, without taking any thing for it, upon pain, to every coroner that will not endeavour himself to do his office, or that taketh any thing for the doing of it, for every time, to forfeit forty shillings. Statut. 1 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

[w] They were both beheaded on Tower-hill, August 17. Hall, fol. 8. Dudley had, at the time of his death, in lands, fees, and offices, to the yearly value of eight hundered pounds; and twenty thousand pounds in ready money, besides jewels, plate, and rich furniture, &c. During his imprisonment in the Tower he wrote a book called Arbor Reipublicæ, dedicated to king Henry. By Elizabeth his wife, one of the daughters and coheirs of Edward Gray, viscount Lisle, he left issue three sons and one daughter. Stow, Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 217.

[x] It was dipped in chrism and perfumed with musk, and so sent to archbishop Warham, with instructions to present it to the king at high mass, with the pope's benediction. Julius's letter to Warham, in Burnet's collection, is dated April 5, 1510.

[y] The reader may see a large account of the king's justs, pageants, and other costly devices, in Hall and Hollingshead, who have many particulars worth perusing, by such as delight in such matters.

[z] Burnet says, he not only served the king in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the French-pox (which in those days was a matter of great infamy) was so public, that it was brought against him in parliament when he fell into disgrace. He had also the art of attaching so effectually those in his interests, in whose company the king did most delight, that they were always ready to forward his views. Being of a gay, facetious, and open temper, he would divert himself with them in such exercises (says Polydore Virgil) as were most agreeable to the levity and passions of youth, and which did not perfectly suit with the character of a dean in the church. He would descend to sing, laugh, rally, and even dance with them, as if for the time he had quite laid aside that severity of behaviour which became his station. Hist. Ref. vol. I. p. 8.

[a] A messuage, called the parsonage, lying in the parish of St. Bride, in Fleet-street; which Empson held by lease from the abbot and convent of Westminster. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 269. The king gave him also in February, the next year, a prebend of Windsor. Ibid. p, 293.

Or

affairs of Italy which will afford us matter for ſeveral years.

Julius II. had two grand deſigns in his head. The firſt was to ſeize the duchy of Ferrara: the ſecond, to expel the French and Germans out of Italy. His forces alone not being capable to execute theſe projects, it was neceſſary to uſe the aſſiſtance of ſome other princes, and try to engage them in his deſigns. His ſcheme was to league with the Venetians; to take off Ferdinand and Maximilian from the intereſts of France; to break the league of Cambray, to perſuade the king of England to make a diverſion in France; to excite the Switzers to invade the duchy of Milan. He executed all theſe projects, but not without encountering ſuch difficulties as would have diſcouraged any man leſs reſolute than himſelf. Firſt, he made a private league with the Venetians, after which, he ſolemnly gave them abſolution the 24th of January. Then, he ſecretely agreed with Ferdinand, by promiſing him the inveſtiture of Naples. That done, he quarrelled with Lewis XII. by filling a biſhoprick in Provence, without aſking his conſent, contrary to his own promiſe. Lewis complained of it, the pope denied he had promiſed any ſuch thing; and in ſhort, they came at laſt to give one another the lie in form. This was preciſely what the pope wanted, in order to have cauſe to break with him.

His league with the Venetians being publickly known, he imperiouſly commanded the duke of Ferrara to renounce the league of Cambray, and join his arms with thoſe of the church. The duke not believing his being vaſſal to the holy ſee, obliged him to be thus blindly devoted to all the pope's humours, refuſed to break his alliance with France and ſo gave his holineſs the pretence he had long been ſeeking. When the duke offered to pay him the tribute due to the church for the fief of Ferrara, the pope refuſed it, plainly intimating by that refuſal, he intended to confiſcate the duchy.

Mean while, Ferdinand was privately acting with Henry VIII. his ſon-in-law, to draw him into the pope's intereſt, which was become his own, in conſequence of the projects they had formed in common. But his practices were ſo ſecret, that Lewis XII. never miſtruſted him. On the contrary, he entirely confided in the aſſurances given by his embaſſador, that his deſign was to continue firmly attached to the league of Cambray.

On the other hand Julius II. gained the biſhop of Sion [b], who, having credit among the Switzers, found means to ſet them at variance with France, by purſuading them to demand an augmentation of their penſions. Their alliance with that crown being about to expire, they required to renew it, that their penſions ſhould be increaſed. Lewis refuſing it, the biſhop of Sion effectually uſed that refuſal to ſtir them up againſt France, to which the king himſelf alſo contributed, by making an alliance with the Griſons. He thereby ſo provoked the Switzers, that in a diet at Lucerne, they declared for the pope, and reſolved to ſend an army into the duchy of Milan.

In fine, the pope forgot nothing that he thought capable of perſuading the Venetians to agree with the emperor at any rate, even to the adviſing them to deliver him Treviſo and Padua. He intimated to them, that the moſt effectual means to drive the French out of the Milaneſe, was to diſengage the emperor from their intereſts, and when once they were out of Italy, it would be eaſy to wreſt from the emperor not only Treviſo and Padua, but all his other conqueſts too. But the Venetians durſt not run ſuch a hazard.

Such were the vaſt projects of the pope. He was ſo private in his negotiations, that Lewis XII. imagining he had no other deſign than to ſeize Ferrara, contented himſelf with ordering Chaumont, governor of Milan, to aid the duke in caſe he was attacked. But ſhortly after, a Venetian fleet and papal army commanded by Fabricius Colonna, attempting, though unſucceſsfully, to ſurprize Genoa, Lewis had but too much reaſon to ſuſpect there was ſome grand deſign formed againſt him, and therefore, ſent Chaumont orders to have an eye to the pope's proceeding.

Theſe orders came to Milan very ſeaſonably. Julius II. really intended to beſiege Ferrara, and for that purpoſe was come to Bologna, till an army, prepared on ſome pretence by Raymond, of Cardona, at Naples, was ready to join his and the Venetian troops. But Chaumont did not allow him time to execute his projects. Hearing the pope was arrived at Bologna, he departed from Milan at the head of an army, and made ſuch ſpeed that he would have ſurpriſed the pope there, had he not ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with parleys. Whilſt he was treating with the pope's envoys, ſome Venetian troops in the neighbourhood entering the city, ſecured it from the danger of being inſulted. Whereupon Chaumont, being wholly unprepared for ſo important a ſiege, was obliged to retire.

Julius II. made great noiſe at this inſult of the French, and filled all Europe, and particularly the court of England, with his clamours. He excommunicated all the generals of the French army, and preſently after, his and the Venetians gallies made a ſecond attempt upon Genoa, but with no better ſucceſs than before.

At the ſame time, twelve thouſand Switzers began their march in order to enter the Milaneſe, under the conduct of the biſhop of Sion. But he found the paſſages ſo well guarded, that they deſpaired of ſucceeding in their deſign. So, not receiving beſides from the pope the money promiſed them, they returned into their own country.

War being thus proclaimed between Lewis XII. and the pope, Lewis thought himſelf under no farther reſtraint. He had done his utmoſt to be reconciled with him, even to the offering to abandon the duke of Ferrara. But the pope, depending upon Ferdinand, and expecting great matters from England, had evaded all his propoſals. Wherefore, to ſtop the fury of this impetuous old man, Lewis made a new league with the emperor, promiſing to put him in poſſeſſion of all Italy, except Genoa and Florence. Maximilian had the good fortune, that in all his leagues he had always great advantages, though he contributed the leaſt. On this occaſion, Lewis XII. could hardly proceed without him, becauſe it was abſolutely neceſſary to continue the war in the ſtate of Venice, otherwiſe the Venetians would have been able to give the pope too great an aſſiſtance. The league being concluded at Blois in Auguſt, Lewis called a ſynod at Tours, to conſult how he ought to behave to the pope. The ſynod were of opinion, that the king ſhould once more offer the pope a reaſonable agreement, and in caſe of refuſal, might with ſafe conſcience wage even an offenſive war with him. Lewis wanted no more to juſtify his intended proceedings. Preſently after, he concluded with Maximilian a new treaty, whereby they agreed to cauſe a general council to be ſummoned to Piſa, to depoſe Julius II. To that end, they gained nine cardinals, who readily undertook to call the council in their own name. Some of theſe cardinals were now with the pope, but found means to leave him under divers pretences, and when he would have recalled them, refuſed to obey.

Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy during the year 1510. I have ſaid nothing of the events of the war which continued all the while between the emperor, aſſiſted by the French king, and the Venetians, becauſe theſe particulars are of little ſervice to this hiſtory. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that Chaumont ſeeing Genoa and Milan in danger, had withdrawn the French troops from the emperor's army to keep them at Milan. The departure of theſe troops gave the Venetians ſome reſpite, who thereby were enabled to repair ſome loſſes ſuſtained in the beginning of the campaign, and to aſſiſt the pope who ſtill deſigned to beſiege Ferrara.

Chaumont's attempt to ſurpriſe the pope in Bologna, afforded Raymond of Cardona, viceroy of Naples, a pretence to march to the relief of his holineſs. The pope's troops and the Venetians were in December joined by the Spaniſh army near Midena, which Fabricius Colonna had taken in his return from his Genoa expedition. Though the ſeaſon was not very proper to enter upon action, the pope was abſolutely bent to beſiege Mirandola. That town belonged to the heirs of Joannes Picus of Miranda, with whom he had no quarrel. But as it lay convenient to favour the ſiege of Ferrara, he would not leave it in his rear, but ordered it to be vigorouſly attacked. In ſpite of his age, and the rigour of the ſeaſon, he came himſelf to the ſiege to animate the troops by his preſence, and the town ſurrendering at laſt on the 20th of January, was pleaſed to enter through the breach.

Lewis XII. complained to Ferdinand of his aſſiſting the pope. But Ferdinand calling that a trifle, replied, that as vaſſal of the holy ſee he could not help defending his holineſs's perſon and ſtate: that beſides he was not concerned in the quarrels of the pope and the king of France, but his intention was to keep to the articles of the league of Cambray.

Hitherto Henry does not ſeem to be concerned with the affairs of Italy, though the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians had formed a deſign to engage him therein. He peaceably led a life of pleaſure, without much regarding what paſſed abroad. On the firſt of January 1511, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his queen delivered of a prince, at whoſe

[b] Or Valais, lying between Switzerland, the Milaneſe, the valley of Aoſt, and Savoy.

He

birth there was great rejoicing over all the kingdom. But the joy laſted not long, ſince the young prince died before the end of February [c].

Mean while, Ferdinand was ſeeking means to engage Henry in the league he intended to make with the pope againſt France. Henry was rich and powerful, and conſequently his acceſſion to the league would be of great weight, and extremely incommode France. On the other hand, his youth and ſmall experience made his father-in-law hope, it would not be impracticable to engage him by degrees, into projects which a king of England ought not to concern himſelf with. It is certain, Ferdinand was now in agreement with the pope. All his proceedings render it ſo evident that it cannot be doubted. However, he uſed a profound diſſimulation in this reſpect. He feigned to intend only the peace of Europe, that all the princes of Chriſtendom might join together in a war againſt the infidels. But as he wanted an army and fleet to execute his deſigns, he pretended to have very much at heart the continuance of the war he had undertaken againſt the Moors. He had ſent laſt year upon the coaſts of Africa a fleet commanded by Peter of Navarre. Shortly after, he re-enforced it with ſome troops under the conduct of a ſon of the duke of Alva, who attempting to land at Gelves, was ſlain, and all his men cut in pieces. Ferdinand made uſe of this ill ſucceſs to recover his preparations againſt France. Under colour of being revenged on the Moors, he aſſembled an army and equipped a fleet, which he pretended to ſend into Africa, but was however deſigned for Italy. As it was not yet time to diſcover his intentions, he carried his diſſimulation ſo far, as to demand of the king his ſon-in-law a thouſand Engliſh archers to ſerve in the preſent expedition. Weak aid! to be ſent for ſo far, and at ſo great an expence, if he had really intended to uſe them. Henry not perceiving his deſigns readily complied with his requeſt, and appointed ſir Thomas Darcy, on whom, at the ſame time, he conferred the title of baron [d], to command that ſmall body [e]. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, Ferdinand's letter of thanks to Henry [f] for this aid, and for his advice not to hazard his perſon in the undertaking: advice, continued he, that he could not follow, becauſe religion was concerned. And yet it ſoon appeared he had never intended any ſuch thing, ſince he employed againſt France the very forces which ſeemed to be deſigned againſt the Moors [g].

Nothing more was wanting to conclude the projected league againſt Lewis XII. but to gain the king of England. This was ſtrenuouſly endeavoured during the beginning of the year 1511. The Venetians ſent him an embaſſador under colour of thanking him for his care to reconcile them to the pope, deſiring him withal, in their credentials dated the 2d of March, to give credit to what their embaſſador ſhould impart to him, which could relate only to the intended league. About the ſame time it was that the pope conferred the dignity of cardinal upon Chriſtopher Bambridge archbiſhop of York, and embaſſador at Rome, in a promotion the 11th of March at Ravenna. All the hiſtorians unanimouſly affirm Bambridge was made cardinal purely for labouring to ſet Henry at variance with France. Matthew Skinner biſhop of Sion was promoted to the ſame honour for his paſt and future ſervices of the like nature. In thoſe days, it was neither learning nor virtue that raiſed clergymen to the cardinalate, but ſolely their abilities in temporal affairs, joined to an entire ſubmiſſion to the pope.

The endeavours that were uſed to engage Henry in the Italian league, had at length the expected ſucceſs. In all appearance, it was repreſented to him that he was highly concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of the king of France, who was already become too powerful by the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan, and the ruin of the Venetians. However this be, it appears that about the middle of the year Henry was now determined to follow the ſuggeſtions of the pope and Ferdinand. For in June he appointed commiſſioners to take care that the militia of the kingdom were provided with good arms, and ready to ſerve upon the firſt notice, which it was not cuſtomary to order, but when a war was foreſeen. The reaſon alledged by the king for theſe orders, plainly ſhew what was his deſign. He ſaid, though the kingdom was in perfect tranquillity, nevertheleſs as the arms were commonly ſuffered to ruſt in time of peace, he wiſhed that his ſubjects would be in a readineſs to ſerve him as well againſt invaſions, if any were intended, as in defence of his allies. Theſe laſt words could reſpect only the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, from whence it may be inferred, that the king had now given his word. But the ſequel will ſhew it ſtill more clearly.

The ancient and ſtrict union between France and Scotland gave Henry juſt cauſe to fear, that at ſoon as the war with France was begun, the king of Scotland as ally of Lewis XII. would interpoſe in the quarrel. And therefore, to remove all pretence of rupture, he took care to appoint commiſſioners [h] with power to repair all the outrages committed ſince the late peace. But his precautions proved ineffectual. An accident this year afforded the king of Scotland that pretence of breach which Henry would have prevented.

Andrew Breton a Scotch merchant, complaining to the king of Scotland that the Portugueſe had killed his father and ſeized his ſhip, the king gave him letters of marque, after having in vain ſought redreſs from the court of Portugal. Whereupon, Breton equipped two ſtout ſhips, and found means to make himſelf ample amends for his loſſes, by falling upon the Portugal ſhips trading to Flanders and England. The Portugal embaſſador reſiding at London, complained to the council, and repreſented that ſince the king of England pretended to the ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas, it was but reaſonable he ſhould protect the foreign ſhips that came into the channel. Upon this complaint, the king equipped two large men of war, and appointed the two ſons of the earl of Surrey [i] to command them, with orders to take the Scotch pirate. Theſe two lords watched him ſo narrowly that they met with him at laſt, as he was returning from Flanders to Scotland. Breton fought deſperately, but was killed in the fight, and his two ſhips taken and brought into England [k]. The king of Scotland hearing of this, ſent and demanded the two ſhips, with ſpeedy reparation for the outrage committed againſt the peace. The embaſſadors were told that pirates were not included in the peace, and that to puniſh ſuch people according to their deſerts was no breach of treaty. Probably, Breton had made himſelf more than amends for the damage he had ſuſtained, as it too frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But however, king James not being able to obtain any thing from the court of England, proteſted againſt the injuſtice, being determined to reſent it the firſt opportunity.

I left Julius II. after the taking of Mirandola, bent upon the ſiege of Ferrara, and only waiting the return of good weather. Though Lewis XII. was in part ignorant of what paſſed in Spain and England, he knew however enough not to doubt that the pope was endeavouring to raiſe him enemies on all ſides. He was even ſatisfied, that though he ſeemed to have no other deſign than to become maſter of Ferrara, yet that was only the firſt ſtep to ſome greater project. Mean-while, he was very much embarraſſed. He had properly nothing to gain upon the pope, unleſs he would ſeize the church's patrimony. But he had a great deal to loſe, beſides the troubles which the obſtinate and haughty temper of the pope might create him. Wherefore he reſolved to try all poſſible ways to be reconciled with him. To that end, whilſt the pope was employed in the ſiege of Mirandola, he made him ſome overtures by Chaumont, but it was to no purpoſe. The pope would hearken to nothing, and continued the ſiege till he forced the town to capitulate. at laſt, Lewis ſeeing there was no hopes of a reconciliation, ordered Chaumont to regard him no longer, and at any rate to ſupport the duke of Ferrara. Chaumont receiving

[c] He was born at Richmond, and chriſtened Henry. He was preſented to the king by his queen as a new year's gift, but died this ſame year, on February 22, and was buried at Weſtminſter. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 11.

[d] He was captain of the town and caſtle of Berwick. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 294.—Dugdale ſays, the title of Baron, which had ceaſed (6 Henry V.) in the daughters and heirs of Philip lord Darcy, was revived to this ſir Thomas, by writ of ſummons to parliament. (1 Hen. VIII.) Baron. vol. I. p. 374.

[e] There went over with him the lord Anthony Grey, brother of the marquis of Dorſet; Henry Guildford, Weſton, Brown, William Sydney, eſquires; ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir Roger Haſtings, ſir Ralph Elderkare, &c. They embarked at Plymouth about the middle of May, and landed at Cadiz, June 1. Hall, fol. 11, 12. Sir Henry Guildford, and — Weſton, and — Brown, eſquires, were knighted by king Ferdinand, who gave ſir H. Guildford, a canton of Granada, and — Weſton, and — Brown, an eagle of Sicily, for the augmentation of their arms. This body of troops returned to England about Auguſt. Idem, fol. 13. Stow, p. 488.

[f] By this letter, (wrote in moſt religious ſtrain) it appears that all our hiſtorians, even Dugdale himſelf, is miſtaken in the number of the archers ſent into Spain, Ferdinand's letters calling them a thouſand, whereas they are ſaid to be in our hiſtories fifteen hundred. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 297.

[g] King Henry ſent alſo, in July this year, fifteen hundred men in Flanders, under the command of ſir Edward Poynings, to aſſiſt the duke of Burgundy, againſt the duke of Gueldres. Ibid. p. 302. Hall, fol. 13, 14.

[h] Sir Thomas Dacre, and ſir Robert Drury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 301.

[i] Thomas and Edward, which laſt was lord admiral. Herbert, p. 7. Hall, fol. 15.

[k] Though he was grievouſly wounded, he encouraged his men, with his whiſtle, even to his laſt breath. The king pardoned the men, and ſent them out of the kingdom. Herbert, ibid.

In

theſe orders, takes the field in the midſt of winter. His army, joined by the duke of Ferrara, was not ſo numerous as the forces of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, but compoſed of ſo good troops, that the allies durſt never hazard a battle, though it was offered them more than once. Mean while, the pope was greatly perplexed. Inſtead of quietly preparing for the ſiege of Ferrara, he was forced to keep the field during the winter, without knowing even how to ſave Modena, which was in danger of a ſiege. Ferdinand, who foreſaw what trouble that place would give the pope, had adviſed him to reſign it to the emperor. Nay, that affair had been negotiated, but without ſucceſs, becauſe Maximilian would receive it only as a place held of the empire, to which the pope would not conſent. At laſt, upon Chaumont's approach to beſiege it, the pope was willing to deliver it as the emperor deſired, becauſe it was not to be ſaved without venturing a battle. The terms of the bargain are not preciſely known. But from thenceforward all the emperor's proceedings gave occaſion to ſuſpect, Modena was acquired upon conditions very prejudicial to the king of France, his ally.

The king of Arragon pretended to be in alliance with France. He would not declare againſt her till he had ſecured the king of England, with whom he was privately negotiating a treaty which required a long diſcuſſion. Indeed, his troops which were to ſerve the pope but three months, according to the terms of the inveſtiture of Naples, were ſtill joined with thoſe of the allies. But he pretended, the viceroy of Naples acted contrary to his orders, in remaining in the pope's army longer than he was commanded. Mean while, the army was preſſed by Chaumont and the duke of Ferrara, who followed them cloſe, and endeavoured to provoke them to a battle. So, to gain time, Ferdinand, who would ſtill paſs for a neutral prince, and well affected to the repoſe of Italy, propoſed a congreſs at Mantua for a peace. The pope immediately accepted the overture. The emperor agreed to it likewiſe, and Lewis XII. durſt not reject it, leſt he ſhould be charged with being the ſole author of the troubles of Italy. It is certain, if, in this juncture, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by a negotiation, the ſole aim whereof was to rob him of the opportunity of puſhing his enemies, he had ordered his troops to advance, he would have over-run the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; with ſo great a terror had his arms inſpired the allies. But he had to manage his ſubjects as well as his queen, who conſidered a war with the head of the church as a crime, though there was but too much provocation. He had himſelf likewiſe ſcruples upon that account, which he could not eaſily ſurmount. But however, he was willing to try once more, whether the propoſed congreſs of Mantua would produce ſome good effect. He hoped at leaſt, that the breaking off the negotiation, in caſe it was not ſucceſsful, would fully juſtify him. The congreſs produced the effect expected by the allies, that is, it cauſed the French to loſe a great deal of time to no purpoſe.

A few days before the congreſs of Mantua, the biſhop of Gurck, who was to be there from the emperor, had a conference at Bologna with the pope, after which they pretended to part in great diſcontent. But what followed plainly ſhewed the contrary, ſince the emperor never after did any thing agreeable to his alliance with Lewis XII. He conſented, however, that the council of Piſa ſhould be called in his name, and the ſummons ſet up at Modena, and ſeveral other places belonging to him, becauſe it was not yet time to declare himſelf. The ſummons ran, that Julius II. having refuſed to call a council, purſuant to the decree of Conſtance, the cardinals were empowered by the ſame decree to ſummon a council in their own name. And therefore, with the conſent of the emperor and the king of France, they ordered the council to meet on the firſt of September, in the city of Piſa, to endeavour the reformation of the church, in the head and members.

The biſhop of Gurck's conference with the pope, and the breaking up of the congreſs of Mantua, made the king of France greatly ſuſpect the emperor. On the other hand, he could not help fearing the king of Arragon, knowing by experience what was to be expected from him. He ſaw him making great preparations under colour of the African war, and knew withal, that notwithſtanding his daily aſſurances that he would not concern himſelf with the troubles of Italy, he was uſing his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians: that is, properly ſpeaking, he was labouring to diſengage Maximilian from the intereſt of France. In ſhort, Ferdinand ſent him brotherly admonitions to make his peace with the pope, and not draw on himſelf the juſt reproach of waging an unnatural war with the common father of Chriſtians. Lewis could not but conſider theſe remonſtrances as a ſort of proteſtation to aſſiſt the pope in caſe of need. At the ſame time, he could not believe he would engage in ſuch an undertaking without being ſecure of the emperor. Theſe things made him uneaſy, and apprehenſive that he ſhould at laſt be the dupe of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand. So, for fear of being prevented, he gave expreſs orders to Triulzi, who commanded his army in the room of Chaumont, lately deceaſed, to take all the advantages of the allies that lay in his power.

Triulzi upon this order, aſſaulted and took Concordia in the beginning of May, at the time the calling of the council of Piſa was every where poſted up. Then he endeavoured by ſeveral marches to oblige the allies to a battle, without being able to ſucceed. At laſt, he reſolved to approach Bologna; not that he believed himſelf in condition to beſiege the city, but to draw the allies from their advantageous poſts, and give the Bolonnois opportunity to riſe in favour of the Bentivoglios, whom he brought with him. The pope had now done his utmoſt to perſuade the generals of the allies to hazard a battle without being able to prevail, ſo much did they dread engaging with the French. Wherefore, knowing how the army ſtood diſpoſed, and diſtruſting the Bolonnois, who loved him not, he retired to Ravenna, leaving in Bologna the cardinal of Pavia, his prime miniſter. He was no ſooner gone, but a tumult aroſe in the city, during which the inhabitants called in their old maſters, the Bentivoglios, and put them in poſſeſſion of the government. The cardinal of Pavia had taken to flight the moment he perceived their reſolution. On the other hand, the army of the allies advancing to one of the gates of Bologna, and hearing the Bentivoglios were admitted, and the legate withdrawn, ran away in confuſion, leaving in the camp their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Whereupon the inhabitants ſallying out, and joining with the peaſants, completely ſtripped the ſcattered army, and rendered it entirely unſerviceable for ſeveral months. The duke of Ferrara improving the opportunity, very eaſily recovered the places lately taken from him by the allies.

Amidſt all theſe mortifications, the pope ſtill met with another, which ſenſibly touched him. The cardinal of Pavia was ſtabbed by the duke of Urbino, who taxed him with being the cauſe of the loſs of Bologna. The pope's concern was the greater, as he durſt not puniſh, in the perſon of his nephew, a crime he would have thought worthy of the ſevereſt treatment, had it been committed by any other hand. His army being diſperſed, and his deſigns upon Ferrara vaniſhed, he quitted Ravenna, and retired to Rome. In his way, he had the frequent mortification to ſee the papers poſted up for the calling of the council of Piſa, wherein he was himſelf ſummoned to appear in perſon.

It was univerſally expected that Lewis XII. would purſue his ſucceſſes, and certainly in the then ſituation of Italy, it was his own fault that he was not maſter of Rome. The pope had no remedy ſpeedy enough to free himſelf from his ſad condition. The king of Arragon was too remote. The Venetians were unable to lend him a ſufficient aid, and the emperor was not powerful enough to ſave him, had he been willing to attempt it. Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Milan, were in the hands of his enemies. But Lewis, either through ſcruple, or ſome other motive, inſtead of purſuing his point, ordered Triulzi to retire to Milan with the army, and diſband part of the troops. Probably, he was willing to deprive the pope of the pretence of exciting all Chriſtendom againſt him, and publiſhing, that he intended to ſeize Rome and all Italy. He was juſtly apprehenſive of this from the pope, ſince it was in effect the foundation or rather the pretence of the league formed ſome months after againſt France. Triulzi was no ſooner at Milan, but Ferdinand's fleet arrived at Naples, with about three thouſand men, who were ſoon to be followed by a more conſiderable body.

It was not difficult to perceive, that the king of Arragon had ſent his fleet to Naples to ſupport the pope's intereſts, and give jealouſy to the king of France. Julius II. who was better informed than any man, revived at the news, and the rather, as he rightly judged that Ferdinand would not have been altogether aſſured of the king of England. Since the loſs of Bologna, and the rout of his army, he had ſeemed willing to conſent to an agreement with France, and though he had made overtures more like a conqueror than one conquered, Lewis had accepted them on condition they were approved by the emperor. But when the

pope found, the Spaniſh fleet was at Naples, and Ferdinand began to declare himſelf, he added new terms to thoſe he had already propoſed, and plainly ſhewed he was no longer for peace. This conduct put Lewis XII. beyond all patience. So, deſpairing to agree with ſo obſtinate an enemy, he ordered Trivulzi to ſend ſupplies to Bentivoglio to guard Bologna, and ſome time after, took Bologna and the Bentivoglios under his protection. On the other hand, though he was not obliged to aſſiſt the emperor, unleſs he came into Italy in perſon, he added however to the German troops in the ſtate of Venice a ſtrong reinforcement commanded by la Paliſſe. Mean while the pope having certain advice of the good inclination of the kings of Arragon and England in his favour, reſolved to ſummon a general council in oppoſition to that of Piſa. To that end he publiſhed a bull, wherein, having firſt excuſed the neglect the ſchiſmatic cardinals laid to his charge, and inveighed againſt their inſolence, he called a council to be held at the Lateran in Rome, the 19th of April 1512.

Since the biſhop of Gurck's conference with the pope, Maximilian's conduct was ſo doubtful that it was difficult to judge certainly of it. He had agreed to the calling of the council of Piſa, which was done with his expreſs conſent. But he had not yet appointed embaſſadors, neither was it known that the German biſhop was preparing to go thither. Moreover, he had promiſed to command in perſon in Italy, and led thither a ſtrong reinforcement. But he remained inactive at Inſpruck, without ſhewing any thoughts either of the council of Piſa, or the war in Italy. Mean while the conqueſts that were expected to be made upon the Venetians were to be all his. Thus, in the preſent poſture of the affairs of Italy, Lewis XII. ſaw the burden of the war laid upon him alone, without his daring almoſt to complain to the emperor, for fear he ſhould join with his enemies. And indeed, Maximilian was ſtrongly ſolicited by the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians themſelves, who offered him a good ſum to induce him to deſiſt from his pretenſions, to their dominions. Very probably, he was yet unreſolved, and knowing the league that was forming againſt France, was willing, according to cuſtom, to let the two parties proceed in order to take afterwards that ſide which beſt ſuited with his intereſt. This doubtleſs was the reaſon of his preſerving a good underſtanding with Lewis XII. in conſenting to the calling of the council of Piſa, and withal, of reſerving a means to be reconciled to the pope, in ſending neither biſhops nor embaſſadors to the council. Thus remaining almoſt equally ſuſpected by both parties, he waited till the ſucceſs of the war, or the offers from both ſides, ſhould engage him to declare for one or other.

Mean while, affairs continued ſtill in the ſame ſituation. The pope and the Venetians were alone in open war with France. The emperor ſeemed to float between both ſides. The king of Arragon had hitherto done nothing more than afforded hopes that he would join the league when concluded. But it was not ſo yet, every one fearing to engage in it unſeaſonably. Julius II. and Ferdinand knew one another too well to confide in each other. Each ſtrove to make the other ſubſervient to his deſigns, and was afraid at the ſame time of being deceived. Ferdinand had ſtill in France an embaſſador, who endeavoured to perſuade the king, that the preparations in Spain concerned only the Moors. On the other hand, the pope had not ſo quarrelled with Lewis XII. but that he had ſtill left him ſome hopes, and continued a ſort of negotiation with him, by means of the biſhop of Murray, the Scotch embaſſador, who did the office of mediator. Ferdinand was afraid, in caſe the pope made a ſeparate peace with France, the kingdom of Naples would be in danger. The pope had no leſs reaſon to fear, that to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand would forſake the intereſts of the church, and leave him expoſed to the mercy of the king of France. In that caſe the pope would have nothing to expect from England. Thus, affairs were come to that paſs, that it was neceſſary, either that each ſhould quickly make a ſeparate treaty, or both jointly declare themſelves, not to remain in this ſtate of uncertainty. And therefore, Ferdinand began at laſt to pull off the maſk a little more, by ſending to Naples, the troops he pretended to deſign for Africa, in order to hinder the pope from thinking of a ſeparate agreement with France.

Whilſt the pope and the king of Arragon were thus ſounding each other, the cardinals who had ſummoned the council of Piſa, and were come to Milan, thought fit to open it by commiſſioners. But this was only for form's ſake, to keep to the day appointed. Never was general council ſo thin. The biſhops of France were not yet arrived, and there was no likelihood of any from Germany. The pope was enraged when he heard the council was opened at Piſa. In his paſſion with the Florentines, for ſuffering the council to meet in one of their towns, he excommunicated them as well as the Piſans, and put both the cities under an interdict. But the Florentines forced the prieſts to celebrate divine ſervice, leaving to private perſons the liberty to obſerve or reject the interdict.

It was difficult for Julius II. and Ferdinand, to continue long in their preſent ſituation, without cauſing mutual ſuſpicions, capable of changing the face of affairs. The reaſon which had hitherto with-held Ferdinand, namely, his uncertainty with reſpect to the king of England, was now vaniſhed. Henry, after long ſuſpence, had at laſt poſitively promiſed to enter into the league againſt France. Whereupon the negotiation of the league advanced more in one month than in a whole year before. It was a conſtant rule with Ferdinand, to cover all his deſigns with a cloak of religion, little caring, that after the execution, his artifices were diſcovered. The fleet and army he had prepared in Spain, had for pretence a war with the infidels. When he was going to declare openly againſt France, he failed not to uſe the pretence of protecting the church againſt the outrages of Lewis. As ſoon as he had gained the king of England, they jointly ſent embaſſadors to Lewis, to require him to leave the pope unmoleſted, intimating that as chriſtian princes, they could not diſpenſe with protecting the church, diſtributed by his ambition. Lewis ſaw plainly, that their meaſures being now taken, it would be too late to juſtify his conduct, and therefore choſe to return a haughty anſwer, which was preciſely what his enemies wanted.

Shortly after, on the 4th of October, the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, concluded a league at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, who had ſhewn his deſire to be included. Indeed, cardinal Bambridge was concerned in the negotiation as embaſſador of England. But he was ordered not to ſign the treaty, becauſe Henry expected to make a private one, more agreeable to the intereſts of England than that which concerned Italy only. By this treaty, the pope promiſed to find for the ſervice of the league, ſix hundred men at arms, five hundred light-horſe, ſix thouſand foot[1], and twenty thouſand ducats a month. The Venetians were to furniſh eight hundred men at arms, a thouſand light-horſe, eight thouſand foot, and to pay monthly twenty thouſand ducats. Ferdinand was to provide twelve hundred men at arms, a thouſand light-horſe, ten thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand ducats a month. It is true, neither the king of France, nor the duke of Ferrara, were named in the treaty as enemies of the allies. But it was eaſy to perceive it, ſince the intent of the league was to reſtore to the pope the city of Bologna, and whatever belonged to the holy ſee, and to make war upon all perſons that ſhould offer to hinder it. A place was left for the emperor in caſe he would enter into it, and Raymond of Cardona, viceroy of Naples, was declared general of the league.

Whilſt the world was in expectation of the event of this league, the council of Piſa was ſolemnly opened in that city, by the cardinals who had convened it, and ſome biſhops of France and Milan. The firſt ſeſſion was held the 4th of November, though the pope had excommunicated the cardinals, and deprived them of their dignity. The ſecond was held the 11th of the ſame month. But becauſe there was a commotion that day in the city, the cardinals and biſhops were ſo terrified, that on the morrow they removed the council to Milan, where they expected to be more out of danger. Indeed the inhabitants of Piſa could not look with a good eye upon the council, which expoſed them to an excommunication and interdict, though it was not in their power to oppoſe the orders of the Florentines their ſovereigns.

I obſerved that the Switzers were at variance with Lewis XII. by the practices of the cardinal of Sion, or rather of the pope himſelf, who ſet him to work. Their firſt attempt to enter the Milaneſe proving unſucceſsful, they reſolved this

[1] In the treaty, as it ſtands in Rymer, it is only ſaid, that the pope was to furniſh ſix hundred men at arms, without any mention of light horſe and foot: neither is the number of troops that was to be ſent by the Venetians ſpecified, but it is ſaid, they were to find a fleet ſtrong enough to beat the enemy's: and on the day of the publication of the league, the pope and the Venetians were to pay eighty thouſand ducats of gold for two months wages for their forces. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 307. See Guicciardin, l. 10.

The

year to levy ſixteen thouſand men, the cardinal of Sion, having poſitively promiſed them money at their entrance into Italy, and that the army of the allies would employ the French in la Romagna. As this levy could not be ready till the beginning of the winter, they began their march in November, and penetrated as far as Vareſe. Gaſton de Foix, nephew of Lewis XII. governor of Milan, was ſo deſtitute of troops, that he knew not how to oppoſe their paſſage. However, with the few men he had, he took the field, to annoy them and obſtruct their march. But it was not poſſible for him to hinder them from coming to the very gates of Milan. The French had now begun to furniſh the caſtle with ammunition in order to quit the city, when ſuddenly the Switzers hearing no news of the pope, nor the army of the allies which they thought to be aſſembled in la Romagna, retired to their own country, after burning ſome villages. If the pope had not diſappointed them of the money he had promiſed, and if the army of the allies had acted in la Romagna, Milan, Bologna, and Ferrara, would have been in great danger, ſince the French were at that time very weak in thoſe parts. La Paliſſe was then in the emperor's army with a large detachment of the king's beſt troops.

Nothing could be more advantageous to England, than to ſee the forces of France turned againſt Italy. The conqueſt of the duchy of Milan was leſs beneficial to Lewis XII. than to England. For it procured England a ſettled tranquillity, whereas it expoſed France to perpetual troubles, and an immenſe expence. It was therefore policy in Henry to ſuffer the French, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards to battle it in Italy, without involving himſelf in a war which could never procure him any advantage. To the time I am ſpeaking of, the kings of England had taken care not to meddle with the affairs of Italy, if we except Henry III. who being unfortunately deſirous of making his ſecond ſon king of Sicily, ruined his own kingdom to execute that extravagant project. But he was not a prince to be imitated by his ſucceſſors. The advantages of this policy were ſo manifeſt to all the Engliſh, that it required no leſs than a Ferdinand, the ableſt and moſt ſubtle prince of his age, to make them ſwerve from it.

This prince had joined with the pope ever ſince the beginning of the year 1510, or perhaps the end of the foregoing, and yet had been near two years without declaring himſelf. This delay proceeded only from his deſire to ſecure England firſt, that Henry might make a diverſion in France, which would oblige Lewis XII. to neglect the affairs of Italy. This diverſion muſt have been advantageous to the king Arragon, ſince it would remove from Italy, or at leaſt weaken a very formidable rival. But it is hard to conceive wherein it could be ſerviceable to England. On the contrary, there ſeemed to be ſeveral very ſtrong reaſons to divert Henry from ſuch a deſign, without mentioning the peace he had lately renewed with France, and confirmed by a ſolemn oath. This probably was the cauſe of his ſo long deferring the concluſion of the league I ſhall ſpeak of hereafter. Indeed it was not poſſible, but that ſome of the king's council were clear-ſighted enough to ſee that this league was no ways advantageous to England, what colour ſoever was given thereto.

Whilſt the negotiation languiſhed in England, new occurrences put Ferdinand upon taking freſh meaſures, and contriving all ſorts of ways to ſucceed with Henry. Lewis XII. perſiſted in his deſign to hold the council of Piſa, as was ſaid, and that cauſed Julius II. to convene another at the Lateran, and excommunicate by the ſame bull all princes and others who adhered to the firſt. Among theſe princes, was John d'Albret, king of Navarre, who being allied to Lewis XII. blindly followed the directions of the court of France. The king of Navarre had no ſooner declared for the council of Piſa, but Ferdinand upon that pretence, formed the deſign to ſeize his whole kingdom, and make Henry his ſon-in-law the inſtrument to execute it. To that end, he gave Henry to underſtand, that a fair opportunity offered to recover Guienne, taken by France from one of his predeceſſors, ſince the league that was going to be concluded in Italy would find Lewis XII. ſo much employment, that probably he would not be able to defend his own country. But as the diſtance of Guiennne might deter Henry from attempting that conqueſt, Ferdinand out of affection, very willingly promiſed to ſupply him with troops, tranſport ſhips, artillery, proviſions, ammunition, without ſtimulating any thing for himſelf, but the ſole pleaſure of procuring his ſon-in-law ſo great an advantage. This offer opened the eyes of Henry and his council [m]. The acquiſition of Guienne ſeemed to them a thing ſo advantageous, and withal ſo glorious in the beginning of this reign, that the king, without any farther difficulty, entered into the league propoſed by the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians. Such was the real motive [n] that induced the court of England to break the peace lately renewed with France, without alledging other reaſons than the protection granted by Lewis to the Bentivoglios, and the calling of the unlawful aſſembly at Piſa. As if England was concerned to help the pope to Bologna, and oppoſe with arms a council, conſiſting of a ſcore of French biſhops, without power and credit, even in the very place where they were aſſembled. We ſhall ſee preſently, how Henry was the dupe of his affectionate father-in-law, and how Ferdinand politickly made uſe of him to ſerve his own ends, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble about his ſon-in-law's affairs.

When Ferdinand had gained Henry, he concluded at Rome, with the pope and the Venetians, the fore-mentioned league. In this treaty of Rome, it was expreſsly ſaid that all the articles were negotiated and ſettled with the king of England's knowledge, the cardinal of York acting for him, and daily expecting orders to ſign it, but that for certain reaſons the concluſion of it could be no longer delayed.

About ſix weeks after, Henry and Ferdinand concluded at London, a private league for the conqueſt of Guienne [o]. This was a conſequence of the firſt, on the ſuppoſition that the depriving the king of France of that province was a good means to ſerve and protect the church of God, the great and principal aim of the allies. If ever God's holy name was openly and ſhamefully taken in vain, it is in the preambles of theſe two treaties. In the firſt, the pope proteſted that his ſole aim in deſiring Bologna, and the other ſtates which belonged to the church, was, to reſtore Italy to her former tranquillity, that all Chriſtians might join their forces againſt the infidels, as he had ever wiſhed, and ſtill did wiſh moſt ſincerely. Thus, to make war upon the infidels, it was neceſſary that Italy ſhould be free from troubles, which could not be hoped, till the pope had executed his ambitious projects, without which Italy was not to expect to enjoy any quiet.

In the ſecond treaty, Henry and Ferdinand ſet forth, "That they had made alliances with all Chriſtian princes, ſolely to be enabled to wage war with the enemies of Chriſt; and for that purpoſe, were now employed in preparing powerful armies by land and ſea; but that ſuddenly, when they leaſt expected it, they were told, the king of France's troops were beſieging Bologna, where the pope, old and infirm, lay ſeized with a grievous diſtemper, and attended by all his cardinals: that being extremely afflicted at this news, they had beſought the king of France by letters and embaſſadors, to give over his deſign: that the pope had offered him the pardon of all his ſins, provided only he would abſtain from the patrimony of the church, ceaſe to enflame the ſchiſm, and adhere to the council of Lateran: but that all this had been to no purpoſe. On the contrary, he had made himſelf maſter of Bologna, by the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants; twice routed the army of the holy church of Rome, and in contempt of the holy ſee, called a council, after having bribed ſome of the cardinals. That ſince, the pope had ſent a legate to him to demand only that he would forbear to attack the church. That the legate for prevailing, the kings of England and Spain had ſent embaſſadors to adviſe him amicably to deſiſt from the attempts and to be reconciled with the pope, or elſe they could do no leſs than undertake the protection of the church; but that their advice had been ſlighted. That upon all theſe conſiderations, the two kings perfectly knowing how detrimental ſuch an ambition might prove to the catholic faith, the church of God, and the welfare of Chriſtendom, had thought proper to agree upon the following articles, to the praiſe and glory of almighty God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the whole triumphant court of heaven, for the defence, exaltation, increaſe of the catholic faith, the Chriſtian religion, the holy Roman church, which was unjuſtly oppreſſed, and upon the frequent inſtances, ex-

[m] The lord Herbert ſays, ſome of the council who more ſeriouſly weighed the buſineſs, were againſt the war with France, and more particularly for a reaſon which England ſhould never forget, Let us therefore (ſays one of the council) leave off our attempts againſt the terra firma. The natural ſituation of iſlands ſeems not to ſort with conqueſts in that kind. England alone is a juſt empire: or when we would enlarge ourſelves, let it be that way we can, and to which it ſeems the eternal Providence hath deſtined us; and that is by ſea. Herbert, p. 8.

[n] Another inducement to Henry was the pope's promiſe to take away the title of Moſt Chriſtian from the king of France, and confer it on him. Which he thought would be a perpetual glory to the nation. Ibid.

[o] The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 312.

Contra-

hortations, and admonitions of the pope, the head thereof." The ſubſtance of this pious treaty was as follows:

I. The two kings took upon them the defence and protection of the holy Roman church, againſt all perſons that ſhould attack her [p].

II. Ferdinand, as catholic king, and to diſcharge his duty to God and the church, promiſed to take up arms in her defence in Italy.

In the IIId. article it was ſaid, that the pope and the ſacred college of cardinals had judged, that in order to deliver the church from the oppreſſion ſhe groaned under, it was neceſſary to wage war upon the king of France, not only in Italy, but in ſuch of his provinces alſo as bordered upon the two allies. And therefore it was agreed, that they ſhould carry their arms into Guienne, and conquer that province for the crown of England, and that Henry, in aſſiſting the church, might at the ſame time recover what belonged to him. To that purpoſe, as ſoon as Ferdinand ſhould have actually declared againſt the kingdom of France, and taken up arms in defence of the church, Henry, at a proper ſeaſon, ſhould proclaim war againſt the ſame prince in defence of the ſame church.

To perform this article, Henry promiſed to ſend into Guienne ſome time in April, 1512, ſix thouſand foot [q] commanded by a good general: to maintain them at his own expence, and not recall them without the conſent of the king of Arrgon. Ferdinand bound himſelf, on his part, to find five hundred men at arms, fifteen hundred light-horſe, and four thouſand foot, on the ſame terms. Moreover, he engaged to furniſh the Engliſh troops with proviſions and ammunition at a moderate price. It was farther agreed, that each of the two kings ſhould ſend a fleet to ſea with three thouſand good ſoldiers, for ſix months, beſides the mariners, and that neither ſhould recall his fleet without the other's conſent.

IV. That Ferdinand ſhould find forty ſhips, at a reaſonable rate, to tranſport the Engliſh forces.

V. That in caſe the allies ſhould take any places in Guienne and elſewhere, they ſhould be delivered to him of the two kings, who had a prior title to the ſame.

VI. That if either of the two kings ſhould be attacked out of Guienne, they ſhould jointly take care of the defence of the country, of him who wanted aſſiſtance, ſincerely and with all their power.

VII. That the two kings conſidering that the pope had called at Rome a council, which all Chriſtian princes ought to obey, and ſend embaſſadors to, and it was affirmed that the king of France perſiſted in his deſign to continue the council ſummoned to Piſa, they agreed to adhere to whatever ſhould be decreed by the council of Lateran, and oppoſe that of Piſa, with all its favourers and adherents.

VIII. That neither of the two kings ſhould make peace or truce, without a mutual conſent.

IX. That by this, the former treaties ſhould not be deemed void, but, on the contrary, remain in full force.

X. That it ſhould be ratified within four months by Henry and Ferdinand, in his own and the name of queen Jane, his daughter.

Henry and his council thought, without doubt, they had made a very advantageous treaty, ſince it was to procure them the duchy of Guienne, and Ferdinand demanded nothing for himſelf, as if he had acted purely from a motive of religion, and out of affection to his ſon-in-law, though in reality, he had conſulted only his own intereſt. As for the pope's affairs, about which both kings ſeemed to be ſo greatly concerned, it may be affirmed, they did not ſo much as think of them, as it afterwards appeared. But they wanted that pretence to dazzle the public, though, in all appearance, the world was not ſo blind, as to imagine that two great kings ſhould take up arms on purpoſe to diſſolve a council which called itſelf general, compoſed of a ſmall number of biſhops, of one nation only, and ſo little regarded, that even at Milan, where it was removed, the government was forced to make uſe of their whole authority to procure its reception.

During theſe tranſactions, the emperor gave the king of France ſo much cauſe to ſuſpect his ſincerity, that neceſſity only obliged him to feign any further confidence in him. There was no German biſhop come to the council, and when the emperor was preſſed upon that ſubject, he replied, it was neceſſary firſt to have the approbation of the diet of the empire, which he did not doubt of obtaining: that though he ſhould ſend biſhops from his hereditary dominions to Piſa, it would be more prejudicial than advantageous to the council, ſince it would give occaſion to imagine, he deſpaired to obtain the diet's conſent. On the other hand, inſtead of commanding in perſon his army in the ſtate of Venice, as he had promiſed, he left all to the French troops who were come to his aid. In ſhort, while he liſtened to the offers of the pope, Ferdinand, and the Venetians, he told the French embaſſador, he was ready to march to Rome, at the head of an army, provided his maſter would ſend him a ſtrong reinforcement, and a ſum of money, proportionable to the greatneſs of the undertaking. Amidſt theſe uncertainties, Lewis new not what to truſt to. He could not look upon Maximilian but as an ally ready to abandon him, if he found it more for his intereſt to join with his enemies. In that caſe all the emperor's conqueſts upon the Venetians would be ſo many loſſes to France. Mean while the ſupplies he lent him were very expenſive, and yet he durſt not afford him a pretence to change ſides. Thus Lewis ſaw himſelf upon the point of being attacked by all the forces of the pope, the king of Spain, and the Venetians, without any hope of aſſiſtance from the emperor. As for England, though he was yet ignorant of the treaty of London, and Henry's embaſſador poſitively denied that his maſter intended to be concerned, all Henry's proceedings were plain indications that he would ſoon declare againſt him.

Mean while, the pope, who had ever in view the taking of Bologna and Ferrara, was very preſſing with the viceroy of Naples to advance with his troops, and take the command of the confederate army. But notwithſtanding all his ſolicitations, the junction could not be till the middle of December, and even then, the Naples artillery not being yet arrived, the army could be only employed in ſome trifling expeditions in la Romagna, with which ended the year 1511. It is now time to return to the affairs of England.

Though Henry had not yet proclaimed war with France, Lewis II. knew what he was to expect. He had good intelligence by means of one Buonviſo, a merchant of Lucca, who being a bankrupt, was retired into England, where he had obtained ſo much favour from the pope as to be made a kind of agent [r]. This man being corrupted by France, diſcovered to Lewis the ſecrets, the pope was ſometimes forced to truſt him with; and hence it was that the court of France was informed of many things which the Engliſh would have concealed from them. It was probably by this means that the king of France had the firſt notice of the league concluded at London, though it was made a great ſecret. But ſhortly after, he had no more occaſion for ſpies to know Henry's intentions.

[1512] The parliament being met the fourth of February [s], the king communicated his deſign of making war with France. He proteſted, his ſole aim was to free the pope from the king of France's oppreſſion, and eſpecially to cauſe the ſchiſmatical council of Piſa, now removed to Milan, to be diſſolved. Though this war, undertaken, as the king himſelf affirmed, ſolely to oblige the pope, was little agreeable to the intereſt of England, the parliament however gave the king a large ſubſidy [t]. In all appearance, the leading members of the houſe of commons being informed of the true reaſons, ſo ordered it, that the reſt came into their opinion. Otherwiſe, it would have been difficult to make them perceive the neceſſity of England's engaging in a war with France, to reſtore Bologna to the pope, and diſſolve a council ſo inconſiderable as that of Piſa. Before the parliament broke up, the king was pleaſed to reſtore John Dudley, ſon of Edmund Dudley, to the rank and honours his family had been deprived of by the father's attainder. From that time, he had always an affection for him, and at length, towards the end of his reign, made him lord admiral of England.

[p] —Contra omnes illam invadentes ſeu oppugnantes. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 313.

[q] By an additional article, dated March 16, it was agreed, that Henry ſhould ſend five hundred men more; and Ferdinand find in all two thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand light-horſe. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 324.

[r] His collector and proctor in England, ſays Hall. fol. 16.

[s] Hall ſays, it met January 15, fol. 16; and Hollingſh. the 25th, p. 812.

[t] Two fifteenths from the commons, and two tenths from the clergy. Hall. fol. 16. Stow, p. 490. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted in this parliament were theſe: 1. That every captain ſhall have his whole and perfect number of men and ſoldiers, and give them their full wages, upon pain of impriſonment, and forfeiting all his goods and chattels. 2. That no cloth ſhall be exported out of the realm, till it is barbed, rowed, and ſhorn, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame. 3. Several ignorant pretenders and quacks having taken upon them to practiſe phyſic, it was now ordained, that no perſon ſhould take upon him to exerciſe the profeſſion of a phyſician and ſurgeon, unleſs he is firſt examined and approved by the biſhop of the dioceſe where he reſides, or his vicar general, upon pain of forfeiting ſix pounds a month. See Statut.

The

The war Henry intended to undertake againſt France, having for pretence the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, he could not diſpence with acknowledging that of Lateran, and ſending thither embaſſadors. He made choice of Silveſter, biſhop of Worceſter, with ſir Robert Wingfield, and commiſſioned them to agree in his name to whatever ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members. This clauſe was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, ſince nothing certainly was farther from the pope's thoughts, than to endeavour in this council, either his own or the church's reformation.

The time being come to execute the projects agreed by Henry and Ferdinand in the treaty of London, Henry gave the command of his fleet to ſir Edward Howard, ſon and heir to the earl of Surrey [u], and of his army, which was to act on land, to Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet [w]. All the troops that were to ſerve in the Guienne expedition being embarked about the middle of May, in Spaniſh veſſels, arrived the 8th of June, at Paſſage, in the province of Guipuſcoa, where the marquis of Dorſet landed thoſe he was to command. The lord Herbert ſays, theſe troops conſiſted of ten thouſand men, but probably, he included in that number the three thouſand that were to ſerve at ſea according to the treaty [x].

The admiral having convoyed the marquis of Dorſet to Spain, put to ſea again, and arriving on the coaſt of Bretagne, landed ſome troops, and plundered the country [y]. Henry, hearing the king of France was preparing a great naval armament, ſent a reinforcement [z] to his admiral, which enabled him to make head againſt the French. The two fleets meeting the 10th of Auguſt, came to a furious engagement which ended in great loſs on both ſides. The Regent, a firſt-rate ſhip [a], and the Cordelier, commanded by Primauget [b], being grappled, were both blown up, with the loſs of all their men. This accident happened by the deſperate courage of Primauget who, finding he could not ſave his ſhip ſet fire to the powder [c].

The treaty of league concluded at London, ſeemed to be made only to pave the way for Henry to the conqueſt of Guienne. But Ferdinand had never any ſuch thought. His ſole aim was to conquer Navarre for himſelf, and employ to that end the Engliſh troops he had ſent for into Spain. But as it was by no means proper to inform Henry of ſuch a project, he had been obliged to allure him with the hopes of recovering Guienne, in order to induce him to ſend his troops. This is the true reaſon why Ferdinand ſhewed in the treaty ſo much diſintereſtedneſs, that all the advantage ſeemed to be on the ſide of England. But the performance was very far from anſwering the engagement.

The marquis of Dorſet being arrived in Guipuſcoa, found a commiſſioner of the king, who paid him great reſpect, and told him the duke d'Alva was taking the field, in order to join him. And indeed the duke immediately put himſelf at the head of the Spaniſh army. But inſtead of joining the Engliſh, who were encamped near Fontarabia, with deſign to beſiege with him the city of Bayonne, as was reſolved, he kept at Logrogno, on the borders of Navarre. He intimated to the Engliſh general, that the king of Navarre being in alliance with France, it would be very dangerous to attack Bayonne with Navarre behind them: that whilſt they ſhould be employed in the ſiege, the king of Navarre might introduce the French into his dominions, join with them, and, by encamping between the mountains of Navarre and the ſea, cut off the proviſions which ſhould be brought to the camp before Bayonne without being obliged to give battle, if he thought proper: that therefore it was neceſſary, before they engaged in the ſiege, to try to gain the king of Navarre to the intereſts of their maſters.

Theſe reaſons were ſo plauſible, that the marquis of Dorſet was eaſily perſuaded to ſend an Engliſh officer to the king of Navarre, to require him to join with the allies. Ferdinand ſummoned him likewiſe, but more haughtily, to forſake the king of France, and come into the league [d]. The king of Navarre replied, he was reſolved to ſtand neutral. But the Engliſh and Spaniards not being ſatisfied with this anſwer, jointly preſſed him to declare himſelf, or deliver four of his towns for their ſecurity, which that prince would not grant. During theſe negotiations, a French army, commanded by the duke of Longueville, approached the frontiers of Bearn. Whereupon the marquis of Dorſet complained to Ferdinand, that the time loſt in ſolliciting the king of Navarre had ſerved only to give the French opportunity to come and defend their borders, and withal preſſed him to declare, whether he would attack Guienne purſuant to the treaty of London. Ferdinand anſwered, prudence would not ſuffer him to ſend his army to Fontarabia to beſiege Bayonne, and leave his dominions expoſed to the invaſions of the French and Navarrois: that it was much more convenient to paſs through Navarre, and ſecure three or four places, in order to hinder his enemies from making uſe of that kingdom againſt him: that therefore he wiſhed the Engliſh would join the duke of Alva, and his army ſhould make the vanguard, to be expoſed to the firſt dangers: that however the ſiege of Bayonne would not be retarded, becauſe there was no queſtion, the king of Navarre would be glad to be preſſed, in order to juſtify himſelf to the king of France, when he ſhould enter into the league. The marquis of Dorſet, who did not yet ſee into his deſigns, having held a council of war, replied, that by his inſtructions he could undertake nothing againſt the king of Navarre; but if the duke of Alva would paſs through that kingdom, he might if he pleaſed, but for his part, being already near Bayonne, he could not think of taking ſo great a compaſs to join him.

Ferdinand was not content with this anſwer. He ſtrongly inſiſted upon what he had propoſed, that the Engliſh troops ſhould come and join his army, and in the mean while, gave orders to the duke of Alva to beſiege Pampeluna, metropolis of Navarre. During the ſiege, he continually amuſed the marquis of Dorſet with poſitive promiſes, that immediately after the taking of Pampeluna, the duke of Alva ſhould join him to beſiege Bayonne. Mean while, the king of Navarre being unable to defend himſelf, was retired into France, where he made a treaty with Lewis XII. for their common defence. But it coſt him the town of Salvatierra, and all Bearn, which he was forced to deliver to the French.

Pampeluna having ſurrendered by capitulation the 25th of July, Ferdinand, according to his promiſe, ſhould have ordered the duke of Alva to join the Engliſh. But the reſt of the fortified towns in Navarre ſerved him for pretence to delay the junction. So the duke of Alva continued his conqueſts, whilſt the Engliſh troops, though without ſtirring from their camp, ſerved as a countenance to his deſigns. And indeed, though the French, who daily received freſh ſupplies, ſaw themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong to withſtand the duke of Alva, they never dared to enter Navarre, for fear of coming between the Engliſh and Spaniards. Wherefore, being contented to remain encamped between Bayonne and Salvatierra, they gave the duke of Alva all the leiſure he wanted to ſubdue almoſt all Navarre.

Then it was that the marquis of Dorſet plainly perceived the king of Arragon acted with inſincerity, and that his deſign from the very firſt was not to invade Guienne, but conquer Navarre. Ferdinand was very ſenſible, his artifice would at laſt be diſcovered. So, to prevent the complaints the Engliſh general might make to the king his maſter, he ſends an expreſs to England, to give Henry an account, after his manner, of the affairs of that country, and to deſire him to order his general to act in concert with him. Henry, who had received nothing to the contrary from the marquis, readily ſent Windſor herald with the deſired orders to the general.

Whilſt the herald was on his journey, the duke of Alva became maſter of St. Juan de Fie del Puerto. Preſently

[u] The king, by an indenture dated April 8, granted ſir Edward the following allowance. For his own maintenance, diet, wages, and rewards, ten ſhillings a day. For each of the captains for their diet wages, and rewards, eighteen-pence a day. For every ſoldier, mariner, and gunner, five ſhillings a month for his wages, and five ſhillings for his victuals, reckoning twenty-eight days in the month. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 327.

[w] He was accompanied by his three brothers, John, Anthony, and Leonard; and by the lords Brooke, Willoughy, Ferrers, the baron of Burford, ſir Richard Cornwall, ſir Maurice Barkley, ſir William Sandes, &c. Hall, fol. 17.

[x] He ſays farther, that it appears by the Spaniſh hiſtory, that there were among them five thouſand archers, who carried, beſides their bows, halberts, which they pitched in the ground till their arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do execution on the enemy. An excellent part (ſays he) of military diſcipline, and yet not remarked by our Engliſh chronicles, p. 9.

[y] About Conquet, and Breſt. Hall, fol. 20.

[z] Of twenty-five ſhips, which the king came and viewed at Portſmouth. Idem, fol. 21.

[a] Commanded by ſir Thomas Knevet, maſter of the king's horſe. The other captains of note were, ſir John Carew, ſir Charles Brandon, ſir Henry Guildford. This engagement happened in Auguſt. Ibid.

[b] Barbarouſly called by our chronicles, ſir Piers Morgan, ſays my lord Herbert, p. 11. In this ſea-fight the Engliſh had forty-five, and the French thirty-nine ſhips. Hall and Hollingſhead give a large deſcription of the battle, fol. 21, 22. p. 815.

[c] Upon the loſs of the Regent, the king built a ſhip the greateſt ever known before, and called it Henry, grace de Dieu. Hall, fol. 22. Though Buchanan, and Leſle ſay, he imitated James IV. king of Scotland, in one he had made, but built it ſo, that they could not make it ſteer. Herbert, p. 11.

[d] It was called the Holy League. Herbert, p. 9.

after the taking of that place, Ferdinand acquainted the marquis of Dorſet, that his army was ready to march into Guienne, and deſired him to join the duke of Alva without delay. But the marquis was no longer willing to be deceived. He knew the French army was intrenched between Bayonne and Salvatierra, with the river Bidaſſoa in front which muſt be paſſed within view, and beſides Bayonne was ſo well provided, that there was no likelihood of beſieging it. What Ferdinand therefore propoſed was impracticable, and only a continuation of his artifices. From St. Juan de Pie del Puerto, the right-hand road led into Bearn, and the left to Bayonne, ſo the duke of Alva's intent was to engage the Engliſh to enter Bearn with him, under colour there was no other way to draw the enemies from their advantageous poſt, or at leaſt to beſiege Salvatierra. But the Engliſh general having no orders to make war upon the king of Navarre, either in Bearn or elſewhere, refuſed to join the Spaniards. Ferdinand reaped this advantage from his refuſal, that he caſt the whole blame upon him, of their not invading Guienne according to the treaty. After that the duke of Alva turning back, laid ſiege to Eſtella, the only place that remained to the king of Navarre.

The marquis of Dorſet, full of indignation at theſe proceedings, and conſidering that his army was daily weakened by ſickneſs and want of proviſions, which were grown ſcarce ſince the war in Navarre, deſired Ferdinand to furniſh him with ſhips for his return. It was with great difficulty that he obtained his requeſt, Ferdinand ſtill proteſting againſt his departute, as directly contrary to the treaty. Mean while, he was not ſorry for it, ſince the Engliſh were almoſt become uſeleſs, after the conqueſt of Navarre. In the mean while, the marquis of Dorſet falling ſick, the lord Thomas Howard took the command of the army. At the ſame time, as the troops were going to embark, the hereld arrived from England, with poſitive orders to the general, to obey the commands of king Ferdinand[e]. But the army mutinying it was impoſſible to detain the ſoldiers any longer in Spain, and the embarkation being made, they arrived in England in November[f]. Henry was at firſt very angry with his general, but being informed of all particulars during the campaign, plainly ſaw Ferdinand had deceived him, and that his affected diſintereſtedneſs in the treaty of league, was only to draw him more eaſily into the ſnare. He thought proper however to diſſemble, for fear of giving Ferdinand a pretence to join with France, and leave him embarraſſed.

Before the year was expired, Ferdinand ſaw himſelf in full poſſeſſion of Navarre, though the king of France uſed ſome endeavours to wreſt that conqueſt out of his hands. In December, the king of Navarre, and Francis duke of Angouléme beſieged Pampetuna, but not being able to take the place, were forced to abandon the reſt of the kingdom to the Spaniards. After Ferdinand was in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he ſought pretences to keep it, but found no better than a bull of pope Julius II. who excommunicated John D'Albret king of Navarre, and gave his kingdom in prey to the conqueror. Mezerai affirms, this bull never appeared, but the lord Herbert ſays, it was dated March 1, 1512.

We muſt now ſee what paſſed in Italy whilſt Ferdinand was conquerring Navarre. The confederate army of the pope, the king of Arrogan and the Venetians, under the command of the Viceroy of Naples, taking the field in December, the pope cauſed the viceroy to be continually preſſed by cardinal John de Medici, his legate, to beſiege Bologna. At length, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the viceroy, and the Venetian general, who foreſaw great difficulties in the execution of that deſign, the pope's inſtances were to be complied with, and the ſiege of Bologna being reſolved, the army of the allies[g] appeared before the city. But Gaſton de Foix, duke of Nemours, and governor of Milan, coming to its relief, compelled the allies to raiſe the ſiege. Some days after, he defeated a Venetian army at Breſcia, and ſlew eight thouſand men. At laſt, on the 11th of April finding means to give the allies battle near Ravenna, he put them to rout, and took the legate priſoner; but was himſelf ſlain after the battle, in too warmly purſuing a body of Spaniards, who were retreating in good order. After that prince's death, la Paliſſe took the command of the army, and the next day became maſter of Ravenna. Whereupon all the towns of la Romagna, taken by the pope after the battle of Agnadel, voluntarily ſurrendered to the cardinal of St. Severin, who was in the French army as legate of the council of Piſa, transferred to Milan.

The conſternation at Rome was ſo great, that the cardinals went in a body to petition the pope to make peace with France. But Julius II. had reſources unknown perhaps to the cardinals. So, all they could obtain was to engage him to make ſome feigned advances, in order to gain time, and hinder the French from marching to Rome, as they might eaſily have done, without fear of meeting any obſtacle.

Whilſt Lewis's affairs ſeemed to be in the moſt flouriſhing condition, they were in reality upon the decline. The Switzers, encouraged by the cardinal of Sion, preparing to exert their utmoſt to invade the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe thought it more for his maſter's intereſt to relieve that country, which was deſtitute of troops, than make conqueſts in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. So, leaving the cardinal of St. Severin in la Romagna, with five or ſix thouſand men, he haſtily marched into Milan. The retreat of the French, when it lay in their power to march to Rome, inſpired Julius II. with freſh courage. From thence forward he would no more hear of peace, though Lewis XII. offered him the ſame terms as before his victory. At this juncture it was that the council of Lateran was opened the 3d of May, which had been delayed by reaſon of the battle of Ravenna.

All hope of peace vaniſhing, the pope excommunicated Lewis XII. and put France under an interdict[h]. He uſed for pretence the captivity of his legate, who was detained at Milan, where, though a priſoner, he performed however the functions of the pope's legate, the inhabitants of Milan refuſing to own the authority of the council held in their city. It was a great mortification to Lewis, to ſee his council contemned by his own ſubjects, but this was only a ſmall part of the misfortunes to which he was expoſed the ſame year. After la Paliſſe had quitted la Romagna, all the towns of that country ſubmitted to the pope. At the ſame time, Ferdinand became maſter of Navarre, and Lewis was forced to ſend an army into Bearn, to hinder the Engliſh and Spaniards from invading Guienne. On the other hand, the emperor concluded a truce with Venice, and ſecretly promiſed to withdraw from the French army a body of German troops, lent the king for the defence of the Milaneſe. And yet upon the aſſurance of this aid it was that Lewis recalled from Milan part of his own troops, not doubting, that with thoſe he left there, and the Germans ſent him by the emperot, he ſhould be able to reſiſt his enemies. Thus, the French finding themſelves weak in the duchy of Milan, la Paliſſe was obliged to recall the cardinal of St. Severin, with his troops, which was the cauſe of the loſs of Romagna.

Mean while, the Switzers, to the number of ſixteen thouſand, began their march about the end of Auguſt, or the beginning of September. But inſtead of taking the direct road to the Milaneſe, the paſſes whereof they did not queſtion were ſtrongly guarded, they marched to Trent, with Maximilian's permiſſion. Though this, if any, was an enemy's act, he was ſtill deſirous to hide his intentions, by telling the French embaſſador, that his alliance with the Switzers ſuffered him not to refuſe them a paſſage through his dominions, as if his treaty with Lewis XII. was to be leſs obſerved. The Switzers having paſſed unmoleſted through Trent proceeded to Verona, and joining the Venetians, they marched together towards Milan. Whereupon the French, entirely diſconcerted, and not having above ten thouſand men, reſolved to retire into the fortified towns, in order to waſte the enemy's army by ſieges, till the king ſent them ſupplies, or the approaching winter ſtopped the progreſs of the allies. But they were ſoon deprived of this refuge, by the emperor's orders for his troops to retire immediately. Theſe orders being punctually obeyed, la Paliſſe found himſelf ſo weak, that deſpairing to ſave the Milaneſe, he reſolved to repais the mountains, and return into France. The prelates of the council ſeeing Milan was going to be abandoned, by a ſudden decree, removed the council to Lyons, and followed the French troops. They would have carried the cardinal de Medici with them, but went away in ſuch confuſion, that his friends found means to ſecure him. After the French were retired all the towns of the duchy readily ſurrendered to the Switzers and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, which ſubmitted to the pope. On the other hand, Alexander Bentivoglio, not thinking himſelf ſafe in Bologna, departed from thence with all his family, leaving the city to

[e] King Henry promiſed at the ſame time to ſend a new ſupply of troops, under the command of the lord Herbert, his chamberlain. Hall. fol. 20. Herbert, p. 10.

[f] In the beginning of December. Hall. fol. 20.

[g] It conſiſted of eighteen hundred men at arms, and about ten thouſand foot. Guicciard, l. 10.

[h] It is ſaid, Lewis cauſed ſeveral medals to be coined with this inſcription, Perdam Babylonem, I will deſtroy Babylon. Which, if true, ſhews that Rome was not called Babylon firſt by proteſtants.

Thomas

the pope's mercy. Thus Julius II. who about a month before, ſaw himſelf in a very ill ſituation, was arrived at the height of his wiſhes by this ſurpriſing revolution, which reſtored him Ravenna, Bologna, all la Romagna, and drove the French out of Italy.

There remained ſtill four things to do to complete the pope's happineſs, namely, to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Ferrara, to reſtore the Sforzas to Milan, and the Medici to Florence, and laſtly to expel the Germans and Spaniards out of Italy. As for the duke of Farrara, he voluntarily delivered himſelf to the pope, upon the faith of a ſafe conduct. An imprudence which would have coſt him dear, had he not been freed by Fabricius Colona, his friend, who forced the guard, ſet at the gates of Rome to hinder his departure.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, than the allies began to diſcover their different ends in acting againſt France. Upon this occaſion they judged proper to meet at Mantua, where they could agree but upon two articles, namely, that Maximilian Sforza, eldeſt ſon of Lodovico the Moor, ſhould be reſtored to Milan, and the houſe of de Medici to Florence. In conſequence of this laſt reſolution, the army of the allies approaching Florence, compelled the Florentines to conſent to a treaty, whereby the Medici were reſtored to their country as citizens only, and not as governors. But the cardinal de Medici entering the city by virtue of the treaty, whilſt the army of the allies was at the gates, found means to introduce many officers and ſoldiers, and raiſe a ſedition which made him maſter of the city. Whereupon, the government was ſettled upon the ſame foot, as before the baniſhment of the Medici.

It was a great matter for the pope to have reſtored the Medici to Florence, and Sforza to Milan. But this did not ſuffice to content him. The duke of Ferrara was ſtill maſter of his duchy, and the council of Piſa ſitting at Lyons. The allies therefore muſt be brought to turn their arms againſt Ferrara, and procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, that the emperor might without difficulty abandon his council. To that purpoſe, the pope obtained a ſecond meeting at Rome, where he could gain nothing with reſpect to Ferrara, becauſe the duke was protected by the king of Arragon. Beſides the Venetians could not agree to find men and money to render the pope maſter of that duchy. As for the peace between the emperor and Venice, he found ſtill greater difficulties, though he paſſionately wiſhed to accompliſh that project, for fear one or other of the two powers ſhould recall the French into Italy. But the intolerable terms propoſed by the emperor to the Venetians hindered him from ſucceeding. In ſhort, the pope ſeeing his labour was in vain, and deſiring at any rate to diſſolve the council of Piſa, and prevent the return of the French into Italy, concluded with the emperor a league offenſive and defenſive againſt Venice. By this treaty, the emperor engaged to become a principal party in the league of Rome, and agreed, that the pope ſhould keep Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, ſaving however the rights of the empire. He promiſed to renounce the council of Piſa, and forſake the duke of Ferrara and the Bentivoglios. The pope engaged on his part to aid the emperor with all his power, thunder his cenſures againſt the Venetians, declare them excluded out of the league of Rome, and drop the proſecution of the Colonnas for aiding the duke of Ferrara to make his eſcape. The treaty being ſigned and ratified, the biſhop of Gurck, as the emperor's lieutenant, renounced in the next ſeſſion of the council of Lateran the aſſembly of Piſa, and revoked whatever had been done by the emperor towards the calling and ſupporting it.

About the end of December, Maximilian Sforza, eldeſt ſon of Lodovico the Moor, was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, purſuant to the agreement of the allies at Mantua.

I have now ran over the occurrences of the year 1512, a year very remarkable for the ſeveral changes in the affairs of Italy, and ſtill more ſo for the conduct of the princes concerned, which diſcovers their different characters. Lewis XII. was the dupe of his ſcruples, which made him loſe the opportunity of diſabling the pope to hurt him, and in the end occaſioned the loſs of the Milaneſe. Julius II. made religion ſubſervient to his immoderate ambition, by uſing the glory of God, and the good of the church, for a cloak to gratify his paſſions. Having formed a league to reſtore the Venetians to their dominions, to the glory of God, and exaltation of the Chriſtian faith, he concluded another, on the ſame pretence, to diſpoſſeſs them of all they had recovered. Ferdinand drew Henry VIII. into a war for the pope's defence, and to procure Guienne for the crown of England, but artfully made it ſubſervient to the conqueſt of Navarre for himſelf. The emperor Maximilian acted with no more ſincerity. His conduct was the more extraordinary, as he was ſolely indebted to Lewis XII. for all he had conquered in Italy after the league of Cambray. Nay, the very preſervation of his conqueſts was wholly owing to that prince's continual ſupplies. And yet he no ſooner ſaw him upon the decline, but he moſt ungratefully helped to hurl him down the precipice. It is ſaid he had a book wherein he marked in red letters the injuries received from the king of France. But I do not know in what colour Lewis XII. ſhould have wrote in his book the wrong done him by Maximilian on this occaſion. As for Henry VIII. he was certainly the dupe of the king of Arragon and the pope. But what is more ſtrange, after Ferdinand and Julius II. by their artifices had engaged that prince in a league againſt France, as ſoon as affairs had taken ſuch a turn that they no longer wanted his aſſiſtance, they thought no more of him than if there had been no ſuch perſon in the world. In all the negotiations between the allies, whether at Mantua or Rome, after the retreat of the French, cardinal Bambridge was never called to them, neither was there any mention of the king of England. The pope and the king of Arragon, ſatisfied with expelling the French, forſook Henry without troubling themſelves about his concerns. It even appears that he was not informed of theſe negotiations. We ſee in the collection of the public acts, that the 10th of November he ſtill gave full powers to his embaſſadors[i] at ſeveral courts, to treat of a league in favour of the pope, at the very time the pope was entirely neglecting the intereſts of England. About the ſame time Henry ſigned letters patents declaring he entered into the league concluded at Rome a year before, though ſince that Julius II. was in poſſeſſion of Ravenna, all la Romagna, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and his deſires had been accompliſhed by Lewis's loſs of Genoa, and Milan, and by the emperor's renouncing the aſſembly of Piſa. Thus he was evidently the dupe of all theſe intrigues. He lent, without knowing it, his troops to Ferdinand to conquer Navarre. On the other hand, the terror of his arms was greatly ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, as it hindered Lewis XII. from keeping in Italy troops, which he believed neceſſary for the defence of his kingdom againſt the Engliſh. This was the real aim of Julius and Ferdinand, and Henry was ſo blind as to engage, without neceſſity, in a war with France for their intereſt, imagining he was acting for his own.

Who would not have thought that Henry's experience ſhould have rendered him wiſer and more circumſpect? And yet, he was farther amuſed by theſe very princes, who told him, that having nothing more to fear in Italy, they were going to join all their forces to invade France, and if he would likewiſe act, he might eaſily recover Guienne and Normandy. Henry being perſuaded of their ſincerity, immediately ſent embaſſadors to Bruſſels[k], to conclude a league againſt France with the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, Charles of Auſtria, ſovereign of the Low Countries, and Margaret ducheſs dowager of Savoy, his aunt, who governed his dominions during his minority. Henry reckoned that the execution of the treaty would immediately follow the concluſion. But it will hereafter be ſeen, that if they concluded the league, it was only to draw money from him, and leave him to make war all alone. He was young and unexperienced, but withal ſo ſelf-conceited as to think himſelf wiſer than his council. Beſides, he had plenty of ready money in his coffers. What would perſons ſo ſubtle as Julius, Maximilian, and Ferdinand, deſire better than to have to deal with ſuch a prince as Henry? We have already ſeen this year 1512, how artfully they improved ſo favourable a diſpoſition, and we ſhall ſee in the following years, how very little he himſelf profited by what he might have learned by experience, during the courſe of the preſent. However this be, being reſolved to carry war into France, he aſſembled a parliament the 4th of November, to demand an aid of money. Shortly after, the commons, without examining too cloſely the reaſons which induced him to take up arms, granted him a ſubſidy[l],

[i] Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 341.

[k] Sir Edward Poynings, controller of the houſhold, ſir Thomas Boleyn, ſir Richard Wingfield, and John Young, doctor of laws, and maſter of the rolls. Ibid. p. 344.

[l] Two fifteenths and four demies. A fifteenth, or quinvime, is a tax of money laid upon a city, borough, or other town through the realm, and ſo called, becauſe it amounted to a fifteenth part of that which the city or town had been valued at of old; and therefore every town knew what a fifteenth for themſelves did amount to, which was in proportion to the land or

circuit

and a poll-tax[m] upon all his ſubjects, for the expences of the war[n].

During the ſeſſion of the parliament, Henry received a bull from the pope, who, to encourage him to puſh the war vigorouſly againſt France, granted a plenary indulgence to all his ſubjects that ſhould aid him with their perſon or purſes. This was all the aſſiſtance he had from the pope for a war the ſole motive whereof, as it was pretended, was the defence of the church.

Nothing more remains to finiſh the account of the occurrences of this year, but briefly to mention the meaſures taken by Henry with regard to Scotland.

Whilſt Henry reſolved to carry war into France, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of Scotland. But it was almoſt impoſſible that England ſhould be in war with France, and Scotland not interpoſe. However, Henry imagined, that by the aſſurances he gave the king of Scotland of his intention to obſerve punctually the treaty of peace, ſhe ſhould prevent him from being concerned in the quarrel. James ſuffered him to think what he pleaſed, and in the mean time was preparing to aſſiſt France by a powerful diverſion, in caſe that kingdom was attacked. Upon the firſt report that the king of England was going to quarrel with Lewis XII. James took care to be provided with pretences to break with him. The affair of Breton furniſhed him with one, and he moreover ſought others. But the true reaſon of his acting was, that for ſome ages paſt the kings of England were grown ſo powerful, and had ſhewn ſo great a deſire to unite all Great-Britain under their dominion, that the Scots could little expect to reſiſt them, but by the aſſiſtance of France, which had ever protected them. It was therefore more neceſſary than juſt for Scotland to continue firm to the intereſts of France, and not ſuffer that crown to be diſabled to aſſiſt her allies. So not to ſwerve from this maxim, James IV. who had determined to go to Jeruſalem, laid aſide his deſign, when he heard there was like to be a rupture between France and England. He equipped a fleet, which he intended to ſend into France, under colour of preſenting it to queen Anne, wife of Lewis XII. But the fleet, in which was the largeſt ſhip that had yet been ſeen on the ſea, was loſt or diſabled by a ſtorm, and the admiral's ill conduct.

At laſt, Henry having proclaimed war with Lewis XII. James concluded a league againſt him with France the 22d of May this year. Shortly after, he prepared an army, but without divulging for what it was deſigned. His intent was to make an inroad into England, as ſoon as Henry had ſent his forces into France. Henry having notice of this armament, ſent two embaſſadors[o] into Scotland, under colour of adjuſting ſome little differences, but in reality to ſound the king's intentions. The embaſſadors acquainting king James that their maſter ſuſpected this armament was made in favour of France, James replied, That being equally an ally of both crowns, his deſign was to obſerve an exact neutrality. The embaſſadors prayed him to give that anſwer in writing, but he refuſed, on pretence it would breed a ſuſpicion in the king of France. Shortly after, Henry learnt by his ſpies, that a league was concluded between France and Scotland, and he even procured a copy of the treaty[p]. So, perceiving that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, he ſent the earl of Surrey into the northern parts, with power to levy an army, and act againſt Scotland in caſe of neceſſity[q].

[1513] The occurrences of this year, made great alterations in the intereſts of the princes concerned, and conſequently in their deſigns and meaſures.

Julius II. pleaſed with having expelled the French out of Italy, and ſo greatly increaſed his power by the acquiſition of ſo many places, was thinking, however, of ſeizing Ferrara. After that, he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of the Venetians and Florentines, to be able to drive the emperor out of Venice, though he had lately leagued with him. As for the reſt, he had no thoughts of making conqueſts in France, his ſole aim was to find Lewis XII. employment at home, and entirely diſſolve the remains of the council of Piſa, which however was not very formidable to him, ſince the emperor's diſingagement.

The king of Arragon's ſole view was to preſerve his late conqueſt of Navarre. To enjoy it in peace, the only way was to keep Lewis XII. elſewhere employed, or prevailed with him not to diſturb him. To that purpoſe it was neceſſary to uſe the terror of the arms of the allies, and particularly of the king of England, that the king of France being attacked from ſeveral quarters, might be induced of himſelf to deſire a peace, and leave him in poſſeſſion of Navarre. Ferdinand would not have ſcrupled to abandon his allies, provided he could obtain ſuch a peace as he wanted.

The emperor ſought only to draw money both from his friends and enemies. He was very ſenſible, that with his own forces alone it would be difficult to make conqueſts upon the Venetians, and that the pope, though his ally, did not wiſh it. But he was extremely reſerved to them, in order to procure the larger ſums in making a peace. On the other hand, he endeavoured to embroil matters as much as poſſible, and make new leagues, becauſe, in all the treaties of that kind, money was ſtill given him to maintain imaginary troops, which he never raiſed, at leaſt not ſo many as he promiſed.

The Venetians were extremely deſirous to end a deſtructive war, by which they were drained. Their ſole aim was to induce the emperor to be ſatisfied with a good ſum of money for the reſtitution of their towns, and thereby put their ſtate upon the ſame foot as before the league of Cambray. But as the emperor could not think of depriving himſelf of an entrance into Italy by the reſtitution of theſe places, it was their buſineſs to compel him in ſome meaſure by new leagues, which might make him apprehenſive of loſing them without any advantage. But as this was the ſenate's ſole view, they were always ready to break all their engagements, as ſoon as the emperor would hearken to reaſon.

The Switzers thought only of ſupporting Sforza at Milan, to have always in that duchy a prince who ſhould rely on their aſſiſtance. Conſequently, it was their intereſt to keep the king of France at a diſtance, and oppoſe all his attempts to recover it.

Lewis XII. extremely mortified at the ſucceſs of his enemies in Italy, ardently deſired to recover Genoa and Milan. To ſucceed, the aid of the Venetians, the emperor, or the Switzers, was neceſſary. It was alſo requiſite ſo to haſten the concluſion with one or other of the two laſt powers, that the expedition of the Milaneſe might be made in the ſpring, for fear it ſhould be prevented by the war, the king of England was preparing againſt him in Picardy.

Of all Lewis's enemies, Henry alone thought of making conqueſts in France, prepoſterouſly imagining his allies would make diverſions in ſeveral places to facilitate the execution of his deſigns. But he did not yet ſufficiently know them. The Venetians had been excluded out of the late league. The pope and king of Arragon had no deſire to attack France, but only to create Lewis troubles, which might hinder him from thinking of Italy. It was ſolely with this view that they feigned a willingneſs to ſecond the king of England. As for Maximilian, Henry and his council muſt have voluntarily deceived themſelves, to hope for any aſſiſtance from him.

James IV. king of Scotland, ſeeing France upon the point of being attacked by the king of England, was preparing to aſſiſt her, deeming his own and that kingdom's intereſts to be inſeparable. He eaſily perceived, Henry courted him only to hinder his interpoſing in the quarrel, and was willing to feed him with hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign. But he was however determined to break the peace, rather than leave a kingdom in danger, from which alone he could expect a ſpeedy and powerful protection in caſe of need. It is true, he had made a peace with Henry VII. and renewed it with Henry VIII. But it was when theſe princes had no quarrel with France, his ancient and conſtant ally. In his opinion, Henry by wantonly attacking France on frivolous pretences, violated indirectly the peace made with Scotland. At leaſt, James pretended, that in ſigning a peace with England, he was not bound to forſake France whenever the king of England ſhould think of attacking her.

Such were the diſpoſitions of all theſe potentates in the be-

circuit belonging to it. Thus Camden ſays of Bath, geldabat pro viginti hidis. Whereas a ſubſidy was raiſed upon every particular man's goods or lands, and therefore was uncertain, becauſe the eſtate of every particular man is uncertain. Cowel's Dict.

[m] Every duke was to pay ten marks, an earl five pounds, a lord four pounds, a knight four marks; every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods, four marks; and ſo after that rate down to him who had forty ſhillings in wages, who paid twelve pence; after which every one above fifteen years of age, paid four pence. Herbert, p. 12.

[n] In this parliament the benefit of clergy was taken away from perſons committing murder or felony in any church, chapel, or hallowed place; and from thoſe that rob or murder any perſon in the king's highway, or in their houſes. See Statute.

[o] Thomas lord Dacre of Greiſtok and Dr. Nicholas Weſt, dean of Windſor. Rymer's Fœd.

[p] See the articles in my lord Herbert, p. 12. of the Compl. Hiſt.

[q] This year a great part of the king's palace at Weſtminſter, and the chapel in the Tower of London were burnt. Stow, p. 499.

He

ginning of the year 1513. We muſt ſee now by what means each endeavoured to attain his ends. This new ſcene will diſcover to us no leſs variety, artful managements, devices, and artifices than the former, ſince the actors and perſonages will ſtill be the ſame.

Whilſt Henry was ſeriouſly preparing for the war with France, his pretended allies were minding their own affairs, without regarding his intereſts. Since he had entered into the league of Rome, the allies, it ſeemed, ſhould have done nothing without his knowledge. And yet Julius II. had leagued with Maximilian, and excluded the Venetians, without informing him of it.

In the beginning of the year 1513, the emperor had no farther regard for his new allies, ſince he ſent and propoſed a freſh league to Lewis XII. upon new terms. He offered to aſſiſt him in recovering the Milaneſe, provided Lewis would aid him againſt the Venetians. Moreover, he demanded René, Lewis's ſecond daughter, for Charles of Auſtria, his grandſon, and that for her dower, Lewis ſhould aſſign him all his pretenſions to Milan and the kingdom of Naples. But that the performance of the treaty might not entirely depend upon the faith of the king of France, he required that the princeſs ſhould be immediately ſent to him, and Cremona and all Gierradadda delivered to him as ſoon as the duchy of Milan was recovered. Certainly, one cannot but admire the emperor's aſſurance in making theſe propoſals. He had not hitherto been able to continue the war againſt Venice, without the aſſiſtance of Lewis XII. nay, he thought he ſtill wanted it, and yet made him an offer of his aid to recover the Milaneſe. But upon what terms? Why, after Lewis ſhould have been at a vaſt expence to recover that duchy, he was to reſign it to the emperor's grandſon, with his pretenſions to Naples. This is called uſing people like true dupes. But after the ill turn Maximilian had lately ſerved Lewis XII. it is not very likely that he believed his propoſals would be accepted. Probably, he made them only to hinder Lewis from joining with the Venetians. At the ſame time he intended to inſpire theſe with jealouſy, and a fear of his uniting with France, that this fear might induce them to offer him more advantageous conditions.

Lewis XII. hearkened to theſe propoſals, as if he had ſome deſign to accept them, becauſe he thereby hoped to create ſuſpicions in the Switzers and Venetians, and incline them the ſooner to join with him. As for the Venetians, they deſired nothing more than a ſtrict union with France, and if any thing retarded the negotiation, it was only the hope of an agreement with the emperor, in which caſe they would have gladly renounced all ſorts of leagues. As for the Switzers, it was not poſſible for Lewis XII. to gain them to his ſide, though he offered them more than the firſt was demanded. Beſides their hatred of him, the face of their affairs was altered, ſince the reſtoration of Sforza to Milan. Whilſt that prince was in exile, it was doubtful, whether in good policy they ought to engage in a war with France for his ſake. But ſince he was by their aſſiſtance in poſſeſſion of the duchy, their honour and intereſt required their utmoſt endeavours to ſupport him[r]. However this be, Lewis's negotiation with the Switzers not ſucceeding, he was under a neceſſity to join in a league either with the emperor or with Venice, otherwiſe he could little expect to recover Milan.

In the mean time the Venetians ſent and propoſed a league to him upon the ſame terms with that of the year 1498, namely, that they would aſſiſt him to recover Milaneſe, provided he would reſign Cremona, and Gierradadda. Lewis readily liſtened to their offers, but the Venetians themſelves did not haſten the concluſion, by reaſon of their circumſtances preſently after.

The king of Arragon having good intelligence of what paſſed between Lewis XII. and the Venetians, informed the emperor, and adviſed him to offer Verona to the Venetians, for a ſum of money. This was the ſubject of a long, though fruitleſs negotiation.

Whilſt the affairs of Italy were in this ſtate of uncertainty, Julius II. who was preparing to beſiege Ferrara, in the beginning of the ſpring, died the 21ſt of February, having kindled a flame which his death could not extinguiſh[s]. As ſoon as the news reached the viceroy of Naples, who was ſtill with his army in Lombardy, he approached Placentia, and entering without oppoſition, reſtored that place to the duke of Milan. Parma quickly followed the example of Placentia, and was likewiſe delivered to the ſame prince. No one was in haſte to ſend aſſiſtance to the future pope, to preſerve theſe places for him. On the contrary, the princes of Italy could not ſee without uneaſineſs, that the popes had footing in Lombardy, under a pretence which might, upon occaſion, be uſed againſt moſt of them.

On the 11th of March, cardinal John de Medici, who eleven months before was taken priſoner at the battle of Ravenna, was elected pope, and aſſumed the name of Leo X. He was but thirty-ſeven years old, but had however great experience, having been employed in divers important affairs in the late pontificate. He was neither ſo hot nor ſo haughty as Julius II. his predeceſſor, but was much more artful and politic. I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to add to his portraiture ſome ſtrokes, which will more fully ſhew his genius and character.

Before the death of Julius II. Ferdinand was employed in framing a ſcheme perfectly anſwering the name he had in the world. The beginning of the year he had ſent two monks into France, to make ſome overtures to Lewis XII. by means of queen Ann, to whom they had acceſs. But as Lewis perceived it was not poſſible to make a peace, or even a truce with Ferdinand, without leaving him in poſſeſſion of Navarre, he had appeared at firſt very cold. But at length, conſidering that he could hardly expect to recover the duchy of Milan, whilſt the king of Arragon was his enemy, becauſe it was he that excited the king of England his ſon-in-law, he determined, though unwillingly, to conclude with him a truce, for a year, on condition the king of England was included, and Italy excepted. He reckoned, that during this truce he ſhould with eaſe be able to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, after which, he ſhould be ſufficiently ſtrong to defend his own kingdom againſt the Engliſh. Nothing was farther from Henry's thoughts than ſuch a truce, which would have broke all his meaſures, and yet, Ferdinand doubted not to act in his name, as if he was ſure of his conſent. The affair was begun in January, and the 8th of February, Lewis impowered Odet de Foix, lord of Lautrec, to treat with Ferdinand's commiſſioners. In ſhort, the treaty was concluded at Orthez, in Bearn, the 1ſt of April. The treaty ran, that there ſhould be a truce for a year, out of Italy, between the king of France, the king of Scotland, the duke of Guelders, on the one part; and on the other, the emperor, the king of Arragon, the queen of Caſtile, and the king of England. Lewis XII. undertook to procure the king of Scotland, and the duke of Guelders's conſent, and Ferdinand engaged for the king of England. But as Ferdinand knew he ſhould not eaſily obtain Henry's conſent, he cauſed it to be inſerted in the treaty, that it ſhould be ratified within a month by himſelf and Lewis XII. but that the other parties ſhould be allowed two months, with expreſs declaration, that with regard to the emperor, the king of England, the king of Scotland, and the duke of Guelders, the truce ſhould take place, but from the day of the exchange to the ratifications. Never perhaps was ſeen any thing ſo bold as what Ferdinand did on this occaſion. He perfectly knew that Henry would never agree to the truce, and yet took upon him to procure his conſent, as if he had been fully empowered to that end. The laſt article, concerning the ratification, plainly diſcovers his thoughts. But it is ſtill more viſible, in that he not only took no ſtep to perſuade Henry to do what he ſeemed to deſire, but even concealed from him the truce as far as poſſible.

As ſoon as the treaty was ſigned, Ferdinand took care to publiſh his complaints, that he had been very ill uſed by the allies of the league, that the pope and Venetians had acquired many places, but for his part he had gained nothing at all, and yet the allies refuſed to continue the ſupply to which they were bound, though the king of France ſtill poſſeſſed ſeveral towns in Italy, and the Spaniſh army was ſtill in the ſervice of the league. But this was only to prepare people, to ſee with leſs ſurpriſe and indignation, the private truce he had juſt made with France, without the participation of his allies.

The eyes of the public were fixed upon the new pope, to ſee what courſe he would take. But he did not long leave the politician in ſuſpence. Though, whilſt a cardinal, he did not entirely approve of Julius IId's conduct, he purſued however his plan as ſoon as he was in his place. He was doubly concerned to keep the French out of Italy: firſt, as pope, ſince neighbours ſo powerful could not but be formidable to him. Secondly, as head of the houſe of the Medici, he had

[r] He had promiſed to pay them one hundred and fifty thouſand ducats upon his reſtoration to Milan, and forty thouſand yearly, for five and twenty years. Guicciard, l. 11.

[s] He took the name of Julius from his inclination to war, in memory of Julius Cæſar. He commanded his army in perſon againſt the French; and it is ſaid, as he marched over a bridge on the Tiber, he threw St. Peter's keys into the river and called for St. Paul's ſword.

cauſe to fear, that if Lewis XII. recovered the Milaneſe, he would undertake to reſtore the Florentines to their liberty. In a word, he wiſhed to put an end to the council of Piſa, which could be done only by engaging Lewis XII. in wars, which ſhould compel him to make his peace with the church. Ferdinand had likewiſe the ſame views, to keep the king of France at a diſtance from Navarre, Rouſſillon, and the kingdom of Naples. As for the emperor, it was his intereſt to diſable France to aſſiſt the Venetians. But they had none of them any deſire to carry war into France, but only ſo to manage, that this diverſion might be made at another's expence.

To that purpoſe they unanimouſly caſt their eyes upon Henry VIII. as a prince extremely proper to execute their deſigns. He had ready money, warlike ſubjects, and could with eaſe tranſport troops into ſome part of France remote from the borders of Spain and Italy. In fine, he was very deſirous to ſignalize himſelf by illuſtrious actions, and ſcrupled not to ſhew it publicly. So, each of them laboured with all his power to confirm him in his deſign, to wage war with France, by putting him in hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported, though nothing was farther from their thoughts. Leo X. was no ſooner in the papal chair, but under colour of notifying his promotion, ſent him a letter, aſſuring him, that he was fully determined to adhere to the league formed by Julius II. his predeceſſor, and even to conclude a new one with England. But, at the ſame time, he preſſed the emperor to make a peace with Venice, and negotiated with the Venetians to hinder their union with France, promiſing to uſe all his intereſt with the emperor to procure them an honourable and advantageous peace. All theſe practices could not be managed ſo privately but the king of France had ſome intelligence of them, ſo that he ſoon grew very jealous of the new pope.

Henry did not want much ſollicitation to carry his arms into France. His thoughts were already bent upon war. So, finding the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, promiſed him to act vigorouſly, he did not queſtion the favourableneſs of the opportunity to recover good part of what his predeceſſors had formerly loſt. And therefore, he readily agreed to form a new league with them, not for the affairs of Italy, with which he was probably diſguſted, but to attack France from ſeveral quarters. And that the league might be the more ſecret, it was agreed, that it ſhould be negotiated at Mechlin, between Margaret, of Auſtria, governeſs of the Low Countries, authoriſed by the emperor, her father, and the embaſſadors of England[t], and that afterwards it ſhould be approved and ratified by the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand. This was another ſnare laid for Henry, which he perceived not till it was too late to avoid it. Though Ferdinand was then upon the point of concluding the truce with the king of France, he made himſelf, however, one of the principal parties in this league, as repugnant as it was to the truce. The ſubſtance of the new league concluded at Mechlin the 5th of April, about the ſame time the truce was ſigned at Orthez, was as follows:

That within thirty days after the date of this treaty, each of the confederates ſhould proclaim war with the king of France, and within two months invade him, viz. the pope in Providence or Dauphiné: the emperor in ſome place out of Italy: the king of Arragon in Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc: the king of England in Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and that their armies ſhould be ſtrong and well provided with all things.

That the emperor (if he had not yet done it) ſhould revoke all his proceedings in favour of the council of Piſa [This ſhews how little Henry or his plenipotentiaries knew of what paſſed at Rome, ſince it was now three months or more, that the emperor had abandoned that council.]

That the pope ſhould thunder his cenſures againſt all the oppoſers of this league and abetters of the contrary party.

That towards the expences of the war, the king of England ſhould give the emperor a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, at three payments, thirty-five thouſand preſently after the declaration of the war, as much more when the war was begun, and thirty thouſand within three months after.

That the emperor meant not to enter into this league as guardian to Charles, his grandſon.

That the emperor and king of England ſhould ratify the treaty within a month, and the pope and king of Arragon within two months, with this expreſs declaration, that in caſe the pope and the king of Arragon ſhould not ratify the treaty by the time appointed, it ſhould however be in force between the emperor and the king of England.

Laſtly, the confederates renounced all exceptions whatever, and particularly that which might be made to another's ſtipulating for them.

Never perhaps was ſeen more inſincerity than in this whole negotiation, ſince of all the confederates Henry alone intended to keep his word. Leo X. ratified not the treaty: Ferdinand, as will be ſeen preſently, diſavowed his embaſſador: as for the emperor, he received the money from the king, without troubling himſelf to perform his engagements. Thus Henry was the conſtant dupe of theſe princes, who were a little too politic for him.

The treaty being brought to London. Lewis Carroz de Villaragud, Ferdinand's embaſſador, approved and ratified it, by letters patent of April 18th. He declared in theſe letters, that though he had a ſufficient power from the king, his maſter, to conclude the league with the plenipotentiaries of the confederate princes, he had not been able, for certain weighty reaſons, to be preſent at the ſigning at Mechlin. But being very ſure, the treaty contained only what was agreeable to the king his maſter, who deſired nothing more earneſtly than its execution, he approved and ratified, in the ſaid king's name, all the articles of the treaty. And to remove all occaſion of diſputing the validity of his ratification, he inſerted the treaty, word for word, in his letters of ratification, and concluded it again with the earl of Surrey, the king of England's commiſſioner, by virtue of a full power received for that purpoſe. Afterwards, the 25th of the ſame month, he ſwore to the obſervance of the articles upon the ſouls of Ferdinand, king of Arragon, and Jane, queen of Caſtile. It is uncertain whether the embaſſador was himſelf deceived, or whether knowing it, voluntarily helped to impoſe upon Henry. All that can be ſaid is, that the great precautions taken to hinder his being ſuſpected of inſincerity, are not very common with thoſe who intend to act fairly.

It muſt doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, that a pope, an emperor, and a king of Spain, ſhould thus join, to lay ſuch a ſnare for a young prince of twenty-one years of age, and who was even ſon-in-law to one of them. And yet it is ſcarce to be doubted, that the league concluded at Mechlin, in the abſence of the pope's and king of Arragon's embaſſadors, was thus projected to entangle Henry, under colour of keeping it the more ſecret. They ſucceeded ſo well, that Henry relying upon the diverſions, his pretended allies would make in Guienne, Bearn, Providence, Dauphiné, Burgundy flattered himſelf that he might eaſily extend his conqueſts in Picardy. To that end, he made extraordinary preparations by ſea and land, which put him to a vaſt expence. But whilſt we leave him employed in preparing for the next campaign, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in Italy.

The Venetians not being able to obtain a peace from the emperor, who pretended to ſubject them to very unreaſonable terms, ſollicited a freſh the nogotiation they had began with France. On the other hand, Lewis XII. to whom time was precious, readily accepted their propoſals. Thus the league between that monarch and the Venetians was quickly concluded, upon the ſame foot as that of the year 1498. This was tranſacted by Andrew Gritti, who being then priſoner in France, was commiſſioned to conclude it in the ſenate's name. Preſently after he was releaſed, as well as Alviano, who returning to Venice, was made general of the forces of the republic.

When Lewis XII. had concluded his treaty with the Venetians, he ordered his troops to march into Italy, where they arrived in June. As, by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, Henry was allowed two months to ſend his pretended ratification, and as that term was not yet expired, very probably Lewis ſtill flattered himſelf that Henry would perform what the king of Arragon had promiſed for him, otherwiſe he would not doubtleſs have ſent his beſt troops into Italy. Mean while the preparations which were continued in England, and the hoſtilities already begun at ſea ſince April, between the French and Engliſh, ſhould have convinced him that Ferdinand had deceived him. However that was, the French army commanded by la Trimouille, being arrived upon the borders of the Milaneſe, Maximilian Sforza quitted his capital, and retired among the Switzers, who were, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand men, at Como and Novarra, where they expected ſupplies from their own country.

[t] Which were ſir Edward Poynings, controller of the houſhold, John Yonge, maſter of the rolls, ſir Thomas Boleyn, and ſir Richard Wyngfield. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 354.

In

Upon the approach of the French, Raymond de Cordona, who was ſtill in Lombardy with the Spaniſh army, retired without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt the duke of Milan, though Italy was not included in the truce of Orthez. Very likely Ferdinand was not diſpleaſed, that the French ſhould make ſome progreſs in the Milaneſe, to keep them employed there, whilſt Henry carried war into Picardy. At leaſt, any other reaſons of his general's conduct can ſcarce be imagined. The duke of Milan having no other forces but the Switzers to oppoſe to the French, Milan and the reſt of the towns of the duchy, except Como and Novarra, ſubmitted to la Trimouille, without offering to reſiſt, whilſt the Switzers, who were not ſtrong enough to take the field, remained immured within the walls of theſe two places. Whilſt the French were making theſe conqueſts, Alviano took for the Venetians, Peſchiera, Breſcia, Valeggio, and at laſt, Cremona, after a fruitleſs attempt to become maſter of Verona by intelligence.

About this time the faction of the Adornos, who in Genoa ſided with France, found means to become ſuperior, and put the city again under the dominion of the king.

Lewis XII. was now in poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, except Como and Novarra. La Trimouille knowing the Switzers expected a ſtrong reinforcement from their own country thought he ſhould make haſte and beſiege Novarra, before the arrival of thoſe troops. He marched therefore to the town, and in the expectation of taking it immediately, furiouſly ſtormed it. But whatever bravery the French ſhewed upon this occaſion, they were repulſed with a very great loſs, which even obliged the general to retire to Riotra, a village about two miles from Novarra. Mean while, the Switzers proud of repulſing ſo terrible an aſſault, and beginning to deſpiſe the French, before whom they had not yet dared to appear in the field, ſuddenly reſolved to ſally out of Novarra, and attack the enemy in their camp. This reſolution was immediately executed, to the aſtoniſhment of the French, who not being able to reſiſt the unexpected attack, were entirely routed. But that was not all. Their conſternation after the defeat was ſo great, that they thought it their only ſafety to repaſs the mountains, and with all poſſible diligence return into France. The news of their flight reaching Genoa, the Adornos quitted the city to the Fregoſas their enemies, who choſe for doge Octavian Fregoſa, head of their family and faction. Thus, within the ſpace of a month, Lewis XII. got and loſt Genoa and Milan, and Maximilian Sforza, who had been expelled out of his duchy, took poſſeſſion again. But it was the latter end of the year before he recovered the caſtles of Milan and Cremona, kept by the French and Venetians.

The revolution in the king of France's affairs, occaſioned the like in thoſe of the Venetians. Alviano, their general, no ſooner heard of the French army's misfortune, but he haſtily retired into the territories of Venice, and beſieged Verona. But Raymund de Cordona, who had affected a ſort of unetrality whilſt the French were in the Milaneſe, knowing they were out of Italy, turned his forces againſt Alviano. He not only forced him to raiſe the ſiege of Verona, but even purſuing him from place to place, obtained over him a ſignal victory, which obliged the Venetians to refer their differences to the pope, though he had declared againſt them by aſſiſting the emperor. The neceſſity of their affairs compelled them to take that ſtep, in order to gain time. They had loſt all their towns in the Milaneſe, and their own country had been horribly ravaged by the Spaniſh troops, even within ſight of Venice.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Italy, Henry was preparing to go into France with a numerous army. But Before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed at his own court, and which it will be worth while to inſiſt upon a moment. Thomas Wolſey had been introduced to court by the biſhop of Wincheſter. Preſently after, he was made privy-counſellor, and as ſuch had opportunity to make himſelf better known to the king, and gain his eſteem, as well by his own qualifications, as by the intereſt of the biſhop his benefactor, who ceaſed not to cauſe the king to admire the ſtrength of his genius, and obſerve how fit he was for the greateſt affairs. Wolſey on his part neglected not what he thought capable of encreaſing the king's good opinion of him. To an indefatigable application, and extreme diligence in all the affairs he was charged with, he added a blind condeſcenſion for all his maſter's paſſions. The king was highly pleaſed to ſee in his court and council, a churchman leſs rigid and ſcrupulous than the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the old biſhop of Wincheſter. Wolſey danced, ſang, laughed, and played with the young courtiers who were moſt in favour; and if Polydore Virgil is to be credited, who loved him not, neither had reaſon to love him, he carried his complaiſance ſo far as to lend the king his houſe for his moſt ſecret pleaſures. However that be, his condeſcenſion, joined to his talents for buſineſs, and to his knowledge in divinity which he had acquired, as well as the king, by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas, ſoon gave him the advantage over all the other courtiers. When he ſaw himſelf well fixed, he made it his particular buſineſs to ſhew the king his errors ſince his acceſſion to the throne, and how his youth had been abuſed. By this method he inſinuated to him by degrees, that he was ill-ſerved, and wanted an able miniſter, capaple of eaſing him in the adminiſtration of the moſt weighty affairs, and of ſhewing him the conſequences. In a word, he ſo managed, that he became himſelf that miniſter which he adviſed the king to ſeek, and by degrees was intruſted with the care and conduct of the king's principal affairs. His credit rendered him haughty, proud, inſolent, and ungrateful to his old friends. In ſhort, he was taxed with all the failings which favourites are uſually charged with, and which indeed few favourites can avoid. Wolſey, like moſt others, grew extremely odious, chiefly becauſe his counſels were always ſelf-intereſted, which the event diſcovered to all but the king, who was blind in that reſpect. His favour and credit, cauſed the moſt potent princes of Europe to ſtrive to gain him to their intereſts, and to glory, at leaſt outwardly, in being of the number of his friends. The reaſon is, becauſe during this reign, the affairs of Europe were in ſuch a ſituation, that England was capable of making the balance incline to the ſide ſhe eſpouſed. Wolſey knew how to improve this advantage, to render himſelf the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubject that ever was, but laboured not with the ſame ardour for his maſter's honour, as for his own intereſt. After he was declared prime-miniſter, he managed, during the ſpace of ſeventeen years, all the king's affairs both foreign and domeſtic [u].

Before the king was ready to paſs into France, the war was begun at ſea. In April, admiral Howard had put to ſea with thirty-two ſhips of war [w], whilſt the French fleet remained at Breſt, expecting ſix gallies, which Pregent [x] was to bring from Marſeilles. The Engliſh admiral approaching Breſt, reſolved to attack the French ſhips as they lay at anchor. But upon notice that Pregent was arrived at Conquet, he ſailed that way, to endeavour to take the ſix gallies, and attacked them indeed with great bravery. But during the fight his ſhip being grappled with Pregent's galley, he entered it ſword in hand, and at firſt cauſed great diſorder. Unhappily, the galley being afterwards diſingaged, he was left in the hands of his enemies, with a few attendants, and being unknown, was knocked over-board with a half-pike. The loſs of the admiral cauſed ſuch a conſternation in the Engliſh fleet, that they durſt not continue the fight [y]. The news being carried to court, the king conferred the office of lord admiral upon Thomas Howard brother of the deceaſed. Mean while, as the French fleet, by receiving a ſtrong reinforcement, was become ſuperior, the Engliſh returned to ſome port in England, expecting the arrival of the new admiral. The French, encouraged by the retreat of the Engliſh, ſailed to the coaſt of England, and even made a deſcent in Suſſex, and carried away ſome booty.

Mean time, Henry was preparing to carry war into France, though none of his pretended allies had yet made the leaſt ſtep towards performing the treaty of Mechlin. Leo X. had not ratified the treaty, and nothing was farther from his thoughts, than the ſending of an army into Provence or Dupahine. The emperor began to ſeek excuſes not to enter Burgundy with an army, though he had poſitively promiſed it. As for the king of Arragon, he had not only

[u] In the preſent war, the king committed to him the direction of the ſupplies and proviſions to be made for the army; which Wolſey took care not to neglect the advantage of. The victualling of his army was not, without a ſarcaſm to his birth, recommended to Wolſey, ſays the lord Herbert, p. 15.

[w] Hall, and the lord Herbert ſays forty-two, fol. 22, p. 13. The admiral was accompanied by Walter Devreux, lord Ferres, ſir Wolſtan Browne, ſir Edward Ichyngham, ſir Anthony Poyntz, ſir John Wallop, ſir Thomas Wyndham, ſir Stephen Bull, William Fitz-William, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidney, eſquires, &c. Hall, fol. 22. Stow, p. 491.

[x] Called by our hiſtorians, prior John.

[y] This ſir Edward Howard was not eldeſt, but ſecond ſon of Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth field, and attainted in the parliament of Henry VII. The ſaid Thomas was reſtored (4 Henry VII.) to the title of earl of Surrey, and to the lands which were his wife's inheritance. Sir Edward was conſtituted admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gaſcogne, and Aquitain. 4 Hen. VIII. March 19. Dugdale's Baron.

On

concealed from Henry his one year's truce with France, but was even trying to amuſe him with hopes, that he was inſtantly going to make a powerful diverſion in Guienne. He ſo artfully acted his part, that it was June before Henry was fully informed of the truce of Orthez. Provoked at ſuch a fraud, he diſpatched an embaſſador to the king his father-in-law, to upbraid him with breach of faith, and ſummon him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, or rather, that ſigned by his embaſſador in his name at London. Whereupon Ferdinand ſeeing he could no longer wear the maſk, diſavowed his embaſſador, and ſaid, he had exceeded his inſtructions. He confeſſed however, he had concluded a truce for a year with Lewis XII. being forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, but promiſed to do wonders when it was expired, and adviſed his ſon-in-law to accept of the truce, that they might afterwards unite their forces, and jointly attack the common enemy. But Henry could no longer rely upon ſuch promiſes. Thus, by the artifices of the pope, the emperor, and Ferdinand, he ſaw himſelf engaged to carry war alone into the enemy's country, which was to have been invaded in four ſeveral quarters. He was not convinced of their inſincerity till it was almoſt too late to recede, the greateſt part of his army having already paſſed the ſea, and juſt entering upon action. Happily for him, Lewis XII. deceived by the treaty of truce concluded at Orthez, had now ſent his beſt troops into Italy, imagining Henry would accept of the truce, according to the king of Arragon's engagement.

Shortly after, Henry received a letter from the emperor, with many excuſes, that it was impoſſible for him this year to lead an army into Burgundy, but he would punctually perform his engagement next year. Mean while, to ſhew, he meant not to forſake him, he ſaid, he would come and ſerve as volunteer in his army. Thus, of the four allies who were to act at once againſt France, Henry alone was charged with the burden of the war. Edward IV. his grandfather, had been formerly in much the ſame caſe, and thought it no diſhonour to make a ſpeedy peace with Lewis XI. when diſappointed by his allies. If Henry had followed his example, he would have terribly embarraſſed thoſe by whom he was deceived, but being greedy of glory, would ſhew he had no occaſion for them. He had ſo relied on the ſincerity of his allies, that though the treaty of Mechlin was not to be ratified by the pope and the king of Arragon till the 5th of June, he had cauſed the beſt part of his army to paſs over to Calais in the middle of May. It is evident, the ratification of the treaty of Mechlin had been ſo long retarded, only to engage Henry beyond a poſſibility of receding.

Before the departure of the firſt troops[a], Henry had beheaded the earl of Suffolk, priſoner in the Tower ever ſince the reign of Henry VII. who gave Philip I. king of Caſtile, a poſitive promiſe to ſpare that lord's life. But probably, he gave the prince, his ſon, orders like thoſe given by king David to Solomon, with reſpect to Joab. The hiſtorians have endeavoured of diſcover Henry's inducement at ſuch a juncture to put the earl of Suffolk to death, who was not in condition to hurt him. But they have ſaid nothing ſatisfactory[a].

The two bodies of troops tranſported to Calais, departed thence the 17th of June[b], under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury[c] and the lord Herbert[d], in order to march to Terouenne, to which they laid ſiege[e]. But the king departed not from England till the 30th of the ſame month, having conſtituted queen Catherine regent[f]. He arrived the ſame day at Calais, being attended by Thomas Wolſey, his prime-miniſter, Charles Brandon, another favourite lately made viſcount Liſle[g], with many other lords[h]. Whilſt the troops continued the ſiege of Terouenne he remained at Calais with nine thouſand men, ready to march upon the firſt occaſion. At laſt, having certain advice that the duke of Longueville was approaching to relieve the town, he haſtened from Calais to the ſiege, where he arrived the 4th of Auguſt. On the 9th the emperor came and conferred with him between Aire and Terouenne, and three days after repaired to the camp, and ſerved as volunteer under the king, making no ſcruple to receive a hundred crowns a day for his pay. By this mark of eſteem and the imaginary honour he did the king, he meant to make amends for his breach of faith, and the hundred thouſand crowns received for an expedition which he had never intended to make.

Mean time the duke of Longueville, who commanded the French army, approaching Terouenne, Henry paſſed the Lys with the greateſt part of his troops, in order to meet him. The two armies engaged, but not long. For the fight was hardly begun, when the French, by what accident is unknown, ran away in confuſion, without any poſſibility of their being rallied. But the principal officers choſe rather to be taken priſoners than follow ſo diſhonourable an example. The duke of Longueville was of the number, with the chevalier Bayard, la Fayette, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, and ſome others of the greateſt diſtinction. This battle, if ſuch a rout may be ſo termed, was called, the battle of Guinegaſte, and by ſome, the battle of ſpurs, becauſe the French made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords Whilſt the two armies were in view, before the engagement, a body of French attempted to introduce a convoy of proviſions into the town, but were repulſed by the lord Herbert, who was left to guard the trenches. After the battle, the beſieged deſpairing of relief, ſurrendered the city the 22d of Auguſt, and the king, in company with the emperor, entered the 24th.

It ſeemed to be Henry's deſtiny to be always the emperor's dupe. After the taking of Terouenne, Maximilian, who had only ſerved at the ſiege as volunteer, found means to have the place delivered to him, and immediately ordered it to be demoliſhed. It is hard to conceive what induced Henry to this condeſcenſion. All that can be conjectured is, that there was perhaps in the capitulation, ſome article againſt the razing of the place, but that altering his mind, he was willing to ſave his honour by delivering it to the emperor. Though this were the caſe, there would be no leſs reaſon to be ſurpriſed at his management. 'Tis eaſy to perceive it was very advantageous to Charles of Auſtria, grandſon to Maximilian, that Terouenne belonged neither to the French nor to the Engliſh. But what intereſt could Henry have to loſe ſo many men, and ſo much time, to take a place in order to have it razed in favour of Maximilian, who had not merited ſuch a condeſcenſion[i]?

[a] On April 30. Stow, p. 491.

[a] The chief reaſon, as my lord Herbert and others ſay, was for fear, in caſe of the king's death in France, the people being well affected to the houſe of York, ſhould take him out of the Tower, and make him king. Edmund de la Pole, was ſon of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth ſiſter of Edward IV. But this reaſon ſeems weak, ſince Margaret queen of Scotland, the king's ſiſter, was the undoubted heir of the houſe of York, in caſe the king died without iſſue. The French writers ſay, Richard, his younger brother commanded ſix thouſand French at the ſiege of Terouenne, which ſome have thought haſtened his brother's death. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 190. Hall, fol. 26.

[b] Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, was general of all the king's forces, both by ſea and land, and Thomas, lord Howard, admiral. Rymer's Fœd.

[c] George Talbot, high ſteward of the king's houſhold, accompanied with Thomas Stanley, earl of Darby, Thomas Docwra, lord prior of the order of St. John, ſir Robert Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, the lord Haſtings, the lord Cobham, ſir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe, ſir Thomas Blount, ſir Richard Sachiverell, ſir John Digby, ſir John Aſkew, ſir Lewis Bagot, ſir Thomas Cornwall, &c. This body conſiſted of above eight thouſand. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 372. Stow, p. 491.

[d] Charles Somerſet, natural ſon by Joan Hill, of Henry duke of Somerſet (who loſt his life in 3 Edward IV.) married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon, by reaſon whereof he bore the title of lord Herbert, and as ſuch had ſummons to parliament, (1 Henry VIII. 3 Hen. VIII.) He was lord chamberlain to Henry VII. and continued in the ſame office to king Henry VIII. From him are deſcended the preſent Somerſets, dukes of Beaufort. He was attended by the earls of Northumberland, Kent, and Wiltſhire, the lords Audley, and De la Ware, the barons Carow, and Curſon, ſir Thomas Weſt, ſir Edward Huſey, ſir Robert Dimocke, ſir David Owen, &c. He commanded ſix thouſand men. The baron of Carow, maſter of the ordnance, was killed the firſt night before Terouenne, in the lord Herbert's tent, which came ſo near to him, that the French write he was ſlain there. Herbert, p. 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 372.

[e] June the 22. There were within the town ſix hundred horſe, and two thouſand five hundred foot, beſides the inhabitants. Hall, fol. 24. Hollingſhead, p. 817.

[f] She was alſo general of all the forces in England, and had power, with five noble perſonages, to take up money upon loan, as occaſion ſhould require, and to give ſecurity of the ſums for maintaining and raiſing of forces, if need ſhould require: as it is more particularly ſet forth in the patent rolls of theſe times. Bacon, p. 148.

[g] May the 15th, 1513. His uncle William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to Henry VII. at Boſworth field, was ſlain by king Richard III. himſelf. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 299.

[h] The king divided his own forces into three bodies. The vanguard conſiſting of three thouſand men was commanded by Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle; the right wing by ſir Richard Carew, and the left by Thomas, lord Darcey; Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex was lieutenant general of the ſpears, and ſir John Pechy commanded the horſe. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, ſix with hundred men, was on the king's left hand, and on the right ſir Edward Poynings, with the ſame number. George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, followed with eight hundred men; and ſir William Compton, with the retinue of Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, and of Wolſey, which amounted to eight hundred men, brought up the rear. The king's forces were in all eleven thouſand three hundred men. Stow, p. 491.

[i] It bordered, it ſeems, upon his territories which had been much infeſted by irruptions from thence, and therefore by his intreaty, it was razed, ſave only the cathedral, and religious houſes. But the French repaired it ſoon after. This could not but ſeem ſtrange, ſince it coſt ſo much, as Guicciardin doubts not to call it an enormous expence. Herbert, p. 16.

The

As the ſeaſon was not yet far advanced, Henry reſolved, before the end of the campaign, to beſiege Tournay, whether he heard the place was ill provided, or the emperor's intrigues had again influenced his council is uncertain. For, the conqueſt of Tournay, which lies at ſome diſtance from Calais, was much leſs advantageous to Henry than to the archduke Charles, whoſe dominions it ſecured; whereas Boulogne would have been, without doubt, much more convenient for the king, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Calais. Nevertheleſs the ſiege of Tournay was reſolved, probably becauſe the emperor hoped the king would give him that place as he had done Terouenne. But he found againſt him intereſts ſtronger than thoſe of the king himſelf, which oppoſed his deſigns.

Whilſt the preparations were making for the ſiege, Henry paid a viſit to Margaret, governeſs of the Low-Countries, who was at Liſle, and ſtaid three days with her. Then he returned to his army which was marching to Tournay [k], but the emperor left the king upon ſome diſguſt, the reaſon whereof is unknown. Next day, the 15th of September, the army arrived before Tournay, which held out but ſeven or eight days [l]. Henry entered the city, on the 24th [m], a month after his entry into Terouenne. By the capitulation, the inhabitants were to have their antient privileges, upon paying to Henry a ſmall annual acknowledgment of four thouſand livres Tournois, for ten years only [n].

After the taking of Tournay, the king calling a council of war, it was debated, whether it was proper to keep the place, which ſeemed to be difficult, by reaſon of its diſtance from Calais. But after a long debate, it was reſolved to keep it, and leave for governor ſir Edward Poynings with a ſtrong garriſon. The contrariety of the two reſolutions with reſpect to Terouenne and Tournay will, perhaps, appear ſtrange. The firſt of theſe places, which was neareſt Calais, and ſecured the road from Calais to Tournay, was demoliſhed. The ſecond, which could not without great difficulty be relieved, was deemed neceſſary to be kept. This contrariety could proceed only from Wolſey's intereſt, who influenced the council as he pleaſed. He had caſt his eyes on the biſhopric of Tournay, as a thing very convenient for him, whereas that of Terouenne was nothing in compariſon. Accordingly he afterwards found means to obtain the adminiſtration of that ſee, under colour, that the biſhop refuſed to ſwear fealty to the king. This is the true reaſon why it was reſolved to keep Tournay, and perhaps of undertaking the ſiege [o].

Next day after the king's entry into Tournay, the princeſs Margaret ducheſs-dowager of Savoy, and the archduke Charles her nephew, came to congratulate him upon his new conqueſt. The fortnight they ſtayed with him, he took care to entertain them with all ſorts of diverſions, as juſts, tournaments, running at the ring, balls, maſquerades, and the like. Mean while, amidſt all theſe diverſions, the miniſters of the two courts began a treaty, which was concluded a few days after.

Margaret and Charles being returned to Liſle, Henry repaid their viſit, and was received with all imaginable reſpect and civility. Some days after, on the 15th of October, they ſigned a treaty, importing, That though Henry had bound himſelf not to repaſs into England till the war was ended, he ſhould however have liberty to return thither with his army.

That during the winter, the emperor ſhould keep in Artois and Hainault four thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, for the defence as well of Tournay and the Tournaiſis, as of the archduke's dominions.

That for the maintenance of theſe troops, Henry ſhould pay the emperor two hundred thouſand crowns at ſeveral payments.

That before the 1ſt of June the next year, Henry ſhould carry war into Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and the emperor into ſome other province of France.

That before the 15th of May, the emperor, the ducheſs Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catherine, the princeſs Mary, ſhould meet altogether at Calais to celebrate the archduke's marriage with the princeſs Mary, purſuant to the treaty concluded between the emperor and the late king Henry VII.

Whatever was to be done, Henry muſt always find money. Maximilian had already received a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, without having executed any of his engagements entered into by the treaty of Mechlin, and found means to procure two hundred thouſand more by the preſent treaty, beſides the advantage of razing Terouenne, which very much annoyed his grandſon the archduke's dominions. Nay, it is very probable, the diſguſt which made him quit the king's army, proceeded from his not being able to perſuade him to promiſe him Tournay alſo when taken. This manifeſtly ſhews, he looked upon Henry as a novice eaſily to be enſnared. Certainly Henry's many falſe ſteps in the beginning of his reign can only be excuſed by his little knowledge of the character of the princes with whom he treated.

It cannot be doubted, that the king of Arragon was of the ſame opinion concerning Henry his ſon-in-law. Notwithſtanding the ill turn he had ſerved him laſt year, he had ſtill the aſſurance to ſend him an embaſſador at Liſle to propoſe a new league, as if his word had been more to be relied on than ſome months before. But it does not appear that Henry was then inclined to truſt to his promiſes.

Henry departed from Liſle the 17th of October, and on the 24th arrived at his palace at Richmond after a glorious campaign. I call it glorious, if the ſucceſs of his arms be only conſidered. But in another reſpect it was not very honourable, ſince he had been the dupe of the pope, the emperor and the king of Arragon, who had thrown upon him the whole burden of the war, which ſhould have been common to all the four. It is true, he had taken Terouenne and Tournay. But the firſt of theſe places being given to the emperor and razed, was to him of no benefit. As for Tournay, he never reaped any conſiderable advantage from it, by reaſon of its diſtance from Calais. Wolſey was the only gainer by it, the biſhopric of that city, which he obtained in the end, together with the abbey of St. Amand, being of a much greater revenue than what the king himſelf received from Tournay and its territory.

The ill ſucceſs of the Italian campaign had put Lewis XIIth's affairs in a bad ſituation, and the loſs of the battle of Guinegaſte with the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, had entirely diſordered them. But this was a trifle in compariſon of the danger France was in by a Swiſs invaſion, after the French were driven out of the Milaneſe. The warlike Switzers, excited againſt Lewis by the pope and the emperor, not being ſatisfied with their advantages over him in Italy, reſolved to attack him in his own kingdom. The opportunity was favourable, by reaſon of the ſeveral foremention junctures. To improve the opportunity, therefore, the Switzers levied fifteen thouſand men [p], to whom the emperor joined all the nobility of Franche Compté, and ſome German horſe, under the command of Ulric, duke of Wirtemberg. This army entering the duchy of Burgundy, encamped before Dijon, where la Trimouille lately returned from Italy, had ſhut himſelf up with ſome troops [q]; but that place was ſo weak, that there was no likelihood of keeping it. He defended it however ſix weeks. But at laſt, ſeeing that by the loſs of Dijon, not only Burgundy, but all the reſt of France would be in great danger, he thought he ſhould prevent it without waiting the king's orders, which might come too late. By a capitulation with the Switzers, he bound himſelf to pay them four hundred thouſand crowns [r], of which he paid down twenty thouſand, and promiſed in the king's name, that he would deſiſt from all his pretentions to the duchy of Milan. The Switzers, pleaſed with their expedition, retired into their own country, carrying with them four hoſtages, who found means to eſcape when they knew the king refuſed to ratify the capitulation.

Lewis XII. finding himſelf attacked in ſo many places,

[k] The king, about a mile or two from Liſle, loſt himſelf in a great miſt, neither could he nor any of his train reſolve which way to turn, till a victualler coming by chance from his army, both informed him where his army lay, and conducted him thither, to the great joy of them all. Herbert, p. 16. Hall, fol. 35.

[l] Though the gates bore this inſcription, thou haſt never loſt thy virginity. Hall, fol. 44.

[m] Hall ſays, it was the 2d of October. The king knighted upon this occaſion, Edward Guildford, William Fitzwilliam, John Dauncy, William Tiler, John Sharpe, William Huſey, John Savage, Chriſtopher Garnyſhe, &c. The number of inhabitants in that city was eighty thouſand. Hall, fol. 45.

[n] And preſent payment at fifty thouſand crowns de ſoleil (or ten thouſand pounds ſterling. Hall, fol. 44.) The city ſurrendered to the king by the name of Roy Tres Chreſtien, moſt chriſtian king. Herbert, p. 17.

[o] Wolſey repreſented to the king, that it was fit Tournay ſhould be kept as a trophy of his victories, and the rather, as Cæſar (in his Commentaries) acknowledges he no where met with ſo brave a reſiſtance. However, it coſt Wolſey no ſmall trouble and oppoſition before he could obtain the poſſeſſion of this biſhopric. Herbert p. 17. Strype's Mem. Eccl. Henry VIII. p. 15.

[p] Twenty-five thouſand, ſays P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 320. Guicciardin ſays, they had twenty thouſand foot, and that the emperor ſent them a thouſand horſe and artillery, l. 12.

[q] A thouſand lances, and ſix thouſand foot. Guicciard.

[r] Six hundred thouſand. Idem.

and not doubting that the pope and the king of Arragon created him all theſe troubles, reſolved at laſt to be reconciled with the pope. This reconciliation was the more eaſy, as Leo X. had not like Julius II. a perſonal enmity againſt him. Since the French were out of Italy, he had nothing to demand of the king but the diſſolving of the council of Piſa, without which indeed he could not conſent to a peace. The council was grown ſo thin, that Lewis in forſaking it, made no great ſacrifice to the pope. It is true, the ſubmitting in a point he had hitherto openly maintained, ſeemed to be a little diſhonourable. But as the council of Piſa had been properly ſummoned againſt Julius II. he thought he might without reproach yield to another pope. However, Lewis perceiving that by his reconciliation with Leo X. he ſhould take from the kings of England and Arragon the pretence to make war upon him, was at length reduced to renounce his council, and acknowledge that of Lateran. This renunciation was ſolemnly made in the tenth ſeſſion, held about the end of December.

Leo X. in the beginning of his pontificate wrote to Henry as to all the reſt of the princes, earneſtly exhorting him to peace. In this manner he was to talk, in order to diſcharge the duty of the common father of Chriſtians. Henry, who ſaw plainly, and was afterwards ſtill more fully convinced, that this was only grimace, replied, he could not make peace without his allies, and that a ſeparate peace would be directly contrary to all his engagements. This anſwer diſpleaſed not the pope, who then ſought only to raiſe enemies to France. But when he was ſure of his agreement with Lewis XII. he took occaſion to ſend another letter to Henry, telling him, he never intended to perſuade him to make a ſeparate peace, but as he had taken up arms ſolely for the defence of the church and the holy ſee, and had by his late victories attained the end he had propoſed, it was reaſonable he ſhould lay them down, ſince the prince who oppreſſed the church was returned to his obedience. The letter was dated December the 17th, about the time of the tenth ſeſſion of the council of Lateran, wherein the French embaſſadors made a ſolemn ſubmiſſion in their maſter's name.

Nothing contributed more to open Henry's eyes, than this ſecond letter. He imagined, when he proteſted that he took up arms in defence of the church, his allies knew, he did not mean for all that to neglect his own intereſt, that language being properly only to amuſe the public. He had the more reaſon to believe it, as even in the treaty of league each of the allies had evidently propoſed to himſelf temporal advantages. And yet, he ſaw, the pope had no ſooner obtained his deſire, but he took the words of the preamble of the treaty in the literal ſenſe, as if there had been indeed no other deſign than to labour for the church, and under that colour, pretended to diſſolve a league formed by himſelf. This convinced him, that the pope in drawing him into a war with France, had only his own intereſt in view. On the other hand, he was not better pleaſed with the king of Arragon, nor had reaſon to be ſo. As for the emperor, he had performed nothing of what he had promiſed. All theſe conſiderations, having at laſt opened his eyes, produced a peace with France, which was concluded the next year. But before we cloſe this, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed during the campaign between the Engliſh and Scots.

James IV. ſeeing Henry ready to carry war into France, called his parliament, and repreſented to them the indignities Scotland had ſuffered from the Engliſh ſince the laſt peace. Breton's affair was not forgot in this enumeration. But the beſt reaſon, he alledged, to induce the Scots to a war was, that France, the ancient and faithful ally of Scotland, being about to be invaded by the king of England, he could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting her. This reaſon, though very plauſible, was not however univerſally approved. Many thought it ſtrange that the king ſhould thus wantonly, and without any urgent neceſſity, break a peace advantageous to Scotland, ſolemnly ſworn to, and even lately renewed. But the king's creatures and the penſioners of France, whom Lamothe, the French embaſſador, had now prepared to ſerve the king his maſter upon this occaſion, carried it by a great majority, ſo that war was reſolved.

Henry was in France, when James aſſembled his army to invade England, purſuant to the foregoing reſolution. But to keep ſome ſort of formality, James wrote him a letter, and ſent it by a herald, who found him at the ſiege of Terouenne. The letter dated the 26th of July contained the grievances, James believed to have cauſe to complain of, and a declaration of war in caſe he deſiſted not from his invaſion of France. Henry could not ſend his anſwer till the 12th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, "That he was not at all ſurpriſed to ſee him break the peace upon frivolous pretences, ſince he therein only imitated the inſincerity of his anceſtors and progenitors. Then he upbraided him, that whilſt he knew him to be in England, he never ſhewed, either by letter or embaſſador, that he intended to eſpouſe the king of France's quarrel, but waited for his departure to execute his unjuſt deſigns. He added, that knowing him perfectly, he had foreſeen his breach of faith, and for that reaſon, before he paſſed into France, had taken ſuch a courſe, and ſo well provided for the defence of his kingdom, that he did not queſtion by God's help to fruſtrate all the endeavours of ſchiſmaticks, excommunicated by the pope and council of Lateran. That beſides he hoped to have it very ſoon in his power to requite him, and in the mean time would not fail to take the moſt effectual methods to deprive him and his poſterity of all hopes of ever inheriting the kingdom, he was going ſo perfidiouſly to invade. After that, he ſet before his eyes the example of the king of Navarre, who for taking part with France was diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdom, without hopes of being ever reſtored. As for the pretended grievancies alledged in his letter, he ſaid, they had been ſo often anſwered, that all further mention of them was entirely needleſs. But for the king of Scotland's ſummoning him to deſiſt from the war with France, he told him, he did not acknowledge him for competent judge in his affairs with Lewis XII. and notwithſtanding his threats would continue the war. He concluded with ſaying, that he might be aſſured he would omit no opportunity to be revenged, wherein he hoped to ſucceed with the help of God and St. George."

James ſtaid not for an anſwer to his letter to take the field. On the 22d of Auguſt, he entered Northumberland, and took ſeveral places, particularly Norham caſtle[s]. The Engliſh writers affirm his army to be ſixty thouſand ſtrong; nay, ſome mount the number to a hundred thouſand, which is hardly credible. It cannot however be doubted it was very numerous, conſidering the care Buchanan takes to ſhew it was extremely leſſened by deſertions, and by being kept unemployed for ſome time. The earl of Surrey was then in Yorkſhire[t] with twenty-ſix thouſand men. But at the firſt news of the Scots entering England, he marched directly towards them, and the 4th of September came near enough to ſend and offer them battle by a herald, who reported that the king of Scotland accepted it for the Friday following. James was then encamped on the edge of mount Cheviot, where it was difficult to attack him[u]. And therefore the earl of Surrey, ſeeing the Scots would fight only in ſo advantageous a poſt, reſolved to ſtay till they deſcended on the plain. The Engliſh not appearing on the day appointed, an old Scotch lord[w] took occaſion to repreſent to the king, that he had done enough to ſave his honour: that it was not prudent to fight the Engliſh in their own country, but the beſt way would be to retire with his booty into Scotland, where it would be in his power to fight or avoid a battle as he pleaſed: that as he had taken up arms only to make a diverſion in favour of France, he no leſs employed the Engliſh forces without fighting, than by hazarding a battle: that upon this occaſion he ought not to liſten to the intereſted counſels of the French embaſſador, who only wanted to hazard ſome great action at another's expence, in order to free the king his maſter from his preſent ſtreights: but in ſerving France, Scotland was likewiſe to be regarded. This advice ſeemed too cautious to the king. As he had determined to give battle, he fiercely anſwered, he would fight the Engliſh were they a hundred thouſand. Mean while, the earl of Surrey, to draw him from his poſt, marched along a river[x] which parted the two armies, as if he intended to enter Scotland through Carliſle, the road to which place he ſeemed to take. James having notice of it, ſet fire to his camp, and marched along the ſame river on the oppoſite ſide. But unhappily for him, the ſmoke of his own camp hindered him from ſeeing the Engliſh, who forded the river

[s] Which yielded after a ſix days ſiege. Hall, fol. 38.

[t] The king had, at his departure, appointed him his lieutenant in the north of England; with orders, if the Scots made any incurſions, to raiſe the militia of the counties of Cheſter, Lancaſter, Durham, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Cumberland. Hall, fol. 37. Rymer's Fœd. fol. tom. xiii. p. 375.

[u] There was but one narrow field to get up to him, and at the bottom of the hill was placed all his ordnance. On one ſide of his army was a great marſh, and the other parts of it were encompaſſed with Cheviot hills. Hall, fol. 40.

[w] Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus. Buchanan.

[x] The river Tyll, or elſe Sandyford. Hall, fol. 41.

Hall

unperceived. Then James halting about Floddon drew up his army. Here it was the earl of Surrey attacked him, having paſſed with difficulty a ſort of moraſs between the two armies. The particulars of this battle are ſo variouſly related by the hiſtorians of both nations, that the one cannot be followed without departing from the other. But as to the ſucceſs it is not the ſame. They all agree, the Scots loſt the day after valiantly fighting till night, which parted the combatants. The two armies retiring, the Engliſh knew not they were victorious till the morning, when they ſaw, their enemies had quitted the field of battle with all their artillery. The Engliſh own, they loſt five thouſand men in the battle, which was fought the 9th of September. But they ſay the Scots loſt ten thouſand[y]. The Scots pretend, there were but five thouſand ſlain on each ſide, but confeſs their loſs was very conſiderable, by the great number of lords and officers of their nation killed in the battle, whereas the Engliſh loſt not one perſon of diſtinction[z]. King James was never more ſeen after the battle. The Engliſh imagined they found his body wounded in two places. and ordered it to be put into a leaden coffin, without daring however to bury it, becauſe he died excommunicate. But the Scots affirmed it was not the body of their king. They ſaid that before the battle, he had cauſed five men of his own ſtature to wear the ſame arms with himſelf, and that the body which the Engliſh took for the king's was one Elphinſtone's, who greatly reſembled him. However, they could not tell what was become of the king. One ſaid indeed, he ſaw him ride over the Tweed after the battle. But as the fight laſted till night, this evidence is not much to be relied on. It was however the foundation of the report of his not being dead. Some ſuſpected, he was killed in retiring out of the battle by the lord Alexander Hume, or his vaſſals. But this fact was never well proved. However this be, it was never known for certain, whether the body found by the Engliſh on the field of battle, was the king's or not[a]. Mean while, Henry ſuppoſing it to be the very corps of James IV. wrote to the pope for a diſpenſation to enter it in St. Paul's church[b]. Leo X. anſwered by a brief, ſignifying, "That it was ſet forth to him from the king of England, that in a treaty concluded between the late king of Scotland, and Henry VII. and renewed by Henry VIII. the firſt had ſubmitted to an excommunication in caſe he acted in breach of it, and yet had broken the peace: that therefore he had been pronounced excommunicate by the cardinal archbiſhop of York, by virtue of a power granted by Julius II. that he died in a battle without having been abſolved; but in conſideration of his royal dignity and nearneſs of blood, the king of England deſired permiſſion to bury him in conſecrated ground. Upon theſe accounts, the pope was pleaſed to grant his requeſt, conſidering, as he was told and ought to believe, James in his laſt moments ſhewed ſome ſigns of contrition, ſuch as his circumſtances would admit. That therefore he appointed the biſhop of London, or any other biſhop the king ſhould pleaſe to nominate, to enquire into the matter; and if it was found, James had ſhewn any ſigns of repentance before his death, he gave him power to abſolve him: that however, the abſolution ſhould ſerve for no other purpoſe than his interment in holy ground. Moreover, he ordered the biſhop to enjoin the king of England to undergo ſome convenient or ſuitable penance in the name of the deceaſed king."

Among many remarks that might be made on this brief, I ſhall confine myſelf to this one. There was no declaration of war between James and Henry before James's letter, dated the 16th of July, and received the 12th of Auguſt, nor any hoſtility committed before the 22d of Auguſt, when James entered England. So the king of Scotland cannot be ſaid to have violated the truce till that time. Now he died the 9th of September, excommunicated by the cardinal of York, who was then embaſſador at Rome. Hence I think it may be inferred, that the cardinal had excommunicated James without knowing the cauſe, or hearing his reaſons, and probably upon a bare letter ſent him by Henry, that the king of Scotland intended to break the peace; I ſay, he only intended to break the peace, ſince there is no likelihood that from the 22d of Auguſt, when James entered England, to the 9th of September, the day of his death, the cardinal, who was at Rome, could have been informed of the actual rupture, and proceeded to an excommunication. I ſay nothing of the ſuppoſition that James, ſlain in the field, ſhewed any ſigns of contrition, eſpecially as it was even uncertain whether the body they would have enterred, was the king of Scotland's. I paſs over likewiſe the limitation ſet to the abſolution, that it ſhould ſerve only for burying the dead prince in holy ground, and the penance enjoined a living perſon in the name of a dead one. Every reader may make what reflections he thinks proper on theſe things.

Such being the ſituation of the affairs of Europe, at the end of the year 1513, it is not ſurprizing that the deſigns and intereſts of the princes ſhould be different from what they were in the beginning of the ſame year. It is therefore neceſſary, before we enter upon the recital of the events of the year 1514, to mention how the chief ſovereigns ſtood affected.

Lewis XII. burned with deſire to recover Genoa and Milan. But he perceived, that to ſucceed in that deſign, the allies muſt be divided, otherwiſe their was not even a poſſibility of undertaking it. The pope, emperor, king of Arragon, and Switzers, were equally concerned to oppoſe it. And yet, as they had alſo their ſeparate intereſts, he thought it would not be impoſſible to divide them, by offering to each apart, or at leaſt to ſome of them, advantages as great as thoſe they could natually expect from their union. Beſides, he hoped in treating with each in particular, to breed jealouſies and ſuſpicions among them, which would induce them to make haſte and treat with him for fear of being deſerted. He had the more hopes of ſucceeding this way, as moſt of the princes with whom he was in war, were not over ſcrupulous, but rather very ready to ſacrifice their allies to their own private intereſt. To this artifice therefore Lewis recured to free himſelf from his preſent embarraſment. At the beginning of the year 1514, he took care to renew the negotiation concerning the marriage of the princeſs René his ſecond daughter with Charles, archduke of Auſtria, knowing Maximilian and Ferdinand were equally deſirous of it, eſpecially upon terms propoſed by themſelves. He ſtarted however difficulties capable of continuing the negotiation without entirely breaking it off. The pope could not look upon this project without uneaſineſs. He was as much afraid of Milan's being in the hands of a grandſon of the emperor, and of the king of Arragon, as of ſeeing the French king reſtored. His intereſt required that Milan ſhould remain in the family of the Sforzas. The Switzers paſſionately wiſhed it alſo. The Venetians too would have therein found a great advantage, if another intereſt had not prevailed. And that was, to oblige the emperor to make peace with them on reaſonable terms. But this they could not hope without the aſſiſtance of France, and this aſſiſtance could not be obtained without aiding Lewis XII. to recover the Milaneſe.

Maximilian found his account in his war with Venice, becauſe it coſt him little. Since the league of Cambray, he had always been powerfully aided by France or Spain, or rather, had never made war but at another's expence. His allies were neceſſarily obliged to find him men or money, otherwiſe they might be ſure he would quickly change ſides. Since he had left France, the Spaniſh troops had done all in the war with Venice, and the king of Arragon, with all his policy, was not able to diſpence with acting for him. It is not therefore ſurpriſing that he was ſo difficult, when a peace was on foot, or uſed his endeavours to inflame the diviſions among the princes.

As for king Ferdinand, ſince he was become maſter of Navarre, it was his intereſt to embroil affairs, and cheriſh in Italy the hopes and fears of the ſeveral parties, to make himſelf neceſſary, and that a peace might not be concluded without him. He thereby tried to hinder Lewis from thinking of Navarre, and hoped at laſt to come to a treaty which ſhould leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſt. For that reaſon, he acted all ſorts of parts, in order to attain his ends. One while he aſſiſted the emperor againſt the Venetians,

[y] Hall ſays, there were fifteen hundred Engliſh, and twelve thouſand Scots ſlain, fol. 43. According to Buchanan, there fell above five thouſand Scots.

[z] In this battle the vanguard was led by the lord Thomas Howard, who had with him the lords Clifford, Conyers, Latimer, Scrope of Upſale, Lumley, Ogle; ſir Nicholas Appleyard, ſir William Sidney, ſir William Gaſcoyne, ſir Stephen Bull, ſir Henry Shirburne, &c. The right wing was commanded by ſir Edmond Howard, and the left by ſir Marmaduke Conſtable. The rear was brought up by the earl of Surrey himſelf, who was attended by the lord Scrope of Bolton, ſir Philip Tilney, ſir George Darcy, ſir Thomas Barkley, ſir John Stanley, ſir John Willoughby, &c. the lord Dacres, and ſir Edward Stanley, with their horſe, being appointed as a reſerve. On the Scotch ſide there fell one archbiſhop, two biſhops, four abbots, twelve earls, and ſeventeen barons, with eight or ten thouſand common ſoldiers. See a deſcription of the battle in my lord Herbert, p. 18. Hall, fol. 38. &c. Stow, p. 492.

[a] Hall affirms that it was found by the lord Dacres, and ſhewed to ſir William Scot, king James's chancellor, and to ſir John Forman, his ſerjeant porter, who knew him at firſt ſight, fol. 43.

[b] Stow ſays, it was conveyed to Shene monaſtery in Surrey; and further adds, that he had ſeen it there, after the diſſolution of that monaſtery, wrapped in lead, thrown into a large room, amongſt old timber, ſtone, lead, and other rubbiſh, 494.

In

another while he ſollicited him in their favour. Sometimes he excited the pope and Switzers not to ſuffer the king of France to become maſter of Milan; and ſometimes he offered to aſſiſt the ſame prince to conquer that duchy. This was only deceit and artifice to preſerve a diſſention ſo advantageous to him. However, his policy began to fail him. He had ſo forfeited his reputation with reſpect to ſincerity, that he was no longer truſted. It was merely out of neceſſity, or from a deſire to breed ſuſpicion in their enemies, that the reſt of the ſovereigns made any treaties with him, which, they were ſenſible, they could not rely on.

Henry VIII. had with glory got clear of his firſt campaign, but plainly ſaw himſelf indebted for his good ſucceſs to Lewis's paſſion, who had neglected the defence of his own kingdom, by ſending his beſt troops to recover Milan. The truth is, Henry depending upon the treaty of Mechlin, and the diverſions, his allies were to make in ſeveral provinces of France, had led into that kingdom not above five and twenty thouſand men, too weak an army to give him hopes of great advantages, had he been to deal with all the forces of his enemy. Forſaken as he was by the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, how would he have diſengaged himſelf, if Lewis XII. had reſolved to defer the Milan expedition to another time, and march all his troops into Picardy? Thus Henry would have conſidered, and in effect did conſider, that he was more indebted for the victory of Guinegaſte, and the taking of Terouenne and Tournay, to the circumſtance, of the time than to his prudence or valour. He was therefore inclined to get clear of an affair, he had indiſcreetly embarked in, without flattering himſelf any longer with the imaginary aſſiſtance of his allies. It was neceſſary however to conceal his inclination, in order to draw from France advantageous conditions in a treaty. Such was the poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1514. But before I ſpeak of thoſe of England in particular, it is requiſite to ſhew what ſteps were taken by the princes concerned in the troubles of Italy, becauſe that was then the chief point, on which all the other affairs did depend.

Leo X. being alarmed at the negotiation, Lewis XII. had renewed with the emperor, concerning the marriage of René his ſecond daughter uſed all poſſible endeavours to reconcile the Switzers to France, that Lewis might be leſs inclined to treat with the emperor and the king of Arragon. But he wiſhed that Lewis would ratify the capitulation of Dijon, as to what concerned the duchy of Milan, and on the other hand, exhorted the Switzers to be ſatisfied with a leſs ſum than was promiſed by la Trimouille. This was the plan he had formed for that reconciliation. In ſhort, he had ſo far gained his point, that the king of France had offered a truce for three years, without however departing from his pretenſions to Milan, and many of the principal Switzers were ſatisfied with it. But it was not poſſible to perſuade that people to abate any thing of the capitulation of Dijon. They even debated whether they ſhould make a ſecond incurſion into France to revenge the breach of that treaty. Thus the pope's pains were fruitleſs, and the Switzers ſtill remained mortal enemies to France.

Ferdinand having advice of what was tranſacting in Switzerland, was afraid of being deſerted, whether Lewis gave up his claim to Milan, or the Switzers accepted the truce he offered them. So, without communicating any thing to his allies, he ſpeedily ſent Quintana, his ſecretary, to Paris, who renewed for a year the truce with France upon the ſame foot with the former. Only by a ſecret article, Lewis promiſed not to invade the Milaneſe this year. In the publication of the truce in France, there was no mention of Milan. But Ferdinand publiſhed it in Spain with that article, ſo that the world was at a loſe to know what to think of the matter. Lewis made no ſcruple to prolong the truce, becauſe he could not undertake to invade Milan and Navarre, before he had made a peace with England. Beſides, he was very glad the world ſhould think, the truce he had prolonged with the king of Arragon, would be followed by a peace.

This was a very natural conſequence, and probably, it inclined Henry ſeriouſly to think of a peace. But on the other hand, Lewis was going to receive a great prejudice by it, in that the pope to break his meaſures with reſpect to Milan, laboured with all his power to procure a peace between the emperor and the Venetians. He deſired above all things, for the good of his ſee, of all Italy, and of himſelf, that the French ſhould never more ſet foot in Italy. Whilſt the French were in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, Italy had never been free from troubles, the popes had been leſs regarded than before, and the Florentines had preſerved their liberty. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons to make the pope wiſh, they might never return. Beſides, he had formed projects for raiſing his family, which their neighbourhood might obſtruct. One great means to attain his ends, was to deprive Lewis XII. of the aſſiſtance of the Venetians, which would infallibly happen, if it was poſſible to find ſome expedient to make their peace with the emperor. The laſt year the Venetians, preſſed by the Spaniſh army, had agreed to make the pope umpire, and the emperor had accepted him. But the affair had lain dormant ever ſince Preſently after Ferdinand's renewing of the truce with Lewis XII. the pope fearing a peace would be concluded betwen the two monarchs, at the expence of the duchy of Milan, ſtrove to renew the negotiation between the emperor and the Venetians. He new if it ſucceeded, the king of France would in vain expect the aſſiſtance of the republic to conquer Milan. In ſhort, with much ſollicitation, he obtained from both parties an engagement to ſtand to his arbitration, and to give him power to ſettle the terms of the peace as he ſhould think fit. However by a writing under his own hand, he promiſed not to pronounce ſentence without both their conſents.

It was very difficult to make this peace becauſe the war ſtill continuing in the ſtate of Venice and Friuli, the leaſt ſucceſs was ſufficient to cauſe the parties to riſe or fall in their demands. When the Venetians found themſelves preſſed, they very willingly agreed, that the emperor ſhould keep Verona; but then Maximilian would have alſo Vicenza, Padua, and Treviſo. When his affairs were not proſperous, he was ready to leave them theſe three places, but then they could not think of making peace without Verona. Thus the pope, finding the various ſucceſs of the war was a perpetual obſtacle to his projected agreements, paſſed a proviſional ſentence ordering that both parties ſhould lay down their arms; what the emperor would depoſit in his hands, Vicenza, and whatever was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards in the trritories of Padua, and Treviſo: that the Venetians ſhould do the like with regard to Crema, and pay down to the emperor fifty thouſand ducats: that this proviſional agreement ſhould be deemed void, if the two parties ſhould not think proper to ratify it; but in caſe they approved of it, he promiſed to pronounce a definitive ſentence within a year. The Venetians did not think proper to ratify the ſentence being perſuaded that in their preſent circumſtances, a truce was much more prejudicial than the continuation of the war. Thus the pope's pains were ineffectual. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Italy, during the year 1514. We muſt ſee now what paſſed in England.

Henry at his return from his glorious campaign, thought only of mirth ad diverſions. The parliament however met the 3d of January, but there was nothing done of any moment with reſpect to the public affairs [c]. Before the end of the ſeſſion, the king gave the earl of Surrey, the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had enjoyed, and laſt with his life at Boſworth field, fighting for Richard III [d]. By this charge, Thomas Howard, ſon and heir of the new duke, became earl of Surrey. Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, one of the king's favourites, was alſo created duke of Suffolk, and Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter. Margaret of York, daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. obtained likewiſe the title of counteſs of Sarum, as heir to the earl of Warwick, her brother, beheaded by Henry VII [e].

Thomas Wolſey had now been ſome months prime-miniſter, without receiving other particular marks of his maſter's favour. But Wolſey was not forgetful of himſelf. The biſhopric of Lincoln being vacant he ſo ordered that the king demanded it for him of the pope, who had engroſſed the

[c] In this parliament it enacted, that ſurgeons ſhould be diſcharged of conſtableſhip, ward, bearing of arms, and of inqueſts and juries; by reaſon of the continual ſervice and attendance they give day and night, and at all hours, to their patients.

[d] For his memorable victory over the Scots at Floddon, he had a ſpecial grant from the king, to himſelf and the heirs male of his body, of an honourable augmentation to his arms; namely, to bear on the bend thereof the upper half of a red lion (painted as the arms of Scotland) pierced through the mouth with an arrow. He was created duke of Norfolk, Feb. 1, 1513-14. His farther derived his deſcent (by the heirs male of Mowbray and Segrave) from Thomas Brotherton, ſon to king Edward I. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 208.

[e] She was wife of ſir Richard Pole, deſcended from an aincient ſtock of that name ſomewhere in Wales. This ſir Richard was made chief gentleman of the bedchamber to prince Arthur, and knight of the moſt noble order the garter. He had four ſons by the lady Margaret; Henry, afterwards lord Montague, Geffery, Arthur, and Reginald, the famous cardinal Pole, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and one of the three that preſided at the council at Trent. Margaret petitioned to be counteſs of Saliſbury, from her grandfather Richard Nevil, earl of Saliſbury, for all whoſe caſtles manors, and lands, ſhe obtained a grant dated October 14, which came to the crown by the attainder of her brother Edward earl of Warwick. Idem. p. 292.

This

callations of all the ſeas, by anticipated reſervations. Shortly after, Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, neglecting to repair to his biſhopric, ſince the city was in the hands of the king of England, the pope readily ſuppoſed he had quitted his ſee, and gave the adminiſtration thereof to Thomas Wolſey, both in temporals and ſpirituals. This was ſuddenly and almoſt at once a great addition to the new favourite's income. Leo X. not expecting much, either from the emperor, or the king of Arragon, eaſily perceived, he might want the king of England. In order to gain his protection, he had diſpoſed of the ſees of Lincoln and Tournay, in favour of Wolſey, to win him to his intereſt, by preſents which coſt him nothing. But after having ſatisfied the favourite, he muſt teſtify by ſome mark of diſtinction, his eſteem for the maſter. To that purpoſe he ſent him a ſword and a hat, conſecrated on Chriſtmas-day, which the popes were wont to preſent to princes or generals who had obtained ſome ſignal victory over the enemies of the church.

Whilſt the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, were labouring to accompliſh their projects, Lewis XII. was not unmindful of his own affairs[f]. Among all his enemies, none gave him ſo much uneaſineſs as the king of England, chiefly for two reaſons. Firſt, Henry was young, greedy of glory, rich in ready money, and moreover always ſure of ſupplies from his parliament, eſpecially in caſe of a war with France. Secondly, the diverſion he could and did make in Picardy, by means of Calais, rendered all Lewis's projects in Italy fruitleſs. He thereby kept the forces of France ſo divided, that it was almoſt impoſſible to aſſiſt one another in caſe of accident. Thus, it was the king of France's great intereſt to remove this thorn from his ſide, otherwiſe he could not undertake to recover Genoa and Milan. Accordingly, he had been very ſeriouſly endeavouring it, ever ſince the end of the laſt campaign, by the means of Lewis of Orleans, duke of Longueville, taken priſoner at the battle of Guinegaſte. It was this private embaſſador who, in his frequent converſations with Henry, laboured by degrees to open his eyes, by ſhewing him how little he could depend upon his allies, and by clearly diſcovering their artifices to draw him into their ſnares. Henry was convinced, but in all appearance, was told many things which he knew not before. However this be, theſe converſations had ſuch an effect, that Henry told the duke he was inclined to peace, provided it was upon reaſonable terms. Lewis XII. having notice thereof, ordered the duke of Longueville privately to negotiate the affair, and try to diſcover the king of England's real intentions. Probably, Henry inſiſted ſome time upon his claim to the whole kingdom of France, and particularly to Guienne and Normandy, which made the duke apprehenſive, his negotiation would not be ſucceſsful. However, to induce Henry to abate ſomething of his pretenſions, the duke had orders to demand the princeſs Mary his ſiſter, for the king his maſter, who had loſt Anne of Bretagne, his queen, the beginning of the year. This private negotiation, to which only Thomas Wolſey, biſhop of Lincoln, was admitted, continued ſome time without making ſome progreſs, by reaſon of Henry's exceſſive commands. At laſt, at a ſecret conference which the king himſelf had with the duke of Longueville, he ſuddenly deſiſted from the hardeſt of his demands, and plainly told him, on what conditions the peace might be concluded, adding, he was fully reſolved to reſt there. Here is a letter from the king to Wolſey, under his own hand, after the conference, wherein appears what was his laſt reſolution. [g].

"MY lorde of Lynkecolne, I recommande me unto yow. And lette yow wyte that I have ſpokyne with the duke; whych in the begynnynge was as yll afrayde as ever he was in his lyffe leſt no good effecte ſhulde comme to pas. Nevertheles, in farther communyng, we went more roundly to our matters; in ſo moche that I ſayde to him, ſeinge that the kyng yowr maſter hathe ſoght ſo gentely unto us for bothe amyte and marryage, I aſſwre yow (our honour ſavyd) we colde be well be content to gyffe herkyne thereto, and yff the offers wer reſonable agree upon thos ſame; but thes be not reſonable except the amyte ſhulde no longer contynw than the payment off money; and yet natt ſo, excepte ther wer a reaſonable ſumme of mony to be payd in hand by and by:

"Yff his maſter will have the marriage, I can natt ſee how itt can be convenyently, exceptte the amyte be made durying our lyffes and on yer affter, to the intente that all ſupycyon off bothe ſydes may be ſett apart:

"Whyche maryage and amyte your maſter may have wnder this manner; that is to ſay, paynge erly on hundred thouſand crowns and att hys requeſt I nat to ſtryke for no redy mony in hande, but I to ſtande contente therewith for recompenſe off all thyngs.

"Whyche, yff your maſter conſidere what herytaunce he holdyth from me, and what good my amyte may do to helpe forth hys mater in Italy, I thynke he wyll natt grettly ſtyke at:

"Thys forther more I ſayde to the duke, ſurly I can natt ſee how the amyte made for yers can any longer indure then the payment whyche expryde ſhoulde be occaſion off new breche and demands, whereby noder he nor we ſhulde lyff quiettly, whiche, yff ther fall alyance, I wholde be lothe to ſee; wherfor I ſee no way to eſchewe all dangers and parraylles, and to recompenſe me for withholdying off myne inheritance (which yff I wolde be ſlake in, my ſubjectes wolde murmure att) but to make thys amyte duryng oure lyffs and on yere affter, paynge yerly as above reherſed; whyche amyte wons grantyd the alyance ſhulde natt be refuſyde, nor none other thing whyche with my honour ſavyd I might do.

"Saying forther more to hyme that, yff I might demande with my honour any leſſe or take any leſſe offere (ſeyng his maſter is ſo well mynded to the forſayd alyance and amyte) I wolde be glad to do that att hys requeſt, but leſs then thys hit can nott ſtonde with my honour, nor my ſubjectes wyll nat be content that I ſhulde take.

"My lord, I ſhuyd him furthermore that yff he thought we myght truſt to have thys end, I wolde be cyntent that yow and they ſhulde commune on all other artycylles, concernyng the amyte and marryiage, tyll we might have abſolute aſſurance in that behalfe for lyſyng off time.

"To whyche he anſwarde, that he colde natt aſſure me thereoff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my demands wer ſo reaſonable, that hys maſter wolde agree thereto.

"On truſt hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the reſodue off the artycylles as ſoone as you can;

"And thus fare yow well.

"Wryttyn with the hande off your lovying maſter,
HENRY R."

Though this letter has no date, it may by ſeveral circumſtances be conjectured to be written in June 1514.

Lewis XII. being informed of the king of England's laſt reſolution, entertained great hopes of a peace. There were however two articles which troubled him. The firſt was to pay annually a hundred thouſand crowns, as a compenſation for Henry's claim to the kingdom of France. This was in ſome meaſure to own the juſtice of his title, and pay him a ſort of tribute, which he could not reſolve. The other article, related to Tournay, which he deſired to recover, and which however was not mentioned in the king's propoſals. But as to this article, there was an obſtacle which was not eaſily to be ſurmounted, and that was, Wolſey was concerned. It was not ſufficient to gain Henry by flatteries, or by giving him a ſum of money in lieu of Tournay; the favourite muſt alſo be made amends for the loſs of a ſee which brought him a conſiderable income. To endeavour therefore to agree upon theſe two articles, Lewis ſent embaſſadors to England. He choſe for that purpoſe, Lewis d'Orleans duke of Longueville, John de Salve firſt preſident of Roan, and Thomas Bohier, to whom du Bellai gives the title of general of Normandy, and the king in his commiſſion that of chevalier general of France. Mean while, the two kings agreed upon a ceſſation of arms during the treaty.

It was eaſier for the French embaſſadors to cauſe Henry to alter his laſt reſolution concerning the firſt article than to obtain the reſtitution of Tournay. The reaſon is evident. In the firſt article, the king alone was concerned, whereas in the ſecond, the miniſter's intereſt was properly in queſtion. Mean while, ſince Henry was determined to make peace with France, Tournay could be of no farther uſe, and a ſum of money would have been doubtleſs more advantageous than the preſervation of that place. But Wolſey perceived when Tournay ſhould be in the hands of the king of France, he would infallibly loſe the adminiſtration of the ſee. So, the negotiation of the embaſſadors upon that article was entirely fruitleſs. It was not the ſame with reſpect to the penſion of the hundred thouſand crowns demanded by Henry. They found means to perſuade him to be ſatisfied

[f] This year Pregent landed on the coaſt of Suſſex, and burnt Brightelmſtone; whereupon ſir John Wallop was ſent to revenge this affront, who landed in Normandy, and burnt twenty-one villages and towns. Stow, p. 49.

[g] The tranſlator has thought fit to inſert the original letter in the very words of king Henry, as it is to be found in Rymer's Fœdera; and intends to do the ſame by all the original papers, which Rapin hath tranſlated.

with a million of crowns, in which were included the ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand contained in the treaty of Eſtaples, but whereof, indeed, an inconſiderable part had been paid. The Spaniſh embaſſador reſiding at London, uſed all poſſible endeavours to intervene in the negotiation. But Henry would never ſuffer him, well knowing, he only intended to obſtruct it. The commiſſioners of the two kings[h] having ſettled all the articles, the treaties were ſigned the 7th of Auguſt.

There were three ſeparate treaties. The firſt concerned only the renewing of the alliance between France and England. The ſecond was about the marriage of the princeſs Mary with Lewis XII. The third, related to the payment of the million of crowns. As theſe treaties ſerved for foundation to many others hereafter concluded, it is neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance, at leaſt of the moſt material articles.

I. TREATY,

Of Peace and Amity between Lewis XII. and Henry VIII. concluded at London, Auguſt 7, 1514.

THAT the amity between the two kings ſhould laſt till a year after the death of the ſhorteſt liver. That the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, ſhould give notice within the year to the other, whether he would prolong this or make a new treaty.

That all impoſitions laid, within fifty-two years laſt paſt, by one king on the ſubjects of the other, ſhould be aboliſhed.

That the peace ſhould not be deemed violated by the outrages committed on either ſide.

That neither of the two kings ſhould afford protection or refuge to the rebels of the other.

By the 14th, 15th, and 16th articles, the two kings bound themſelves to mutual aſſiſtance in three caſes: 1. For defence of one another's dominions: 2. For recovery of the territories with-held by other princes: 3. In caſe one of the two kings ſhould be attacked on account of the preſent treaty, and affirmed upon his honour, it was for that cauſe. In each of theſe caſes the conditions were different[i]. But in the laſt, they promiſed mutual aid, though the aſſailant ſhould be relation, friend, or ally of one only, or of both.

Lewis included in the treaty as his allies, the pope, the Switzers, and the king of Scotland[k]. On Henry's part were named the pope, Bologna, all the towns of St. Peter's patrimony, the archduke of Auſtria, and the Switzers[l].

Scotland was included in the treaty, but on condition that the Scots ſhould commit no hoſtilities againſt England after the 25th of November.

That the treaty ſhould be ratified and ſworn by the two kings, and confirmed by the parliament of England, and the ſtates of France.

That each of the two kings ſhould endeavour to obtain of the pope a ſentence of excommunication againſt the infractor of the peace.

II. TREATY,

Concerning the Marriage of Lewis XII. with the Princeſs Mary.

THAT matrimony ſhould be contracted by proxies, and per verba de præſenti within ten days after the date of this treaty.

That the king of England [within two months after the contract] ſhould convey, at his own charge, the princeſs his ſiſter to Abbeville, where within four days after her arrival the king of France ſhould ſolemnly marry her.

That Mary ſhould have in dower four hundred thouſand crowns, two hundred thouſand whereof ſhould be reckoned for jewels, &c. and in caſe of recovery, Lewis ſhould be obliged to reſtore only the jewels, &c. which ſhould be valued at the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns.

That the other half, amounting to two hundred thouſand crowns, Henry ſhould pay, by deducting the ſum out of the million the king of France was bound to pay by a late treaty.

That the future queen's jointure ſhould be as great as that aſſigned to Anne of Bretagne, or any other queen of France.

That in caſe of Lewis's death, Mary ſhould enjoy her dower and jointure during life, whether ſhe reſided in France or England.

III. TREATY,

For the Payment of a Million of Crowns.

BY this treaty Lewis XII. acknowledged, that by the treaty of Eſtaples, Charles VIII. was bound to pay Henry VII. or his ſucceſſors the ſum of 745,000 crowns, and that himſelf was obliged to pay the arrears of the ſame.

Moreover, that Charles duke of Orleans his father, by an obligation dated March the 7th, 1444, had owned himſelf debtor in a certain ſum to Margaret of Somerſet, grandmother of Henry VIII.

That theſe two ſums not being yet paid, Lewis bound himſelf to pay to the king of England, or his ſucceſſors, a million of crowns, as well for the arrears of the ſaid two ſums, as on account of the good affection he bore him, and to the end their amity might be the more laſting.

That this million ſhould be paid by Lewis to the king of England by half yearly payments of fifty thouſand livres Tournois, till the whole was diſcharged.

Thus the war, which had been undertaken on pretence of religion, and for the glory of God, ended in a treaty, which mentions neither religion, nor the pope, nor the church.

On the other hand, though the princeſs Mary had been ſolemnly affianced to Charles of Auſtria, Lewis XII. and Henry VIII. made no difficulty concerning this ſecond marriage, neither did they ſo much as vouchſafe to demand the pope's diſpenſation to abſolve Mary from her firſt contract. Only a few days before the ſigning of the treaty, Mary declared in the preſence of a notary public and other witneſſes, that ſhe had been forced to plight her faith to the prince of Caſtile, archduke of Auſtria. That moreover the archduke having promiſed to eſpouſe her by proxy, and per verba de præſenti, as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, had broken his word. She added further, that ſhe was creditably informed, the counſellors and confidents of the prince of Caſtile were inſtilling into him, to the utmoſt of their power, an averſion for the king of England her brother. Upon theſe allegations, the two kings, making themſelves judges in a cauſe which doubtleſs belonged to the pope's cognizance, thought fit the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

I have ſtill to remark upon the third treaty, That though Henry had declared to the duke of Longueville, as appears in his letter to Wolſey, that he could not make peace unleſs the king of France would pay him a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, as a compenſation for the inheritance he with-held from him, an expedient was found to ſatisfy him with much leſs. The whole was reduced to Lewis's bond to pay him a million of crowns, two thirds of which were already due before the treaty. Beſides, that this bond might not be conſidered as a compenſation of the king of England's title to France, according to Henry's intentions, it was expreſly ſaid in the treaty to be in payment of the arrears of the ſeven hundred forty-five thouſand crowns, due to the king of England by the treaty of Eſtaples, of another ſum due from the late duke of Orleans to Margaret, the king's grandmother, and laſtly, for Lewis's good affection to Henry. Hereby was ſunk the principal foundation, on which Henry had built his demand of a penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, a demand conſidered by him as the baſis of the treaty according to his letter to Wolſey. It may therefore be affirmed, that Henry was no leſs over-reached by the king of France in the treaty of peace, than he had been by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, in that which had engaged him in the war. This proceeded not from his miſunderſtanding his own intereſts, ſince it appears in his letter, that he was very ſenſible of the conſequence of his demand. To what then can his uneaſineſs be aſcribed but to the inſinuations of his prime miniſter, who certainly erred not out of ignorance? Probably Lewis XII. found means to make Wolſey his friend. We ſhall ſee ſtill

[h] The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Thomas duke of Norfolk, Thomas biſhop of Lincoln, and Richard biſhop of Wincheſter. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 422.

[i] In the firſt caſe, Lewis was to furniſh twelve hundred lances by land, and five thouſand men by ſea, with convenient ſhipping; and Henry ten thouſand archers by land, and five thouſand men at ſea, with ſhipping. In the ſecond, Lewis was to lend Henry ſix hundred lances only, and Henry him but five thouſand archers, with the ſame ſea forces on both ſides as before mentioned. In the third, one was to aid the other at his charge that was invaded.

[k] And the kings of Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Gueldres, and Lorrain: Venice, Florence; the biſhop of Liege; the marquiſſes of Mantua, Montferrat, and Saluzzo: and the lord of Sedan. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 419.

[l] As alſo the dukes of Cleves, and Juliers; the Hanſe Towns; and the lord de Ligny. Ibid.

He

more plainly hereafter, that this miniſter was much more mindful of his own than his maſter's advantages when they came in competition, and that he loſt no opportunity of enriching himſelf.

Whilſt Wolſey was employed with the French embaſſadors in negotiating the peace, cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York died at Rome the 14th of July, [m]. The ſame day cardinal Julius de Medici, afterwards pope, by the name of Clement VII. ſent the king notice of his death, acquainting him withal that he had prevailed with the pope not to diſpoſe of the ſee of York before his pleaſure was known. Whereupon the king demanded the archbiſhopric for Thomas Wolſey, which was immediately granted. This miniſter was then in ſo great favour, that he abſolutely directed all the king's affairs, who had for him a very great eſteem and affection. It may be preſumed that he was now doing Lewis XII. ſome good ſervices, ſince there are in the Collection of the Public Acts, ſeveral letters from that monarch to him, beginning with theſe kind words, "My lord of York, and very good friend."

Auguſt and September were ſpent in preparations for the new queen of France's journey, in the celebration of the marriage by proxies in France and England, and in the ratifications of the treaties. After which, Mary was conducted to Abbeville with a numerous train of lords and ladies, where the marriage was conſummated the 9th of October [n].

Whilſt the peace between France and England was treating at London, the pope, emperor, and king of Arragon, omitted nothing that they imagined would obſtruct it. They plainly perceived, it could not but turn to their prejudice, and that the burthen of the war would fall upon them. They were even afraid, that Henry would join againſt them with France. Leo X. had ſent to Henry to perſuade him to a peace, and yet, when he ſaw it upon the point of concluſion, would have been glad his exhortations had not been regarded. So, to croſs the negotiation at London as much as he could, he propoſed a new league with the king of France, imagining it would be a means to abate his eagerneſs for a peace with England. But as Lewis took a fortnight to give him his anſwer, he was afraid of being left alone, and for that reaſon, made haſte and concluded a defenſive league with the king of Arragon for a year only.

On the other hand, Ferdinand fearing Lewis, after making a peace with England, would invade Navarre, offered him his aſſiſtance to conquer Milan. But Lewis knew him too well to put any confidence in him. In ſhort, the emperor and Ferdinand, deſiring at any rate to hinder him from concluding with England, ſent him their conſent in form for the marriage of René his ſecond daughter with Charles of Auſtria their grandſon. At the ſame time Maximilian ratified the one years truce made by Ferdinand with France, but all would not do. They had even the mortification to hear, that they were neither of them included in the treaty of London; a clear evidence how little Henry valued their friendſhip. Notwithſtanding all this, they both feigned to be extremely pleaſed with the peace, though in their hearts they were exceedingly vexed.

It was expected, that the king of France being freed from the war with England, would infallibly recover Genoa and Milan. The pope was ſo perſuaded of it, that he writ to exhort him to that expedition, though at the ſame time he uſed all his endeavours to break his meaſures by an agreement between the emperor and the Venetians. He even diſpatched to Venice Peter Bembo, afterwards cardinal, to incline the Venetians to peace. But they fearing the pope was laying a ſnare for them, to take off the king from their alliance, gave him immediate information, and thereby rendered him very jealous of his holineſs.

Leo X. was forming at that time grand projects in favour of Julian de Medici his brother. His deſign was to become maſter of Ferrara and Urbino, and to join theſe two ſtates to Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and the city of Modena, lately purchaſed of the emperor, in order to caſt them into one ſtate for his brother, of whom he had a mind to make a great prince. Nay, it is ſaid, he intended to add the kingdom of Naples; and, to make that conqueſt, had joined in a league with the Venetians. But as he ſaw the king of France would quickly invade the Milaneſe, he ſhewed great regard for him, leſt he ſhould make an enemy of a prince, who, if he came to be poſſeſſed of Milan, would have it in his power to obſtruct his deſigns. Mean while, Lewis not being pleaſed with the pope, preſſed him to declare himſelf, reſolving to know for certain, whether he was to conſider him as a friend, or an enemy. Leo, who perceived his intent, amuſed him with fair words, without, however, being determined, becauſe his purpoſe was to regulate his conduct by the events of the war, he foreſaw. This did not hinder Lewis from vigorouſly continuing the neceſſary preparations for his expedition into Italy, where he intended to go in perſon the next ſpring. But whilſt he was thinking of means to relieve the Lanthorn Tower, which he ſtill held at Genoa, and by the help whereof, hoped to become maſter of the city, he received the news that it was ſurrendered by capitulation, and immediately razed by the Genoeſe. However, this was not capable to deter him from his deſigns upon Italy.

Before I cloſe the year 1514, it will not be unſerviceable briefly to relate what paſſed in Scotland this year. James IV. left two ſons, of whom the eldeſt, called after his own name, was not yet full two years old. By a will, made before he took the field, he left the regency of the kingdom after his death to the queen, ſiſter of Henry VIII. during her widowhood. The ſtates being met the beginning of the year 1514, immediately acknowledged for king, James V. ſon and heir to the deceaſed. As for the regency, there would doubtleſs have been great debates, if the loſs of the battle of Floddon had not made the Scots apprehenſive, that the king of England would improve the advantage he had over them. There had never been in Scotland a queen regent, and that would have been ſufficient to reject the clauſe of the late king's will. But it was hoped, the queen would prevail with the king her brother, to leave in peace a country whereof ſhe had the government. This expectation was not diſappointed. The queen being declared regent, and writing to the king her brother, to intreat him not to diſturb the minority of the young king his nephew, Henry generouſly anſwered, he was equally inclined to peace or war, and left it to the Scots to chuſe which they pleaſed.

After this declaration, probably, Scotland would have remained in quiet under the regency of the queen, if that princeſs had not married again ſome months after. She choſe for her conſort Archibald Douglaſs, earl of Angus, one of the greateſt lords in Scotland, and by this ſecond marriage filled the kingdom with confuſion and trouble. As by the late king's will ſhe was to be regent only during her widowhood, the queſtion was to appoint another in her room. Douglaſs, her huſband, uſed all his endeavours to have her continued in the regency. He affirmed, there was no other way to preſerve peace with England; and beſides, Henry would be obliged to ſupport the queen his ſiſter, in caſe any one ſhould pretend to diſturb her. But this laſt conſideration had a quite contrary effect to what the earl expected, upon thoſe who dreaded his too great advancement. They knew that being huſband to the regent, he would always be countenanced by the king of England, and by his aſſiſtance, enabled to engroſs more authority than they wiſhed him. Alexander Hume, governor of all the country north of the Frith, was the head of thoſe that oppoſed the queen's regency. He was a proud and haughty man, who could not endure a ſuperior. During the late king's life, he had been preſident of the marches bordering upon England, where he had committed ſuch outrages, that as ſome ſay, for fear of being called to an account, he killed, or cauſed to be killed, James IV. when he was retiring out of the battle of Floddon. However that be, Hume uſed all his intereſt to break Douglaſs's and the queen's meaſures, and propoſed John Stewart, duke of Albany, for regent. This duke was ſon of Alexander duke of Albany, brother of James III. who to avoid the perſecutions of the king his brother, was forced

[m] He was poiſoned by Rinaldo de Modena, his ſteward, or chaplain, an Italian prieſt, to revenge a blow his maſter gave him, as Rinaldo confeſſed at his execution. Wood, p. 104. Stow, p. 496. There is a letter wrote by one Pace, from Rome, charging Sylveſter, (an Italian) biſhop of Worceſter with having a hand in his death. Fiddes.

[n] The king and queen conducted her to Dover, and then recommended her to the duke of Norfolk's care, who attended her to Abbeville. The other perſons of note that attended her, were, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, Thomas biſhop of Durham, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and admiral Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter, Thomas Docwra, prior of St. John's of Jeruſalem, Dr. Nicholas Weſt, dean of Windſor; the lords Delaware, Barners, Monteagle, ſir Maurice Barkley, ſir John Peache, ſir William Sandes, ſir Thomas Bulleyn, &c. Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 449. Hall, fol. 48. She embarked October 2. After the ceremony was over, all her retinues were diſmiſſed, except a few officers and attendants, among whom, ſays the lord Herbert, was Mrs. Anne Bulleyn, daughter of ſir Thomas Bulleyn. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 43, 44. Before the coronation was over, there were ſolemn juſts and tournaments held at Paris, by Francis de Valois, heir to the crown, at which the duke of Suffolk, and the marquis of Dorſet came off with honour. The king and queen of France were ſpectators; but the king was ſo old and infirm, that he lay on a couch. The duke of Valois, out of envy, cauſed, it ſeems, a German of prodigious ſtrength and ſize, to be privately introduced into the field, in order to oppoſe the duke of Suffolk, who, though with great difficulty, got the better of the German. Herbert, p. 21. Hall, fol. 48, 49, Stow, p. 495.

Lewis

to fly into France, where he died. He left there this ſon, who being married, and adhering to the ſervice of Lewis XII. [o] had received many favours from that monarch, and acquired a great reputation. Though he had never been in Scotland, he was however the young king's neareſt relation, and Hume had intereſt enough to have him declared regent. Whereupon the ſtates ſent deputies to offer him the regency, and to pray him to come inſtantly and govern the realm in the king's name. Lewis XII. dying during theſe tranſactions, Francis I. his ſucceſſor, having great reaſons not to diſpleaſe the king of England, would not ſuffer the duke of Albany to depart till he had finiſhed his affairs with Henry. For this cauſe the regent arrived not in Scotland before May 1515. During this interval, Scotland being without a governor, the diſſentions among the great men much increaſed, every one having time to form his cabals againſt the regent's arrival.

[1515] The firſt day of the year was the laſt of Lewis XIIth's life [p]. But the death of that prince made no alteration in the ſituation of the affairs of the kingdom. The duke of Valois, who ſucceeded him by the name of Francis I. plainly diſcovered, by adding the title of duke of Milan to that of king of France, that he intended to purſue his predeceſſor's deſigns. Mean while, he did not think fit openly to declare his intentions, till he had ſettled his affairs both abroad and at home.

By the death of Lewis XII. queen Mary, his widow, was at liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf, and to follow her own inclinations rather than the politic views of the king her brother. Before her marriage, ſhe had conceived an affection for Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, a moſt accompliſhed lord. It is even ſaid the king had promiſed to marry her to him. But as her marriage with Lewis XII. was to be the band of the peace between France and England, ſhe was under a neceſſity to ſacrifice her love to the good of both kingdoms. The duke of Suffolk, however, waited upon her into France, though he was not of the number of thoſe who were appointed to conduct her. Mezerai ſays, the duke of Valois, preſumptive heir to the crown of France, cauſed that Engliſh lord to be narrowly watched, for fear he ſhould give the king a ſucceſſor. This ſhews that the queen's inclination was no ſecret. The death of Lewis XII. happening within three months after his marriage, the queen dowager was not willing to run a ſecond hazard of being given to another huſband not of her own chuſing. Henry ſuſpecting her deſign, writ to her the beginning of February, deſiring her not to marry again without his conſent. But the queen believed it would be eaſier to obtain the king's pardon when the thing was done, than his permiſſion to do it. [q]. So, in March, about two months after the death of Lewis XII. ſhe was privately married to the duke of Suffolk. The next day ſhe ſent word of it in a letter to the king, her brother, and taking the whole blame upon herſelf, intimated to him, that ſhe had in ſome meaſure forced the duke to this raſh action. Henry ſeemed diſpleaſed at firſt, but his anger was ſoon over. Their peace being made, they returned to Henry, and were very well received [r].

The parliament was then ſitting [s], and as England was in profound tranquillity, the houſes were only employed in domeſtic affairs, which are of little or no conſequence to foreigners. There were, however, three ſtatutes paſſed this ſeſſion which deſerve notice. It was provided by the firſt, that unwrought wool ſhould not be exported out of the kingdom, for the encouragement of the woolen manufactury. This act has been often revived by reaſon of its importance, and yet, even now, an effectual means is wanting to prevent the clandeſtine exportation of wool. The ſecond ſtatute declared all the king's ſecond letters patents to be void, unleſs mention was made of the firſt. This was to prevent the king from being ſurpriſed. The third was no leſs neceſſary. It frequently happened, that towards the end of a ſeſſion, ſeveral members went home, imagining there was nothing more of moment to be done. Then the factious took advantage of their abſence, to propoſe and paſs ſuch bills as probably would have been thrown out, had the houſe been more numerous. It was therefore enacted, that the members who abſented themſelves before the end of the ſeſſion, without the ſpeaker's and commons leave, to be entered in the clerk of the parliament's books ſhould loſe their wages [t]. I muſt now interrupt for ſome time the recital of domeſtic, to ſpeak of foreign affairs, which are to ſerve for foundation to what will hereafter be ſaid with reſpect to England.

Francis I. was too much concerned to renew the alliance between France and England, to fail of performing the article of the treaty, whereby the ſucceſſor of him that died firſt, was to acquaint the other whether he deſigned to prolong the time of the alliance. As he intended to paſs into Italy to recover the duchy of Milan, it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſecure the king of England. To that purpoſe, about the middle of March, he ſent to the firſt preſident of Roan, his embaſſador at London, a commiſſion to renew the alliance with Henry, as well as the bond for the payment of the million, to which Lewis XII. was obliged. This was done by a new treaty, ſigned the 5th of April, and exactly like the former.

After all the frauds uſed by the king of Arragon to Henry, there was no room to hope for a perfect friendſhip between them. However, Ferdinand, who was not eaſily diſcouraged, ſent to the king his ſon-in-law, a new embaſſador, to propoſe the renewing of their alliance. It is likely, he did not believe Henry had ſo ſoon forgot his deceits, but it was for his intereſt that he ſhould be known to have an embaſſador in England. The embaſſador arrived in May, but was ſuffered to wait in vain till October, without being diſpatched: nay, very probably he would never have ſucceeded in his negotiation, if Wolſey's intereſt had not cauſed the king to alter his reſolution never to have any thing to do with the king his father-in-law. I ſhall ſpeak more fully of this affair in another place.

Whilſt the Spaniſh embaſſador was waiting in vain at London, Henry had two at Bruſſels, who made no greater progreſs. He had not dealt very gallantly with the young archduke, in giving the princeſs his bride to Lewis XII. without any ceremony. Indeed, Charles had not repaired to Calais the 5th of May the laſt year, as he was bound by the treaty of Liſle: but it could not thence be inferred, he had renounced his marriage, at leaſt before he was aſked whether he intended to conſummate it. Henry was afraid therefore, the archduke having lately aſſumed the government of the Low-Countries, and made a treaty with France, would think of revenging the affront. So, in order to ſound him, or prevent the effects of his reſentment, he ſent two embaſſadors [u] to propoſe the renewing of the former alliance between Henry VIII. and Philip I. their fathers. But the embaſſadors were ſuffered to wait a good while at Bruſſels, without being much regarded, or receiving any anſwer.

The affairs of Europe were then in a ſituation, which would not allow the young archduke to engage in any party. It was neceſſary, in order to take juſt meaſures, to wait the ſucceſs of the war, which Francis I. was preparing to carry into Italy. In all appearance, it would produce events capable of altering the intereſts and projects of moſt of the ſovereigns. Since Francis's acceſſion to the crown, he had plainly ſhewn, that he intended not to ſuffer Maximilian Sforza peaceably to enjoy the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, the king

[o] Lewis, when duke of Orleans, killed the duke, his father, at a tournament. Rapin.

[p] He died (ſays the lord Herbert) after eighty days poſſeſſion rather than enjoying of his queen, leaving behind him no male iſſue, though otherwiſe of that eſteem among his ſubjects, for his care not to oppreſs them with impoſitions longer than his neceſſities required, that he was called father of his people, p. 22. Stow, p. 496.

[q] The lord Herbert ſays, ſhe wrote before her marriage to the king her brother, proteſting, that if he would have her married in any place, ſave where her mind was, ſhe would ſhut herſelf up in ſome religious houſe. She ſet the duke of Suffolk but the ſpace of four days to gain her good will, and told him if he could not do it in that time, he ſhould be out of all hopes of enjoying her, p. 22.

[r] He, with ſir Richard Wingfield, and Dr. Weſt, were deputed to carry over Henry's letters of condolance to the queen, and had not been long at Paris, before he made his addreſſes to her. They arrived the ſecond of May, and were publicly married on the thirteenth at Greenwich. The queen (ſay the French) carried with her in jewels, plate, and tapeſtry, of Lewis XII. to the value of two hundred thouſand crowns; amongſt which was a great diamond, called le miroir de Naples, which Francis would fain have redeemed at a great price. Mrs. Ann Bulleyn ſtaid behind in the French court. Herbert, p. 22.

[s] It met February 5. See Statute-book.

[t] Theſe wages were levied by the ſheriffs, and the moſt ancient writs for knights wages extant, are thoſe of 28, 29, 32 of Edward I. The firſt ſtatute concerning them is, that of 12 Richard II. namely, that the levying of the expences of kights ſhall be, as hath been uſed before this time. The wages in this reign were four ſhillings a day for knights of the ſhire, and two ſhillings at leaſt for burgeſſes, beſides the charges of going and coming, and fees for writs, &c. In this parliament there was alſo another ſtatute made, importing, that whereas divers felons and murderers did, upon feigned and untrue ſurmiſes, get themſelves removed into the King's Bench, and could not by order of law be remitted and ſent down to the juſtices of gaol-delivery: that therefore for the future, the juſtices of the King's Bench ſhall have full power and authority, to remit and ſend down the bodies or indictments of all felons and murderers, into the counties where the murders or felonies were committed. Stat. 6, Hen. VIII. c. 6.

[u] Sir Edward Poynings, and Dr. William Knight. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 496.

The

of Arragon was under apprehenſions for Naples and Navarre. Francis I. was a young prince, full of courage and ambition, and it could not be doubted that he had formed great projects. So the eyes of all were upon him, to ſee in what manner he would begin his reign. He was making preparations, which diſcovered he had ſome great deſign in his thoughts, and did not take much pains to conceal that he had Milan in view. Mean while, he uſed for pretence of his armament, the invaſion Burgundy was threatened with by the Switzers. But the league he had lately renewed with Venice, and his offer to Ferdinand to prolong the truce, provided the ſecret article concerning the Milaneſe was annulled, were plain indications of his deſigns.

All this was not ſufficient to make Ferdinand perfectly eaſy. He was afraid of being deceived by Francis, and that his preparations were intended for Navarre. To prevent this danger, he rejected Francis's offer, and withal made uſe of it to induce the emperor and Switzers to join with him for the defence of the Milaneſe, intimating there was no room to queſtion, that the king of France would turn his arms that way. As for the emperor, he did not want much ſolicitation. He readily entered into all ſorts of leagues, becauſe he always found means to thrive at another's expence. There was more difficulty with regard to the Switzers, becauſe Francis had among them adherents, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from the league. But his enemies prevailed in the end[w], and the league was concluded between the emperor, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the Switzers. Ferdinand played one of his uſual artifices upon this occaſion. He perſuaded the Switzers, that to defend the Milaneſe, the ſhorteſt way was to attack the king of France in his own kingdom. For that purpoſe, he engaged to make a powerful diverſion on the ſide of Fontarabia, whilſt the Switzers ſhould invade Burgundy, and the emperor, by continuing the war in the ſtate of Venice, hinder the Venetians from aſſiſting the common enemy. His chief aim was to defend Navarre, in caſe Francis I. had thoughts of turning his arms that way, and then to hinder that prince from becoming maſter of the duchy of Milan. His league with the Switzers was equally ſubſervient to both theſe ends. For if Francis I. invaded Navarre, the Switzers would divert him from his purpoſe, by making an inroad into Burgundy. But if he really intended to conquer Milan, the Switzers, as next neighbours, and moſt concerned, could not diſpenſe with aſſiſting that duchy. What Ferdinand had foreſeen, came to paſs. Francis having ordered his forces to file off towards the Alps, the Switzers ſent their troops into Italy, where they ſeized the two paſſes, through which only it was thought poſſible to enter the Milaneſe. When Ferdinand was aſſured the king of France was marching towards Milan, he diſbanded the army levied for the defence of Navarre, leaving the Milaneſe to be taken care of by the Switzers. The very army Ferdinand had in Italy, under the command of the viceroy of Naples, made no motion to join them. The emperor remained without acting at Inſpruck. Leo X. who had alſo entered into the league, gave them no ſort of aſſiſtance. Thus the whole burthen of the war fell upon the Switzers, without even the other allies ſending a penny of the money that was promiſed them. But this was no wonder. The Switzers were no more exempted than the king of England, and ſo many other princes, whom Maximilian and Ferdinand had ſerved in the ſame manner.

Mean while, Francis I. having found means to march his army through a place which ſeemed impracticable[x], the Switzers who guarded the paſſes retired to Milan, and Francis advanced alſo towards the ſame city. When he approached, he offered the Switzers a ſum of money to return home. This negotiation was now in great forwardneſs, when they received a ſupply of fifteen thouſand men of their nation. This aid rendering them more ſtout, they reſolved by the ſuggeſtions of the cardinal of Sion, immediately to attack Francis, who lay encamped at Marigano, little expecting their coming. They were defeated, and ten thouſand ſlain on the ſpot. After which, they retired into their country, leaving Francis maſter of all the Milaneſe. Maximilian Sforza, who had ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Milan, ſurrendered it by capitulation, and was ſent into France, to live as a private perſon.

Before Francis I. began his expedition, Octavian Fregoſa had brought Genoa under the dominion of France, and inſtead of Doge, ſtiled himſelf governor for the king.

Leo X. had been in hopes that Francis would never be able to enter Italy. He had joined in the league againſt him, but ſo privately, that Francis knew nothing of it till he came to Verceil. During the time between the king's arrival in Italy, and the battle of Marignano, the pope was under great perplexities. He had ſent an army into Lombardy, to ſupport the duke of Milan. But when he heard Francis had ſurmounted the difficulties of the paſſage, he ſent orders to Lorenzo de Medici, who commanded his army, to commit no hoſtilities againſt the French. At the ſame time, he told the king, his army was there only to guard Parma and Placentia. Mean while, as the affair of Milan was not yet decided, he durſt not make too many advances to the king, for fear of diſpleaſing the allies, who would have it in their power to be revenged, if the king happened to be vanquiſhed. But, after the battle of Marignano, he was immediately reconciled with him, and though he had grievouſly offended him, obtained, however, advantages which he could ſcarce have expected, had he taken his part from the beginning. The popes make leagues, and undertake wars as temporal princes, and when their affairs do not proſper, diſintangle themſelves as heads of the church, and vicars of Jeſus Chriſt. Though Leo X's behaviour to Francis was ſuch, that he deſerved no favour from that victorious prince, he obtained however whatever he pleaſed, and among other things, the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction, which the popes, his predeceſſors, had hitherto in vain demanded of the kings of France[y].

Though Henry had not been able entirely to avoid the ſnares laid by the pope, the emperor, and the king of Arragon, he had happily got clear, but with a firm reſolution never more to be thus over-reached. His affecting not to mention them in his treaty with France, plainly ſhewed he did not much value their friendſhip. But he was not ſo fortunate as to perſiſt in this reſolution, ſince it was his own fault that he engaged in a freſh war with France, not ſo much for his own, as the intereſt of others. His change may be aſcribed to three ſeveral cauſes. The firſt is, his jealouſy of the glorious ſucceſs of Francis's arms in Italy. The ſecond, to prevent the growing power of that neighbour. The third and principal, Wolſey his favourite's intereſt, who thinking he had reaſon to complain of the king of France, had a mind to be revenged. The two firſt need no farther explanation. It is well known, that princes are ſubject to paſſions like other men, and that jealouſy may induce them to run counter to their intereſt. It is known likewiſe, that policy is as the hinge on which almoſt all their actions turn. But on this occaſion, Henry proceeded upon a very wrong policy, ſince nothing was more capable of ſecuring the peace of England, than the king of France's acquiſitions in Italy. The third cauſe requires a more particular explanation.

Thomas Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, was prime miniſter, and chief favourite. But this does not fully expreſs the thing. It muſt be added, that he ſo abſolutely governed the king, that he turned him which way he pleaſed. But he managed ſo artfully, that the king always fancied he took his own courſe, when he only followed the ſuggeſtions of his miniſter. Wolſey had great talents for a perſon of his birth, but he had alſo great failings. He was exceſſively revengeful, greedy of poſſeſſions and honours, and intolerably proud. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf fixed in his maſter's favour, but he ſought means to remove from court all thoſe that gave him any jealouſy by the king's eſteem for them. Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been moſt in favour, received ſo many mortifications from this imperious prelate, that at length they quitted the court, not to be expoſed to his inſults. Fox withdrew to his dioceſe the beginning of this year[z]. The two dukes quickly followed[a], and Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, retired alſo at the end of the ſame year. Theſe old miniſters being

[w] The reſt of the confederates engaged to pay them thirty thouſand ducats a month. Guicciard. l. 12.

[x] Between mount Viſo, and mount Cenis. Guicciard, l. 12. Through the valley of Barcelonnete, Roque Sparviere, St. Pol, l'Argentiere, &c. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 351.

[y] The decrees of the council of Baſil were by them reduced into the form of an edict, and publiſhed under the title of the Pragmatic Sanction; which Charles VII. king of France, declared he would have to be inviolably obſerved. It was abrogated by Lewis XI. which was oppoſed by the parliament. Charles VIII. re-eſtabliſhed it, but it was again annulled by Lewis XII. See a full account of theſe tranſactions in biſhop Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III. p. 8, &c.

[z] Upon his going away, he deſired this only of the king, that he would not ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than the maſter. To which the king anſwered preſently, that it ſhould be his care, that thoſe who were his ſubjects ſhould obey, and not command. Herbert, p. 24.

[a] The duke of Suffolk had borrowed large ſums of money of the king, which he hoped would have been forgiven him; but upon Wolſey's calling thoſe that were indebted to the crown to an account, the duke withdrew from court. Hall. Hollingſh. p. 839.

thus removed, Wolſey became ſtill more abſolute over the king, who had only him to adviſe with in his moſt important affairs, the reſt of the privy-council were all the favourite's creatures. The hiſtorians unanimouſly agree, that Wolſey's intereſt was the ſole rule of the counſels he gave the king, and as this intereſt anſwered his reigning paſſions, revenge, greedineſs, ambition, and pride, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed, when he ſees him hereafter inducing the king to make ſo many falſe ſteps.

Ever ſince Francis I. came to the crown, he had been thinking of recovering Tournay out of the hands of the Engliſh. There had even paſſed in the beginning of the year, a treaty upon that ſubject, but to no purpoſe, becauſe Henry demanded in exchange for Tournay, ſome places in the neighbourhood of Calais [b], which Francis did not think proper to grant him [c]. But the greateſt difficulty came from Wolſey, who was far from adviſing the king his maſter to reſign Tournay, becauſe himſelf would have loſt the adminiſtration of that biſhopirc and the abbey of St. Amand, which brought him a great revenue. On the contrary, he had been very urgent with Francis I. to beſtow ſome good benefice on Lewis Guillard, biſhop of Tournay, that he might ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy his adminiſtration. Francis had promiſed him, but without intending to perform his word. Inſtead of aſſiſting him to keep the adminiſtration, he ſecretly perſuaded the biſhop to ſue to the pope for his reſtoration, and ſeconded his petition to the utmoſt of his power. He was of opinion, that when Wolſey ceaſed to be adminiſtrator, the reſtitution of Tournay would become much eaſier.

Whilſt Francis was ſtill in France, employed in preparing for his Italian expedition, the pope, yet uncertain of the ſucceſs of that enterprize, did not much regard the biſhop's ſolicitations. But when he ſaw that prince maſter of Genoa, and entered the Milaneſe at the head of a powerful army, he readily granted a bull to Guillard, reſtoring to him his biſhopric, and even allowed him to make uſe of the ſecular arm to obtain poſſeſſion. This bull, which ſacrificed the king of England's and his miniſter's intereſt, to thoſe of the French king and the biſhop of Tournay, would ſeem very ſtrange, if the conſideration of the time and circumſtances did not make the wonder ceaſe. Leo X. had given juſt cauſe to Francis, to complain of his conduct, and ſaw that monarch ready to take poſſeſſion again of the Milaneſe, and conclude a treaty with the Switzers, in order to ſend them back into their own country. It was therefore his intereſt to appeaſe him, by granting a favour he ſo earneſtly deſired. Mean while, Henry was extremely offended at the bull, which reſtored to the biſhopric of Tournay, a prelate, who refuſed to ſwear fealty to him, and on which the king of France, and the biſhop of Tournay, might proceed, to raiſe a ſedition in the city. He therefore gave orders to his embaſſador at Rome, to expoſtulate with the pope, and repreſent to him the conſequences of his partiality. Leo X. could not help owning it. But at that very time, Francis gaining the battle of Marignano, and preparing to make him feel the effects of his reſentment, it was no proper ſeaſon to incenſe him farther by revoking the bull. This convinced Wolſey, that Francis was the real author of the biſhop's reſtoration. Mean while, the pope, being embarraſſed, choſe, upon the king of England's oppoſition, to leave the affair undecided, by referring it to the examination of two cardinals, who, probably, were ordered not to haſten the concluſion. In the mean time, Wolſey was uncertain whether he ſhould keep the biſhopric of Tournay. And that was preciſely what the king of France wanted, that this uncertainty might induce the ſelfiſh miniſter to find ſome expedient to make himſelf amends, after which it was apparent, he would no longer oppoſe the reſtitution of Tournay. At the ſame time, to preſerve his friendſhip, which was very neceſſary, by reaſon his credit with the king his maſter, he promiſed to aſſiſt him in procuring a cardinal's cap. Wolſey was extremely ambitious of that dignity. After the death of cardinal Bambridge, he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in the cardinalate, as well as in the archbiſhopric of York. He had even employed to ſolicit it in his name, cardinal Adrian, de Corneto [d], the pope's collector in England, under whom Polydore Virgil, ſerved as ſub-collector. But cardinal Adrian, inſtead of ſerving him as he had promiſed, had done him ill offices. Wolſey being informed of it, was ſo incenſed, that on ſome ſlight pretence he committed Polydore to the Tower. Then he cauſed the king to write to the pope with his own hand, to deſire him to appoint anothor collector in cardinal Adrian's room. The king's letter was ſo ſtrong and paſſionate, that the pope thought fit to comply with his requeſt. However, in his brief of advice, he told him, he knew very well his anger againſt cardinal Adrian, was inſtilled into him by Wolſey. Mean while Polydore Virgil continued in the Tower, till at length cardinal Julius de Medici, and the pope himſelf, interceded for him, by letters of Auguſt the 30th, and September the 3d. As this was at the very time that Francis was ſoliciting a cardinal's cap for Wolſey, Wolſey did not think proper to refuſe the pope a thing of ſo little conſequence. So Polydore came out of the Tower, where he had been about a year. This ill treatment was, doubtleſs, one of the reaſons that induced him to remember all the ill qualities of cardinal Wolſey, in his hiſtory of England.

Wolſey having at length obtained a cardinal's cap, was tranſported with joy when he received the news by an expreſs ſent by the king of France [e]. But though he was highly obliged to that monarch, his gratitude for the favour, did not equal his reſentment for the injury done him, as he ſuppoſed, in the affair of Tournay. He reſolved therefore, in order to be revenged, to endeavour to ſet the king, his maſter, at variance with Francis, and cauſe him to enter into a new league againſt France. Herein he gratified three of his predominant paſſions, his pride, in letting Europe ſee that ſovereigns themſelves offended him not with impunity: his revenge, in creating Francis great troubles; and his own intereſt, in ſecuring the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay. Indeed, a rupture between the two kings was an effectual means to hinder Guillard's reſtoration of his ſee. This is obſerved by hiſtorians as the principal cauſe of the alteration we are going to behold in Henry's conduct. Jealouſy and policy may have had ſome influence too, but leſs as true cauſes, than as motives uſed by Wolſey to inflame the king's mind. Probably, under colour that his honour was concerned, he repreſented to him the neceſſity of humbling the pride of the French king, and inſinuated, how dangerous it was for England that France ſhould grow too powerful. When he had prepared Henry, he privately ſent word to the emperor, that it would not be impoſſible to diſengage the king his maſter, from the intereſts of France. It may eaſily be gueſſed, Maximilian received the overture with joy. Beſides that, being without aid and allies, he ſaw himſelf little able to preſerve his conqueſt in Italy, he knew, which way ſoever he was treated with, he ſhould always be furniſhed with money. Whilſt Wolſey was projecting to negotiate with the emperor, the Spaniſh embaſſador, who had heavily paſſed ſome months at London, was looked upon at court with a more favourable eye. Nay, a treaty was begun with him about renewing the alliance between England and Spain, which being ended the 19th of October, contained however only a confirmation of the ancient treaties of amity.

Mean while, the emperor, willing to improve the preſent opportunity, ſent to the king a Milaneſe embaſſador, to deſire aid in the name of Franceſco Sforza, who was in Germany, and had aſſumed the title of duke of Milan, ever ſince Maximilian his brother had reſigned his right to the king of France. Though Wolſey had taken care to diſpoſe Henry to a rupture with France, he was not, it ſeems, fully determined. Franceſco Sforza's requeſt, or rather the emperor's, ſeemed to him ſo important, that he deſired to have the opinions of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who to that intent were ſent for to court. The council being met to debate upon the affair, cardinal Wolſey ſpeaking firſt, made a long ſpeech full of reſentment againſt France, labouring to demonſtrate how much it was for the intereſt of England to oppoſe her growing power [f]. The biſhop of Durham and all the new councellors ſtrenuouſly ſupported the cardinal's opinion. But the old ones endeavoured to diſſuade the king from breaking the peace lately concluded with France, ſince the new king had given him no cauſe, and adviſed him rather to turn his arms againſt Scotland. Henry, who was already prepoſſeſſed, took a

[b] The country of Guiſnes or Ardes. Herbert, p. 23.

[c] In May this year, king Henry ſent twelve hundred carpenters and maſons, and three hundred labourers, to build a caſtle for the defence of Tournay. Stow, p. 497.

[d] Called by our hiſtorians de Caſtello—biſhop of Bath, and the king's orator at Rome.

[e] In September. Hall, fol. 57. He was cardinal by the title of ſanctæ cæciliæ trans Tiberim; or ſancti ciriaci in termis. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 529, 530.

[f] He likewiſe alledged, that Francis had broken the treaty by favouring Richard de la Pole, brother of the late duke of Suffolk, a fugitive and traitor; in aſſiſting thoſe Scots which oppoſed his ſiſter queen Margaret. Beſides that, Francis with-held ſome goods and jewels of queen Mary. Laſtly he ſaid, France might be hindered from growing more powerful, without effuſion of Engliſh blood, only by privately aſſiſting Maximilian. Herbert, p. 24. Pol. Virg.

The

middle way, insinuated, doubtless, by his minister: and that was privately to assist the emperor and Francesco Sforza [g]. Whereupon, he sent orders to Pace [h], his embassador to Maximilian, to treat with them, and to promote the treaty, returned him large sums of money [i]. Thus was he gradually engaged, without foreseeing that these secret proceedings must necessarily end in an open war, as Wolsey desired.

There is in the Collection of the Public Acts, a paper, shewing that the cardinal did not forget himself in his negotiations. It is a promise from the duke of Milan's secretary, who, by virtue of an express power from the duke his master, engaged to pay the cardinal a yearly pension of ten thousand ducats, to commence from the day of his master's restoration. It is true, this paper being neither dated nor signed, may be considered only as a draught of the contract; but it is however a proof of the cardinal's selfish temper. The emperor no sooner heard that Henry was inclined to assist him against France, than he dispatched to England, Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, to negotiate a league with him. This is the same prelate, who, a little before, had encouraged the Switzers to give battle to Francis I.

The parliament met again the 12th of November. But as it was not yet time to lay before the houses the king's resolution with regard to France, there was no mention of war, or any foreign affair. The clergy in a synod held at the same time, returned an answer to the pope concerning his demand of an extraordinary subsidy, on pretence of an apparent war with the Turks. They alledged, that they were so exhausted by the late war with France, undertaken at the instance of Julius II. for the defence of the church, that they were not in condition to grant a new subsidy: that besides, by a decree of the council of Constance, the pope could lay no imposition on the clergy without the consent of a general council.

Whilst the English were thus endeavouring to screen themselves from the oppressions of the court of Rome, they beheld one rising in their own body, like a new pope, whom they foresaw, it would be more difficult to resist than him at Rome, because he was supported by the king: I mean Wolsey. Since that prelate was promoted to the cardinalate, he was grown more vain, proud, and imperious than ever. He never stirred without a prince's retinue, always attended by a croud of domestics, causing the cardinal's hat to be carried before him like a sort of trophy, and to be placed on the alter when he went to the king's chapel [k]. He was the first clergyman in England that wore silk in his vestments, and used gold in his saddles. In a word, he devised all sorts of ways to distinguish himself. Every one took such offence at his pride, that it was incessently talked of with indignation. But no man durst open his mouth before the king, since the old bishop of Winchester, for only glancing upon it, was so ill received, that shortly after he withdrew to his diocese. The archbishop of Canterbury was no less offended, than the rest, to see the archbishop of York affect thus so great a distinction. But what gave him most offence was, to see the cross of York carried before the cardinal, though he was in the province of Canterbury. I have spoken elsewhere of this contest between the two archbishops, which after having caused violent quarrels, could not be decided, but by the king's express commands to the archbishops of York, not to have the cross carried before them in the other province. But Wolsey, who thought himself much above his predecessors, prepared to revive the contest in contempt of these prohibitions. Wardham, who was of a peaceable temper, easily perceived, that though he should attempt to hinder it, he would not succeed, because Wolsey had an absolute sway over the king. So, not to have continually this object before his eyes, he desired the king's leave to resign his chancellorship, and retire to his palace. His request was immediately granted, and the same day the king gave the seal, to cardinal Wolsey. In all appearance, he had created Warham so many mortifications only to oblige him to quit his office, with which he desired to be invested himself. To support the splendor of his dignity with more state than any other before him, the king loaded him every day with fresh favours, prebends, wardships, and the like, which continually increased his revenues. Besides the archbishopric of York, and the chancellorship, he had in farm upon easy terms, the bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford [l], held by Italians residing at Rome. But this was not sufficient to satisfy him. I must now, before I close the year 1515, briefly mention the affairs of Scotland, the knowlege whereof is requisite for the better understanding the events related hereafter.

John duke of Albany, who had been declared regent in 1513, arrived not in Scotland till May 1515. He found the kingdom full of factions and divisions, which made him sensible, the administration committed to him would prove very troublesome. But what gave him most uneasiness was, that the king of England was but too much concerned in what passed in Scotland, and fomented these dissentions to the utmost of his power. Under colour that Scotland had been some time without a regent, Henry VIII. as uncle of the young king, had taken the title of protector of Scotland, and by virtue thereof his embassadors at Rome demanded of the pope the ecclesiastical preferments of that kingdom, which he bestowed on his creatures. But as soon as the duke of Albany was arrived, he wrote to the pope in the young king's name, sharply complaining of the king of England's incroachments, and the court of Rome's condescension. He even threatened the pope in his letter not to apply to him for the future upon any account whatsoever, if this grievance were not speedily redressed [m].

The duke of Albany, though of Scotch extraction, was a stranger to Scotland [n], from whence the duke, his father, had retired in 1483. As he desired in the beginning of his regency to be informed of the state of the kingdom, he unhappily applied to Hepburne, bishop of Murray, a hot and revengeful man, who took this occasion to be revenged on his enemies. The bishop, being prior of St. Andrews, had been elected archbishop of that church in the beginning of the present reign. But he was forced to resign the archbishopric to Forman, bishop of Murray, who was armed with the pope's bull. However, Forman would never have ventured to use the bull, had he not been supported by Alexander Hume, a potent lord before mentioned. By his credit and authority, Forman was installed in St. Andrew's, having resigned the bishopric of Murray to Hepburne, and promised to pay him a certain pension. Hepburne finding he had a fair opportunity to be revenged, gave the regent such a character of Hume, that when he came to court he was looked upon with a very ill eye. Hume being naturally very proud and haughty, resolving to let the regent see no man should slight him with impunity, went over to the queen-dowager and persuading her that the king her son was in danger, advised her to carry him into England. The regent hearing of this plot suddenly went to Sterling-castle, and secured the young king's person. But to hinder his enemies from putting an ill construction on this action he renewed his oath of allegiance to the king, and committed the care of his education to three persons of great credit.

Alexander Hume, and his brother William, seeing their plot was discovered, fled immediately into England, and were quickly followed by the queen and her spouse, the earl of Angus. Whereupon the regent sent embassadors to Henry, to justify his conduct, and at the same time so artfully treated with the fugitives, that he prevailed with them to return into Scotland. But the queen being big with child, was forced to stay at Harbottle-castle in Northumberland, where she was delivered [o] of a daughter called Margaret [p]. The sequel of this affair shall be related in another place.

[1516] The death of king Ferdinand [q] in February 1516, broke the measures taken by cardinal Wolsey to engage

[g] The lord Herbert says, the king, after the debate was over, being inclined to the cardinal, said, he would hinder the designs of Francis without coming yet to open rupture, p. 25.

[h] Late servant to cardinal Bambridge, who wrote the letter mentioned before concerning Silvister's having a hand in poisoning his master.

[i] They were put into the hands of some Genoe merchantes, who breaking, a great part of the money was lost. Hall. fol. 59.

[k] He is said by Cavendish, to keep eight hundred servants, among whom were nine or ten lords, fifteen knights, and forty squires. The hat was borne by some principal person before him a great height. He had besides, his serjeant at arms and mace, and two gentlemen, carrying two pillars of silver, besides his cross bearer. Herbert, p. 24. Pol. Verg. See Stow, p. 501. Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 21.

[l] The bishoprics of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, the incumbents whereof, Adrian de Corneto, &c. Silvester Grigles, &c. being strangers who had been sent here upon legations, king Henry VII. a frugal prince, chosen rather to reward them upon their return with preferments that cost him nothing, than to impair his treasure by making them presents in money. And now living abroad, to save the charge of agents, and troubles of making returns by them, were willing to let the cardinal have the revenues at easy rates, with the disposal of the ecclesiastical preferments annexed to them.

[m] He also wrote to the king of France, desiring to be included in the treaty concluded at London April 5, 1515. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 508, 511.

[n] He was born in the time of his father's banishment, and such a stranger, that he could not speak the country language. Herbert, p. 26.

[o] October 7.

[p] Her husband, the earl of Angus, left her and returned into Scotland. She staid about a year in England. Hall, fol. 58.

[q] In the sixty-third year of his age. He left the stile of chatholic to his successors. Though he had vast possessions, was much inriched from the Indies, prosperous in almost all his attempts, and of a frugal disposition, yet there was hardly found in his coffers money enough to discharge his interring, though not very sumptuous. Herbert, p. 26.

She

all Europe in a war with France. Thus, notwithſtanding he cardinal's projects, Henry was forced to remain in peace, becauſe the intereſts of the reſt of the princes were not agreeable to his, or rather to the paſſions of his miniſter. But though Europe was peaceable for ſome time, it will be however neceſſary to relate in each year of this peace, the ſituation of the affairs of the principal ſtates, in order to ſhew the occaſion of the following wars.

Nothing remarkable paſſed in England in the beginning of the year 1516, except the birth of a princeſs, whom the queen brought into the world the eighteenth of February, and called Mary[r]. Cardinal Wolſey, commonly called the cardinal of York, ever mindful of what could procure him any advantage, cauſed thoſe who had managed the king's money to be called to a ſtrict account. The moſt part however were ſpared. But thoſe were ſeverely puniſhed who had not the addreſs to make the miniſter their friend[s].

After Ferdinand's deceaſe, the kingdom of Arragon came of courſe to Joanna his eldeſt daughter, already queen of Caſtile. But that princeſs was incapable of governing her dominions by reaſon of her defect of underſtanding, which had obliged the king her father to keep her confined. So the adminiſtration of theſe two kingdoms, with all their dependencies, could not be diſputed with Charles of Auſtria, Joanna's eldeſt ſon, and ſovereign of the Low-Countries. But as that prince lived in Flanders, Ferdinand had left by his will the regency of Arragon to Alphonſo, his natural ſon, biſhop of Saragoſſa, and that of Caſtile to cardinal Ximenes, till Charles ſhould come himſelf and aſſume the government. Mean while, when Ximenes would have taken poſſeſſion of the regency of Caſtile, Adrian Florentio, doctor in divinity, who managed the prince of Auſtria's affairs in Spain, produced letters patents from his maſter, conſtituting him regent of that kingdom. But Ximenes refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, pretending that Charles had not power to appoint a regent before he was received for governor. The conteſt was however adjuſted by this expedient, that the orders ſhould be ſigned by both. But the cardinal left the doctor the bare name of regent only, and diſcharged all the functions himſelf. Mean while Charles took the title of king of Caſtile, with the conſent of the ſtates of that realm. But the Arragonians, more jealous of their privileges than the Caſtilians, refuſed to give him the title of king of Arragon, whilſt his mother Joanna was alive. Nay, there was a party in the kingdom who maintained, that Joanna herſelf could not pretend to the crown of Arragon, becauſe the daughters were excluded by the laws of the realm, and therefore Charles could not derive from his mother a right ſhe never had. But others affirmed, that the excluſion of the females extended not to their male heirs. This was much the ſame caſe as happened formerly in France, in the diſpute between Edward III. and Philip of Valois. I ſhall enter no farther into the affairs of Spain. What I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew the neceſſity Charles was under of going thither, and how dangerous it would have been for him to engage in a war againſt France, in the beginning of ſo unſettled a reign. Accordingly he neglected nothing to renew the treaties of peace and alliance as well with France as England, but with liberty to take other meaſures when his affairs ſhould be in another ſituation. Juſt before the king of Arragon's death, he had, as ſovereign of the Low-Countries, renewed the alliance with England, by a new treaty concluded at Bruſſels the 24th of February this year[t]. About a month after, Henry, who was contriving to from a league againſt France, ordered his embaſſador to treat with Charles upon that head. But Ferdinand's death ſo changed the face of affairs, that Henry was forced to be ſatisfied with a bare defenſive league, which I ſhall preſently mention, having firſt related the ſucceſs of an expedition made by the emperor into Italy.

It was not without reaſon, that Maximilian had readily embraced the opportunity offered him by cardinal Wolſey of making war upon France. There was on more likelihood of his being able to keep his conqueſts in the ſtate of Venice, ſince Francis I. was become maſter of the Milaneſe, and had joined forces with the Venetians. Beſides, he could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the pope, who had lately agreed with Francis. As for the Spaniſh army, which was retired to Naples, it was not eaſy to cauſe them to return, ſince they were neceſſarily to march through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. On the other hand, king Ferdinand's death had changed the poſture of affairs, and quite deſtroyed the emperor's hopes. So far was the new king of Caſtile from having any thoughts of a war with France, that it highly concerned him to keep peace with that kingdom, in order to have time to ſettle his affairs in Spain. Thus the emperor, contrary to his uſual method, was forced to act alone during this year, in the expectation of ſo embroiling affairs, that other potentates ſhould at length be conſtrained to join with him. He had already received ſome of the king of England's money and cardinal Wolſey put him in hopes of ſtill larger ſums. With this aid, he aſſembled an army of about twenty thouſand men, Germans and Switzers, and in March entered the ſtate of Venice, whilſt the Venetians, aſſiſted by a body of French troops, commanded by Lautrec, were beſieging Breſcia. Upon his approach, the French and Venetians raiſed the ſiege, and after making a ſhew of oppoſing his paſſages of the rivers, retired to Milan to avoid a battle. Thus the emperor approached Milan, without much difficulty.

The French were in ſo great conſternation, that they were like to abandon both the city and duchy, and retire into France. If the emperor had made all the haſte he could he would doubtleſs have forced them to execute that reſolution. But having ſpent two or three days to no purpoſe, by the time he came before Milan, the French had received news, that ten thouſand Switzers of the Cantons in alliance with France were coming to their aſſiſtance, and were within a day's march.

The arrival of the ten thouſand Switzers at Milan threw both ſides into an equal conſternation. The French, who conſidered theſe troops as a ſure aid, were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, when they heard that they abſolutely refuſed to fight againſt the Switzers in the emperor's army. Theſe, on their part, demanded their pay with ſuch boldneſs, that Maximilian was afraid it was a pretence not to join battle with their countrymen newly arrived at Milan. He had no money for them, and was apprehenſive the French had but too much to corrupt them. So, when it was leaſt expected, he ſuddenly retired, after which, having no money to pay them, the army diſbanded of themſelves.

Having thus miſſed his aim, the emperor was forced upon new trials to engage the pope, the king of England, the young king of Caſtile, his grandſon in a league againſt France. But this project was not eaſy to be executed. The pope had his private views, which ſuffered him not to break openly with France. Charles's council were better adviſed than to agree, that their maſter ſhould engage to gratify his grandfather's paſſion at a time when he was neceſſarily obliged to go into Spain, and take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Thus the emperor's whole refuge lay in the aſſiſtance he could expect from England. But as there was no likelihood, that Henry would undertake a war of which he was to bear all the expence, Maximilian bethought himſelf of a device to preſerve his good diſpoſition towards him, or at leaſt to draw money from him, and that was, to declare to Robert Wingfield, the Engliſh embaſſador at his court, that he was tired with the burden of the empire, and having a particular eſteem for the king, his maſter, intended to reſign it to him. For that purpoſe, he charged him to write to the king, that if he would come to the Triers, he would call a diet and ſettle that grand affair, after which he offered to wait upon him to Rome, to ſee him receive the imperial crown. Moreover, he put him in hopes, he would reſign to him his right to the duchy of Milan, and aſſiſt him to conquer it. Henry eaſily perceived Maximilian's aim in making ſuch an offer, and therefore wrote to his embaſſador to thank the emperor for his good intention, deſiring him to defer the execution of the project to a more convenient ſeaſon, when the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. Mean while, in return for his good will, he ſent him ſome money, excuſing the former defect of payment, with laying the blame on a Genoa banker[u].

Whilſt the emperor was endeavouring to embroil the French affairs Francis was forming new projects. He had good reaſon to be pleaſed with his glorious campaign, which in a ſhort time had regained him the duchy of Milan. Mean while, Ferdinand's death inſpiring him with freſh hopes, he formed the deſign of ſeizing the kingdom of Naples, imagining the new king of Spain would be unable to defend

[r] She was born at Greenwich, 1515-16.

[s] He ſo ſeverely puniſhed perjury, that in his time it was little practiſed: he alſo called to account perſons guilty of riots, vexing oppreſſion, and the like; and erected four hundred courts to hear complaints by bill of poor people; whereof the firſt was kept in Whitehall; the ſecond before Dr. Stokeſly, the king's almoner: the third in the lord treaſurer's chamber; and the fourth at the rolls. Hall, fol. 59. Hollingſhead, p. 838.

[t] The Engliſh commiſſioners were Cuthbert Tunſtall, and William Knyght, doctors of law. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 533.

[u] The empire was then ſo bare of money, that Maximilian was nicknamed Pochi Denari, i. e. Few Pence. Herbert, p. 25.

That

it, before he was thoroughly ſettled in his kingdoms. Beſides, he believed he had ſo attached the pope to his intereſt by the treaty of Bologna, that he did not doubt to find in him all the aſſiſtance neceſſary to his undertaking, looking upon him as his beſt friend. But he did not know Leo X. That pontiff did by no means deſire the French ſhould become more powerful in Italy, and if he teſtified to the king, that he was in his intereſts, it was only to prevent his oppoſing the projects he had himſelf formed in favour of his own houſe. The emperor's invaſion of the Milaneſe this year, interrupted the execution of Francis's deſign upon Naples, and what afterwards happened, cauſed him to lay aſide all thoughts of it. However, his deſire to conquer that kingdom occaſioned a defenſive league againſt him towards the end of the year, as will be related after a word or two more of the Italian affairs.

Leo X. was no ſooner reconciled with Francis I. than he deprived, upon a frivolous pretence, the duke of Urbino of his duchy, and inveſted Lorenzo de Medici, who aſſumed from thence forward the title of duke of Urbino, and the diſpoſſeſſed duke retired to Mantua.

It was in order to accompliſh this deſign, that the pope had flattered Francis with the hopes of aſſiſting him in the conqueſt of Naples. But after he was become maſter of Urbino by that monarch's connivance, inſtead of thanking him for it, he thought only how to drive the French out of the duchy of Milan. To that end, he held ſecret intelligence with the emperor, the king of England, and the new king of Spain, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by the help of his emiſſaries, to perſuade the Switzers to break their alliance with France. Though he acted with all poſſible precaution he could not treat ſo privately, but that his ſecret practices came to the king's knowledge, who pretended however to be ignorant of them. On the contrary, he did all that lay in his power to gain the pope in reality to his intereſt, otherwiſe he was ſenſible his attempt upon Naples would never ſucceed. Leo X. deſired nothing more than to amuſe him, whilſt he was ſecretly acting againſt him. But at length, Francis perceiving his inſincerity, dropped all thoughts of the conqueſt of Naples, and reſolved to treat with the king of Spain, who in the preſent ſituation of his affairs could not but wiſh to live in a good underſtanding with him. Thus the two kings being equally inclined to a peace, ſent their plenipotentiaries to Noyon to conclude it. The treaty was ſigned the 26th of Auguſt, the ſubſtance whereof was, That Charles ſhould eſpouſe Louiſa, Francis's daughter, then about a year old. That he ſhould have with her the king of France's pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples, and till the marriage ſhould be conſummated, he [w] ſhould give for the young prince's maintenance a hundred thouſand crowns a year. That within ſix months he ſhould reſign the kingdom of Navarre to Henry d'Albret, ſon of John d'Albert, and Catharine, king and queen of Navarre, who were diſpoſſeſſed by Ferdinand, and in caſe Charles ſhould not perform this article, Francis ſhould be allowed to aſſiſt the king of Navarre. Laſtly, That the emperor ſhould reſtore Verona to the Venetians, who in return ſhould pay him two hundred thouſand crowns, and give him a full diſcharge for the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns lent him by king Lewis XII. to maintain the war againſt Venice. It is very viſible, that in a treaty ſo advantageous to France, Charles meant only to gain time, by granting him whatever he could deſire, for fear of being hindered from going to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms. Accordingly, the treaty was afterwards very ill obſerved.

The peace of Noyon was directly contrary to the deſigns of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England. The pope was extremely deſirous the French ſhould be expelled out of Italy. Maximilian was wholly intent upon raiſing enemies to Francis, to hinder his aſſiſting the Venetians. He ſaw, he muſt reſolve either to ratify the treaty of Noyon, and conſequently reſtore Verona, or defend his conqueſt without the aſſiſtance of any ally. To avoid both theſe extremes, he tried all poſſible means to embroil affairs, and kindle a new war which might occaſion a league againſt France. He hoped thereby to be able to reject, without danger, the treaty of Noyon, which he believed very prejudicial to his intereſts. It is true, the reſtitution of Verona would be worth to him five hundred thouſand crowns. But out of that ſum were deducted the three hundred thouſand, he owed the king of France, but never intended to pay him. So, for the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns, he was bound to reſtore Verona, that is to ſay, he was to be ſhut out of Italy, the only thing that made him conſiderable in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe. Henry VIII. was no leſs deſirous of a war with France, being prompted thereto by cardinal Wolſey, or by his jealouſy of Francis. But it was not the ſame with the archduke, to whom a peace for ſome time was very advantageous.

This was the ſubject of the ſeveral negotiations, ſet on foot from the concluſion of the treaty of Noyon to the end of October. The chief end of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, was to diſengage the eight Swiſs Cantons in alliance with France, from the intereſt of that crown, that their troops might ſerve to invade the Milaneſe. Mean while they were labouring to form a league, wherein they paſſionately deſired to engage the new king of Spain. But all they could obtain was, his conſent to a defenſive league, in caſe Francis attacked any of the confederates. Leo X. according to his uſual cuſtom, would not openly declare himſelf, but intimated, he would freely join in the league, when concluded, if a place was left for him. As to the Switzers, it was reſolved to include them, though they deſired it not, upon the hopes of engaging them by means of ſome of their nation, who had been gained.

This league was therefore concluded at London the 29th of October, about two months after the treaty of Noyon. It ran, that the emperor, the kings of England and Spain, engaged to defend one another againſt any prince that ſhould attack one of the three, and the number of troops each was to find, was ſettled [x]. That all princes, potentates, republics, and ſtates, which deſired to enter into the league, ſhould be admitted: that as the confederates had reaſon to hope the pope would be willing to be admitted, they declared him head of the league. Finally, that all the Swiſs Cantons ſhould be deemed included in the league, provided they ratified it, and to that end the penſions, which ſhould be agreed upon with them, ſhould be aſſigned them. By a private article, ſigned two days after, it was agreed what each of the allies was to pay towards the penſions, which ſhould be diſtributed to the Switzers, as well to the public as to private perſons [y], (which are the very words) in order to induce them to come into the league. This ſhews there was no certainty of gaining them, and that the chief reliance was upon the cabals of ſome private perſons of their nation.

To this league, ſo inconſiderable in itſelf, tended all the motions of the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, during the courſe of this year. The emperor had been in hopes of ſomething more; and though by the treaty the allies were, in ſome meaſure, bound to aſſiſt him, if the king of France continued to aid the Venetians, he ſoon diſreliſhed a league which procured him no money. Before the year was expired, he accepted and ratified the treaty of Noyon. At the ſame time, he concluded with the Venetians a truce for ſome months, and with one conſent they put the reſt of their differences to arbitration. The emperor's reſolution entirely changed the face of affairs, as will be ſeen the next year. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that preſently after the league was ſigned, Henry ſent Richard Pace to the Switzers, to perſuade them to come into the league; but it was to no purpoſe. On the contrary, the emperor reſolving to make peace with the Venetians, agreed, that the five cantons who had refuſed to join with France ſhould come into the treaty made by the other eight with that crown.

Before I end the occurrences of the year 1516, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what paſſed in Scotland. Henry having formed great projects againſt France, and knowing how much the duke of Albany had at heart the good of that kingdom, reſolved to compel the Scots to remove him from the regency. To that purpoſe, he deſired them to ſend embaſſadors, to whom he might impart certain matters advantageous to both kingdoms. This negotiation tended only to preſs the great men of Scotland to expel the duke of Albany. He even wrote to the parliament of Scotland, that the beſt way to preſerve peace between the two nations, was to ſend back the regent into France, under colour that it was dangerous to truſt the preſumptive heir to the crown, with the guardianſhip of the young king; intimating withal, that in caſe of refuſal, he ſhould be obliged to take care himſelf by proper methods, of the ſafety of the king his nephew. He alſo gave to underſtand, that he claimed the regency as uncle to the young

[w] That is Charles.

[x] Each of them was to find, upon occaſion, five thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 558.

[y] ——In publico ac privato & particulari. Ibid. 569.

king. But the parliament returned such an answer, as fully convinced him, the Scots were by no means inclined to comply with his will [z].

Whether Hume was concerned in the king of England's proceedings, or was only suspected, the parliament summoned him to come and answer the accusation against him. Hume not thinking fit to appear, was condemned for default. He looked upon the sentence as unjust, and in revenge committed hostilities upon some of his enemies. Whereupon the parliament granted to the viceroy a levy of ten thousand men to chastise the rebel. But his friends advising him to submit, he cast himself upon the regent's mercy, who sent him to Edinburgh, and committed him to the custody of James Hamilton [a] his brother-in-law. Shortly after, Hume persuaded the lord Hamilton to escape with him, and claim the regency, as son of James the third's sister [b], and consequently as nearly related to the king as the duke of Albany. He said, if the duke could alledge, he was descended from the male line, it might be objected, he was son of a fugitive born out of the kingdom, and hardly able to speak the country language. The regent hearing of their flight and contrivance marched against Hamilton castle and took it in a few days. Then Hume perceiving it was time to throw off the mask, raised troops, and taking Dunbar utterly destroyed the town.

Mean while, the embassadors sent by the regent into England in May, had concluded a truce the first of June. But as Henry had granted the truce only to promote the execution of his designs, he appeared little inclined to observe it, after receiving the forementioned answer. But to avoid a war which must have been fatal to Scotland, the regent sent him to Francis de la Fayette, certain articles desiring his approbation, for which he offered to come in person and pay him his respects. At that time the affairs of the rest of Europe having, as hath been said, taken a new turn, Henry agreed to prolong the truce to the end of the year 1517.

These are the most considerable events which passed in the several states of Europe during the year 1516. I shall only add a word concerning the council of Lateran, which still continued its sessions without having much to do. As the council meddled neither with the reformation of the church, though they seemed to be called for that very purpose, nor with the exterpation of heresy, they resolved, in order to keep themselves employed, to reform the calandar, which was become very faulty. To that end, the pope causing memorandums to be drawn, undertook to write to all the Christian princes, inviting them to send their best astronomers to Rome, or at least to order them to examine what had been proposed upon that subject. We find in the conclusion of the Public Acts, the brief addressed to Henry VIII. where the pope says he had adjourned the next session to December to give the mathematicians time to send in their opinions.

[1517] The emperor having ratified the treaty of Noyon, as far as it concerned him, restored Verona to the Venetians, the 15th of January this year, having received two hundred thousand crowns, and an acquittance for what he owed the king of France. Moreover, to give the arbitrators time to adjust the differences he still had with Venice, he agreed that the truce should be prolonged for five years, but on condition that, during the truce, the Venetians should pay him yearly twenty thousand crowns. It was almost impossible to make a treaty with him, and money not accrue to him from it. Thus ended at length a war which may be deemed a consequence of the league of Cambray. The Venetians were engaged in it from the beginning to the end, and expended no less than five millions of ducats of the public treasure, besides the infinite damages sustained by the subjects.

Maximilian, having thus desisted from his designs upon Italy, went into the Low-Countries to see his grandson, Charles, before he departed from Spain. During his stay there, he concluded with him and the king of France a league against the Turks, wherein a place was reserved for the king of England. The pope and the council of Lateran earnestly pressed all the princes of Christendom to join in the league, on pretence of the progress the Turks were making in Egypt against the Mamalucks [c], after which, he pretended, their design was to attack the Christians. But what followed shewed the pope's sole view was to heap up money for his own use, and to enrich his family.

Mean while, Charles, the new king of Spain, thought only of speedily going to take possession of his kingdoms. He had just made with Francis I. a peace so advantageous to France, that he did not fear that prince would break it, because it would not be for his interest. So when the English embassador pressed him to ratify the London league, he deferred it some time on divers pretences, because deeming it needless, he was afraid of offending the king of France. He ratified it however after some alterations, and at length in August departed for Spain, where his presence was absolutely necessary. Upon his arrival, he dismissed cardinal Ximanes, who died with grief. After that, he so gave himself up to the Flemings, whom he had brought with him, that the Spaniards conceived such a jealousy as carried them afterwards to great extremities.

The pope, as I have observed, continually amused Francis with the hopes of a strict alliance with him, at the very time he was raising him enemies on all sides, Francis was partly informed of his proceedings, but did not know all. So, in expectation of really attaching him in the end to his interests, he omitted nothing he thought capable of gaining him, even feigning to deem him his best friend, when he most suspected him. But as the pope knew in his conscience, he had not deserved Francis's friendship, he could not believe his advances sincere. Mean while, it was for his interest that Francis should publicly appear to be his friend, and therefore he kept very fair with him, and not without cause. In the beginning of the year 1517, la Rovere who had been dispossessed of the duchy of Urbino, prepared to recover his dominions. When by the truce concluded between the emperor and the Venetians, the Spanish troops in the state of Venice were become useless, la Rovere found means to gain and employ them in his service. With these supplies, he took Urbino, and carried terror into Tuscany and the ecclesiastical state. Lorenzo de Medici, the new duke of Urbino, or rather the pope, his uncle, being then unable to recover that duchy, he was forced to have recourse to the assistance of the Christian princes, under colour that the church was grievously oppressed, the interests of the house of the Medici being then the same with those of the church. Francis I. who had the gaining of the pope ever in view, made use of this opportunity to do him a signal service, in sending him a good body of troops, under the command of Lescun, brother of Lautrec. This war however lasted seven or eight months, during which the pope never ceased to press all the christian princes to contribute to the charges of a war, which according to him, ought to have affected all the world. Henry VIII. being solicited like the rest, refused to interpose. But the pope found means to engage his subjects, by levying a tenth upon the clergy, of which cardinal Wolsey was appointed collector. The war of Urbino ended in a way la Rovere did not expect. The pope bribed the Spaniards in his service, who came to an agreement for him which he was obliged to accept. Thus being once more constrained to relinquish his dominions, he retired to Mantua.

Whilst the pope was employed in the war of Urbino, he discovered a plot against his person, contrived by the cardinal of Sienna, who had bribed a surgeon to poison him. The cardinal being absent from Rome when the discovery was made, the pope, who passionately desired to have him in his power scrupled not to use fraud to compass his ends. He sent him a safe conduct, and moreover, promised the Spanish embassador that he would do him no hurt. The

[z] They told him, "The hall three estatis of the realme, had electit and nemmit, with ane consent, the duc of Albany, protector to their souverane lord the king and his realme; quhilkis ordinans and electionn was affermit and approbate in parliament nevir impugnit be person. And this ordinans of parliament was conforme to imperiall, cannon and their awin civile lawis: be quhilkis lawis is decernit that the nerrest and lauthful personage of the agent's side sall have the cure, tutoury, and governance, &c." See Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 550, 551.

[a] Earl of Arran. Buchanan. He was created so August 10, 1503.

[b] His mother was Mary, daughter of James II. wife first of Thomas Boyde, earl of Arran, but divorced from him, and married next, in 1474, to James Hamilton, a favourite, from whom the dukes of Hamilton are descended. Others say, that he married her after Boyle's death. See Anderson's Tab.

[c] The word Mamaluck signifies Syriac, a hired soldier, Jovius says they were Circassian slaves sold by the Tartars, and Podolians, to the merchants, and being trained up at Cairo, in military exercises, were picked out for the Soldan's guard, and preferred to the high posts, who, in 1255, resolved to obtain the kingdom of Egypt for themselves. The government was elective, and the son could claim no inheritance but his father's personal estate. Every Mamaluck, whose number in all was about sixteen or eighteen thousand, had a vote in the election, and required a gold ducat of the Soldan as soon as chosen. There were in all of this race sixteen kings, from the year before mentioned, to the present year 1517, when Tonombeius II. their last king, was conquered in the first year of his reign, by Selimus I. Thus Egypt became a province of the Turkish empire, as it still continues. Heylin, &c. Guicciard.

It

cardinal being ſo weak as to come to Rome upon the faith of the ſafe conduct, was immediately confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and afterwards ſtrangled in priſon. The Spaniſh embaſſador complained of his breach of faith, but was told by the pope, a ſafe conduct was never reckoned to extend to high treaſon, without expreſs mention of the caſe. Some other cardinals accuſed or ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot, were depoſed, impriſoned, or ſeverely fined.

Francis I. never ceaſed courting the pope to gain his friendſhip, fearing that by his ſecret practices he would rekindle the war, to deprive him of Milan. He imagined to have found at laſt an infallible means to attach him to his intereſts, in procuring Lorenzo de Medici a very advantageous marriage, with Magdalen heireſs of the houſe of Boulogne. This propoſal was gladly accepted, and Lorenzo repairing to Paris for that purpoſe, ſtood godfather in the pope's name, to the French dauphin, born the beginning of this year. In acknowledgment for the king's favour to Lorenzo, the pope granted him tenths upon the clergy, under colour of the war to be waged with the Turks. But he took care to aſſign fifty thouſand livres for the charges of the wedding, which was to be ſolemnized at Paris.

The pretended war Chriſtendom was to undertake againſt the Turks, ſeemed to the pope to be a fair opportunity to inrich himſelf by the contributions of the Chriſtians. To that end, he granted plenary indulgences to all that would contribute, and cauſed them to be publicly ſold at ſo moderate a price, that a man muſt have been very careleſs of his ſalvation not to purchaſe them. But it was this that made the pope expect to reap an immenſe profit, for probably, there would not be a Chriſtian without them. Mean while, that the money ariſing from the ſale might be regularly collected, all Chriſtendom was parted into ſo many diviſions, and in each were appointed collectors to receive the money, and preachers to extol the benefit of indulgences[d]. But, by an accident, which at firſt ſeemed of no conſequence, the archbiſhop of Mentz, who was commiſſioned to appoint the preachers in Germany, happened to aſſign Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in the former cruſades, the Auguſtines had been employed in that office. The injury done to theſe laſt, rouſed their jealouſy. They narrowly examined the behaviour of the preachers as well as collectors, ridiculed them, and afterwards publicly complained of them. At length, Martin Luther, an Auguſtine fryar and profeſſor in divinity in the new univerſity of Wertemberg, publiſhed ſome writings againſt them, not without ſatirical remarks upon the indulgences themſelves. This boldneſs drew upon him enemies, who by their oppoſition, obliged him by degrees to inquire more carefully into the grounds of thoſe indulgences. In ſhort, he was convinced, they had no foundation in the holy ſcriptures. From thence forward, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to undeceive the public concerning the hitherto received opinion of the papal power. Hence ſprung the reformation which ſpread itſelf afterwards through Germany, and ſeveral other ſtates of Europe.

The pope at firſt did not much regard Luther's repreſentations. He never imagined that the papal power, which ſeemed to ſtand upon unmoveable foundations, could be prejudiced by a ſingle fryar. So deſpiſing this inconſiderable oppoſition, he continued without interruption to ſell his indulgences. He every where publiſhed, that a powerful effort was going to be made upon the infidels, and exhorted all Chriſtians to contribute, according to their abilities, towards ſo neceſſary a war, which would procure them, beſides many temporal advantages, deliverance from the pains of purgatory provided they would qualify themſelves for the indulgences. There was however one thing which very much cooled the zeal of many Chriſtians for the cruſade. It was diſcovered that the pope had beforehand diſpoſed, for his temporal concerns, of the money which was to ariſe from the ſale of the indulgences. For inſtance, he had aſſigned to Magdalen de Medici, his ſiſter, wife to Franciſco Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII. part of the money to be raiſed in Germany. Mean while, he continued his ſolicitations in all the ſtates of Europe. He forgot not to write to Henry VIII. exhorting him to join his forces with thoſe of the other Chriſtian princes, and to excite him to this good work, by great commendations of his conſtant zeal for the defence of the holy ſee, and exaltation of the faith. All theſe encomiums ended in demanding two hundred thouſand ducats for the pretended war againſt the infidels. But it does not appear, the king complied with his requeſt. The Turks were then employed in Egypt and Perſia, and the cruſade was founded only upon a bare conjecture that after ending theſe wars, they would invade Chriſtendom. A man muſt have wilfully ſhut his eyes, not to ſee, it was but a pretence to fill the pope's coffers. Beſides, in the preſent ſituation of the affairs of Europe, Henry had no great occaſion for the pope.

Mean time, cardinal Wolſey perceiving, the league of London would come to nothing, becauſe Francis was not diſpoſed to commence a new war with any of the confederates, dreaded his uſing this time of peace to move the affair of the biſhopric of Tournay. On the other hand, he plainly ſaw by the time paſſed ſince that buſineſs had been put into the hands of the commiſſioners, that he was greatly regarded, as having an abſolute ſway over the king his maſter. Indeed, nothing could be expected from the king but through his means, and for that reaſon all the princes ſtudiouſly made their court to him, to gain him to their intereſts. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that Charles, king of Spain, aſſigned him this year an annual penſion of three thouſand livres, though he had yet received no ſervices from him. And therefore it was for thoſe he hoped to receive for the future. Mean while, Wolſey was uneaſy about Tournay. As the pope and the king of France regarded him only for the ſake of what he could do for them, he was in danger of loſing that regard in caſe they ſhould come not to want him. He began therefore privately to intimate to Francis I. that it would not be impoſſible to perſuade Henry to reſtore Tournay for a ſum which ſhould be agreed upon, provided he himſelf was recompenſed for the adminiſtration of the biſhopric. I ſhall relate the next year the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

Henry enjoying this year great tranquillity, reſolved to ſee what the emperor intended with reſpect to the reſignation of the empire, which he had cauſed to be mentioned to him. Maximilian being in Flanders with the king of Caſtile, his grandſon, Henry ſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, with doctor Cuthbert Tunſtal, to renew the negotiation with him, acquainting him withal, if he would appoint a convenient place, he would come and confer with him in perſon. The emperor, who had never intended to reſign the empire to him, and ſtill leſs at that time, very civilly anſwered, that to ſave the king the trouble of croſſing the ſea, he would come himſelf and confer with him in England. But when the embaſſadors preſſed him upon the affairs they were charged with, they found he ſought only to evade his own offer. One while he ſaid, he would reſign the empire to Henry, but firſt would try to obtain of the diet, that himſelf and poſterity might preſerve the title of king of the Romans. Another while, he talked of making Charles, his grandſon, emperor, Henry, king of the Romans, Ferdinand, brother to Charles, king of Auſtria, and himſelf only marſhal of the empire. Theſe variations convinced the embaſſadors, nothing was to be expected from the negotiation, and acquainting the king therewith, he was ſatisfied Maximilian had no other deſign than to draw money from him.

There was this year an inſurrection of the London apprentices againſt the foreign merchants, wherein ſome perſons loſt their lives. But it was appeaſed by the puniſhment of ſome of the ſeditious, who were hanged in the principal ſtreets of the city[e].

This ſame year the ſweating ſickneſs made great ravages in the kingdom, and eſpecially at London. Moſt of thoſe that were ſeized with it, died within three hours, and no

[d] It had been ſtill taught and believed for a good while, that the pope, out of the inexhauſtible treaſure of the church, ariſing from the merits of Chriſt, and works of ſupererogation of the ſaints, had a power of diſtributing indulgences on certain conditions preſcribed by him, to the the greateſt and moſt profligate of ſinners, for a plenary remiſſion of ſin, (as it is practiſed at this day, in Portugal, &c.) Theſe indulgences are ſuppoſed at firſt to reach only to relaxation of penances or eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Urban II. in the beginning of the XIth century, was the firſt that granted a full remiſſion of all ſins, to thoſe who ſhould take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. Which cuſtom was kept up by his ſucceſſors, ſome of whom extended the benefit of their indulgences to ſuch perſons who being unwilling or unable to go, maintained a ſoldier in their room. At length theſe ſpiritual favours were diſtributed to thoſe who took the field againſt the enemies of holy church or heretics. Great ſums were raiſed by this means, but ſeldom applied to the ends for which they were intended. Leo X. reſolving to follow ſo good precedents, opened a general mart for indulgences, the benefit whereof was to extend even to the dead, whoſe ſouls, upon payment of ſo much money, were immediately redeemed out of purgatory. People had likewiſe the liberty of eating eggs and white meats on faſt days, and of chuſing their confeſſor, and the like. Guicciardini ſays, that the powers for releaſing ſouls out of purgatory were openly played for in taverns. B. 13.

[e] The chief author of this inſurrection (which began April 21) was one John Lincoln, a broker. He drew up a Paper full of complaints againſt the foreign merchants, which he got doctor Bele, a noted preacher, to read in his pulpit on Eaſter Tueſday; whereupon the mob aſſembled, and committed ſeveral outrages. The reader may ſee a full account of this inſurrection in Hall, fol. 59—63. Hollingſh. p. 840, &c.

This

cure could be found. As this diſtemper was peculiar to England, it was called ſudor Anglicus, or the Engliſh ſweat [f].

The affairs of Scotland were ſtill in great diſorder, by reaſon of the factions in the kingdom. Alexander Hume, and his brother William, after ſeveral pardons, were at laſt beheaded [g]. After the death of the two brothers, the duke of Albany, hoping Scotland would be in perfect tranquillity, reſolved to take a journey to France, promiſing to return in a few months. But being detained there longer than he expected, by accidents mentioned hereafter, the affairs of Scotland fell into great confuſion, becauſe of the diſſenſions of the nobles, which were inflamed by thoſe who deſigned to take advantage of them.

[1518] Mean while, the pope earneſtly puſhed the affair of the pretended war, contriving with the embaſſadors reſiding at his court, projects which would have required more zeal than princes uſually have, as well as more union among them. To execute his deſigns, it was neceſſary to raiſe immenſe ſums of money, and that was the ſecret intent of the league propoſed by the pope, of which he was to be the head and director. To that end, he exhauſted, if I may ſo ſay, the church's treaſures, to encourage the faithful to exchange their periſhing riches for everlaſting advantages. This affair was carried ſo far, that he ſent legates to all the courts, to excite the ſovereigns to join their forces together, for the deſtruction of the infidels. There was not one but what outwardly ſhewed an exreme deſire to apply himſelf to ſo holy a work, provided he could be ſecured from being diſturbed by his neighbours. But that was the thing which rendered the execution of the project very difficult, becauſe they had no confidence in one another. They had no more for the pope himſelf, who, ſince the beginning of his pontificate, had but too plainly diſcovered, that the concerns of religion were not what affected him moſt. So, in ſeeing him act with that zeal, they could not help ſuſpecting, that the deſire of inriching himſelf by the voluntary contributions of Chriſtians, by the ſale of the indulgences, by the tenths of the clergy, and by the bounties of the ſovereigns, was what moſt fired his zeal. Nevertheleſs, not one of them ſhewed any averſion to the deſign, leſt he ſhould be taxed with not having a due regard for religion. But they gave only words, whereas the pope wanted deeds. Hence the pope's project of an univerſal league had not, as will hereafter be ſeen, the ſucceſs he expected. However, the project, though chimerical, ſerved for a cloak to many other deſigns. The emperor, deſiring to have one of his grandſons choſen king of the Romans, uſed the pretence of the imaginary Turkiſh invaſion of Chriſtendom, to ſhew the neceſſity of continuing the imperial dignity in the houſe of Auſtria, there being no other in Germany, able by its own ſtrength to withſtand their arms. Charles king of Spain made uſe of the ſame pretence for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides that, as he wanted ſome years of peace, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted upon the project of a general truce, that the Chriſtian princes might be free to unite their forces againſt the Turks. Francis I. plainly ſaw, by the defenſive league made againſt him, that a pretence was only ſought to invade him, and take away the duchy of Milan. So, a general truce could not but be advantageous to him in his preſent circumſtances. Beſides, he had in view the recovery of Tournay, which could not be accompliſhed but during a peace. Henry VIII. knowing that the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain, had joined in a league againſt the Turks, was apprehenſive that league covered ſome deſign againſt him. For that reaſon, he would not refuſe to enter into the ſame engagement, for fear of giving them a pretence. Thus the chief potentates of Europe, being concerned to promote the cruſade, or at leaſt not to reject it, the leſſer powers were alſo obliged to follow the torrent. This gave the pope great hopes he ſhould at laſt effect his deſigns. But as in truth, not one of the princes thought the thing practicable, the project was ſtill very far from being executed.

Whilſt Leo X. fed himſelf with theſe hopes, Francis was thinking much more ſeriouſly of means to recover Tournay, than of the affairs of the cruſade. On the other hand, cardinal Wolſey was afraid of loſing the adminiſtration of the biſhopric, becauſe he ſaw no likelihood of ſowing diſcord between France and England, at a time when all the princes of Europe expreſſed a deſire to live in peace. He could not therefore keep the adminiſtration, if Guillard the true biſhop, would take the oath to the king, to which he ſeemed inclined. This made him embrace the ſecret offers of Francis, to make him amends, if he could induce the king his maſter to reſtore that place to France. Francis was very ſenſible, that before all things the cardinal was to be ſatisfied, not only in order to recover Tournay, but to procure it as cheap as poſſible. This was the ſubject of a private negotiation between them, before Henry was informed of it. To ſucceed, Francis ſpared neither flatteries or promiſes, nor preſents. If Polydore Virgil may be credited, theſe preſents were very conſiderable. But however, it was agreed between them, that the cardinal ſhould be recompenſed for the loſs of the adminiſtration, with an annual penſion. That the king of France ſhould give Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns for Tournay. But as this ſum was a little too large, an expedient, mentioned hereafter, was found to reduce it to a much leſs. Upon theſe two conditions, the cardinal undertook to obtain his maſter's conſent to the king of France's deſires. One of leſs aſſurance than the cardinal, and not ſo ſecure of the king's confidence, would doubtleſs have been greatly embarraſſed, ſince the buſineſs was to convince the king of the contrary, to what hitherto he had been endeavouring to make him believe, namely, that Tournay was no longer neceſſary. When Francis I. would have treated of the reſtitution of Tournay, Wolſey had repreſented to the king, that both for his own and England's intereſt, it was of very great conſequence to keep that place, which was moreover a perpetual monument of his victories, whilſt it ſhould be in his hands Now altering his tone, he undertakes to perſuade, and indeed does perſuade him, that the place is of no uſe, and the maintenance of the garriſon far outweighs all the advantages he can receive from thence. That it was better to yield it to the king of France, who earneſtly ſued for it, and, to obtain it, ſcrupled not to condeſcend to make preſents to a miniſter. That nothing could be more honourable for the king, than to ſee that monarch make the firſt advances to procure his friendſhip, and render it perpetual, by the marriage of the dauphin with the princeſs Mary, which alſo he propoſed. That therefore the preſent opportunity ſhould be improved to receive a good ſum of money in lieu of Tournay, which being ſo remote from Calais, would infallibly be loſt upon the firſt rupture between the two crowns. That hereby the king of France would be obliged to be his friend, and this union would render them umpires of Europe. That their union was the more neceſſary, as it was time to think of oppoſing the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria, who poſſeſſing the empire, Spain, the Low-Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, were infallibly going to render themſelves very formidable to all the ſovereigns. The ſtrength of theſe reaſons was too manifeſt for Henry to reſiſt them. All he could think ſtrange was, that the cardinal had not ſooner propoſed them, but till then had rather uſed arguments, to hinder the reſtitution of Tournay. But, as it has been remarked, Wolſey had ſuch an aſcendent over him, that he could perſuade him pro and con as he pleaſed [h].

Henry having agreed to what the cardinal propoſed, the next thing was to treat upon the matter. As ſoon as Francis I. was informed of it, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to England, conſiſting of admiral Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher, biſhop of Paris, and M. de Villeroy, ſecretary of ſtate [i]. For form's ſake, ſome time muſt be ſpent in the negotiation, though the king of France, and the cardinal, had already agreed upon the chief articles, by the mediation of Villeroy, who had been in London ever ſince the beginning of July, whereas his colleagues arrived not till two months after. The French embaſſadors had full powers to treat of the renewing of friendſhip between the two kings, of a league with the pope and all Chriſtian princes who deſire to be included in it, for the defence of religion and the church, of a marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary, daughter of Henry, of the reſtitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne, and of

[f] This diſtemper continued from July till the middle of December. Many knights, gentlemen, and officers of the king's court died thereof, as the lord Clinton, lord Grey, of Wilton, and of the common ſort of people, ſo many, as in ſome towns it ſwept away half in others a third of the inhabitants. Hall, fol. 63. Herbert, p. 28. There was alſo ſo great a drought this year, that it did not rain from the beginning of September, till the May following. And the froſt was ſo hard in the winter, that horſes and carts could paſs over the Thames on the ice between Weſtminſter and Lambeth. Stow, p. 505.

[g] On the 16th of Oct. 1516. Herbert, p. 27. The 11th, ſays Buchanan.

[h] Polydore Virgil obſerves, how artfully the cardinal managed this affair: he began with making the king a preſent of ſome part of what Francis had given him, that he might thereby incline the king to accept of the friendly overtures of the French king. Having thus prepared the way, he uſed the arguments above-mentioned for the reſtitution of Tournay. Whereupon the king ſaid, he ſaw plainly now, Wolſey would govern both himſelf, and the king of France. Pol. Virg.

[i] And Francis de Rochecavard. With no leſs than twelve hundred perſons in their train. Septemb. 30. Herbert, p. 31. Hall, fol. 65.

There

an interview of the two kings. Moreover, they brought Francis's letters patents, whereby he promiſed to pay to his good friend the cardinal of York, an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in conſideration of his relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay. As the treaties concluded upon theſe articles were not ready till the beginning of October, I ſhall briefly mention another affair, tranſacted about the ſame time.

The pope was ever intent upon the affairs of the cruſade, from whence he hoped to draw great ſums. He writ laſt year to all Chriſtian princes, to notify the victory of Selim, emperor of the Turks, over the Mamalucks of Egypt, whoſe empire he had utterly deſtroyed. The beginning of this year, he cauſed the college of cardinals to ſend a letter to Henry, repreſenting to him, the danger Chriſtendom was in, after the victory by the Ottoman emperor, over the Soldan of Egypt, who, according to the beſt advices, was ſlain in battle. The cardinals exhorted the king to undertake the defence of religion jointly with all the other Chriſtian ſovereigns, with the pope and ſacred college, who were ready to ſacrifice to that end, their own, as well as the church's treaſure. The plain meaning of all this was, that the king ought to contribute largely towards the cruſade, his country being too remote from Turkey to ſend forces thither.

Some time after, the pope ſent legates a latere [k] to ſeveral courts [l], with orders to exhort the ſovereigns to accept and preſerve a five years truce, enjoined by his apoſtolic power. They were likewiſe to uſe their endeavours to perſuade them to unite all their forces, and make war upon the Turks. Cardinal Laurentius Campejus was appointed for England, and was already departed from Rome in the beginning of May, to go and execute his commiſſion. But Wolſey deemed it a very great affront, that the pope had not thought of him for the legateſhip. So, whilſt Campejus was on the road, he ſent a truſty meſſenger to Rome, to repreſent to the pope, that by ſhewing ſo little regard for a cardinal, actually in England, and the king's prime miniſter, he put it out of his power to do him any ſervice: that whatever he ſhould ſay to ſupport what the pope required, would be of no weight, ſince he ſhould be conſidered as one whom the court of Rome duſt not truſt with the legateſhip: that it was rather the pope's intereſt to make uſe of him to obtain his deſires, conſidering the confidence the king honoured him with, and that, without his aſſiſtance, the preſent affair would be in danger of miſcarrying. Leo X. eaſily perceived by this repreſentation, that Wolſey muſt be contented. So by a bull of the 17th of May, he joined him with Campejus in the ſame commiſſion [m], giving them both an equal authority, knowing (ſays he, in the bull directed to Wolſey) your great credit with the king, and how eaſily you can perſuade or diſſuade him. Mean while, Campejus arriving at Boulogne, Wolſey found means to detain him there till he had received the pope's anſwer. For which reaſon it was the 29th of July before the Italian legate made his entry into London. As he had but a very poor train, Wolſey ſent him twelve mules with coffers richly covered. But ſome of theſe coffers happening to fall, during the proceſſion, and being overturned and broken, were found to be empty [n], to the great ſport and laughter of the people, who derided this external pageantry. There is in the Collection of the Public Acts, a bull of Leo X. with extraordinary powers to the two legates, authorizing them to grant a plenary indulgence to the faithful of both ſexes, who ſhould be preſent at the maſs, which either of the legates ſhould celebrate in the preſence of the king and queen, or at leaſt at the benediction, provided they confeſſed their ſins, or deſired to confeſs, and were penitent.

The legates commiſſion conſiſted of two points. The firſt was, to try to obtain of the clergy an aid of money for the war againſt the Turks. But the clergy withſtood all their attempts. The ſecond was, to perſuade Henry to join in the projected league with all the chriſtian princes for the defence of religion and the church. The pope's deſign was not to undertake a war againſt the Turks, but only to heap up money on that pretence. Thus the league he was meditating was ſolely to make the world believe he really intended to war againſt the infidels. After which, he had a very plauſible excuſe to lay impoſitions upon all the clergy, and draw money from the ſovereigns and their ſubjects, to bear the charges of the pretended war. With this league therefore he was to begin, and upon that the legates were commiſſioned to treat with the king, who ſeemed inclined to agree to it, though he might eaſily foreſee the league would ſignify nothing.

As cardinal Wolſey's credit increaſed in England, it became likewiſe greater at the court of Rome. He had cauſed, as was before obſerved, cardinal Adrian de Corneto to be removed from the office of the pope's collector in England. But this ſlight puniſhment not ſufficing to ſatisfy his revenge, he had ſo ordered it, that the king writ to the pope, deſiring him to deprive Adrian of the cardinalate, and of the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, which had been conferred on him. Leo X. could not help thinking it very ſtrange, that the king ſhould make ſuch a requeſt, without alledging any reaſon. However, without giving him a poſitive denial, he contented himſelf with ſaying, he would give him ſatisfaction at a more proper ſeaſon. In 1517, there was a conſpiracy againſt the pope, wherein cardinal Adrian being concerned was committed to priſon. Guicciardini affirms, he was never more heard of, and that it is not known what became of him [o]. But there is in the Collection of the Public Acts, a letter of cardinal Julius de Medici, dated the 5th of July, 1518, notifying to the king, that in a conſiſtory held that day, cardinal Adrian was depoſed and ſtript of all his preferments, intimating withal to the king, that it was on his account. But it is more probable that he was puniſhed for his crime againſt the pope. However, a few days after, the pope gave cardinal Wolſey the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, ſuppoſing he wanted it to maintain the dignity of cardinal.

The negotiation of the two cardinals proceeded very ſlowly, ſince it was not ſufficient to incline Henry to the league, but the reſt of the ſovereigns were alſo to give their conſent. Accordingly, the pope ſollicited to the utmoſt of his power all the potentates, magnifying the danger to which the Chriſtian religion was going to be infallibly expoſed. In ſhort, every prince returning him the ſame anſwer, namely, that it was neceſſary all the ſovereigns ſhould unite in the affair, he ſent a bull to his legates in England, empowering them to conclude between the emperor and the kings of France and Spain a league againſt the Turk. His intent was, that the league ſhould be offenſive, elſe it would be of no advantage to him, unleſs the Turk really intended to invade Chriſtendom, which was hitherto thought to be very uncertain. But Leo was too well known for the princes to be thus taken in a ſnare which tended only to render the pope maſter of their own and their people's money. So, pretending zealouſly to enter into his project, they contented themſelves with concluding together a defenſive league for the protection of the pope, the holy ſee, and their reſpective dominions, againſt all invaders, and particularly againſt the emperor of the Turks [p]. The pope was declared head of the league, provided he ratified it within ſuch a time. But the treaty made no mention of what each of the allies was to furniſh. All which ſhews, this league, according to the intention of the parties, was only to caſt a miſt before people's eyes, to give the pope ſome ſatisfaction, and perhaps to frighten the Turks.

This was not what the pope deſired. He could have wiſhed, all the princes of Chriſtendom had joined together in an offenſive league againſt the Turks, and engaged to ſend their forces to Conſtantinople, to attack the Ottoman emperor in his metropolis. In that caſe, he knew, the moſt remote would have been eaſily induced to furniſh their quota in money. Since the frantic zeal for cruſades was over, the popes had loſt no opportunity to rekindle the ſame zeal, which had formerly procured ſo many advantages to their predeceſſors. But the people as well as the princes were entirely diſcouraged, becauſe it was too viſible that the cruſades had been profitable to none but the popes. So, for once, the Chriſtian princes were contented to make a defenſive league, to ſhew

[k] There are four ſorts of legates. 1. They whom the pope ſends to preſide at general councils. 2. The pope's perpetual vicars in countries remote from Rome; thus before the reformation, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was legatus natus apoſtolicæ ſedis. 3. They who for a certain time, and in certain places, are delegated to convene ſynods for reſtoring church diſcipline and other emergencies. 4. The name of legate is given to the pope's extraordinary embaſſadors, to emperors, and kings, who are called legati a latere. At preſent none but cardinals have this character.

[l] To England, France, Spain, and Germany. Hall, fol. 64.

[m] At the requeſt of king Henry, and the king of France. Hollingſh. p. 845.

[n] In Cheapſide one of the mules broke looſe from her leader, and overturning her own, and two or three of the other mules carriages; which fell with ſuch violence, that ſeveral of them unlocked, and there fell out of them, old hoſe, torn ſhoes, pieces of roaſted meat, bits of bread, eggs, and ſuch vile baggage. Hall, fol. 64.

[o] Polydore Virgil ſays, Adrian bequeathed a magnificent palace in Rome, to the king of England, his patron, which was called the Engliſh palace, and is now poſſeſſed by the family of Colonna.

[p] Lord Herbert ſays, this treaty is ſingular in its kind, and an excellent precedent for peace to future ages; and therefore recites it more at large, becauſe (as he ſays) it ſeems to have been the rule by which Henry framed his actions many years after. See p. 31, of the Comp. Hiſt. vol. II.

only, they were ready to defend Chriſtendom againſt the attacks of the infidels, deferring to take other meaſures till they ſhould be obliged. Leo X. ſeeing he could obtain no more, approved and ratified the league the 31ſt of December, after which it was never more mentioned. All the terrible preparations of the Turks againſt the Chriſtians entirely vaniſhed, as ſoon as the pope found his artifices could not produce the deſired effect.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, cardinal Wolſey, jointly with the French embaſſadors, was employed in preparing the treaties they had agreed upon, to be ſigned.

The firſt related to the marriage between the princeſs Mary and the dauphin, which was to be ſolemnized as ſoon as the young prince ſhould be full fourteen years old, each of the two kings promiſing to pay five hundred thouſand crowns, in caſe it was his fault that the marriage was not compleated. Mary's dower was to be three hundred thirty-three thouſand crowns of gold, one half to be paid on the day of marriage, and the other within a year after. The jointure was to be as great as had ever been aſſigned to any queen of France, and particularly to Anne of Bretagne, and Mary of England, wives to Lewis XII.

The ſecond treaty was upon the reſtitution of Tournay, for which Francis I. engaged to pay Henry ſix hundred thouſand crowns of thirty-five pence Tournois each, beſides fifty thouſand livres Tournois due to him from the inhabitants [q]. But out of theſe two ſums Francis was to keep back the princeſs Mary's dower. As to the payments, he obliged himſelf to pay fifty thouſand livres upon taking poſſeſſion of the place, and then twenty-five thouſand livres every ſix months, till the whole was paid [r].

The third treaty concerned the outrages which might be committed for the future againſt the peace by the ſubjects of either king, and contained certain regulations to procure ſpeedy reparation.

By the fourth, the two monarchs agreed upon an interview in the village of Sandinfelt, between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Theſe treaties being ſigned the 14th of October, the French embaſſadors gave cardinal Wolſey their maſter's letters patents, whereby he bound himſelf to pay him an annual penſion of twelve thouſand livres Tournois, to ſatisfy him for the loſs of the biſhopric of Tournay.

As ſoon as the two kings had ratified the treaties, and ſolemnly ſwore to the peace at London and Paris, the king and queen of France, acting in the name of the dauphin their ſon, affianced the princeſs Mary, repreſented to the earl of Worceſter [s] her proxy. This ceremony was performed at Paris the 21ſt of December [t].

[1519] Europe enjoyed then a profound tranquillity. But upon the death of the emperor Maximilian [u], the twelfth of January 1519, new troubles aroſe. By his death France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Scotland, the Low Countries, were engaged in wars no leſs fatal to them than the former. As ſoon as Maximilian was in his grave, the kings of France and Spain openly declared themſelves candidates for the empire, and began to cabal among the electors to obtain their deſires. This threw the electors into great perplexity. On which ſide ſoever they turned, they ſaw for themſelves, for Germany, for all Europe, advantages and inconveniences which deſerved their whole attention. It would have been the intereſt of Germany to keep the balance even between the two monarchs who aſpired to the imperial dignity, and to reject both. But by chooſing one of the competitors, ſuch ſuperiority would be given him as could not but be fatal to all Europe, and particularly to Germany. I ſhall not farther inſiſt upon the reaſons which the electors had to chooſe one or reject both. It is well known, on theſe occaſions, the public good does not always ſerve for rule and foundation, to form deciſions of this nature. Leo X. wiſhed, as it was indeed his intereſt, the electors would agree to chooſe one of their own body. Charles being poſſeſſed of the kingdom of Naples, and Francis of the duchy of Milan, the election of one of theſe monarchs could not but one day diſturb the peace of Italy, and prove deſtructive to the papal power. Accordingly, the pope uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the electors to take that courſe. But however he was forced, to act privately for fear of making the two candidates his enemies, by openly declaring againſt them.

Whilſt the reſolution of the electors was impatiently expected, Lorenzo de Medici, the pope's nephew, was ſeized with a diſtemper that laid him in his grave. By this unexpected accident, that branch of the family of Medici was reduced to the perſon of the pope, ſole lawful deſcendant of Coſmo the Great, who firſt acquired the ſovereignty of Florence. Some endeavours were uſed to perſude the pope to reſtore his country to liberty, but he did not love the Florentines well enough to ſuffer them to enjoy ſo valuable a bleſſing, of which he had taken ſo much pains to deprive them. Reſolving therefore to keep that ſtate, he ſent cardinal Julius de Medici, natural ſon of Julian his uncle, to govern in his name. Shortly after, he annexed the duchy of Urbino to the church, and razed the walls of the capital, for fear la Rovere ſhould think of recovering it.

The electors being aſſembled to proceed to the election of an emperor, Francis and Charles ſent embaſſadors to the aſſembly to manage their concerns. The pope would have a nuntio there too, who had orders privately to endeavour to cauſe them both to be rejected, but however, to conform themſelves outwardly to the diſpoſitions of the electors. Henry VIII. perceiving the difficulties which would occur in the choice of either of the candidates, ſent Richard Pace to the diet to try whether there was any thing to be expected for him. But as he thought of it too late, his embaſſador found the affair ſo advanced, that he did not think fit to expoſe the king's honour. He writ to him therefore, that indeed ſome of the electors [w] ſhewed an inclination to favour him: that the pope would have likewiſe ſupported him to the utmoſt of his power, had he declared ſooner; but that matters were ſo ordered, that the election would infallibly be over before proper meaſures could be taken to accompliſh his project. And indeed, a few days after, on the 28th of June, Charles, king of Spain, was declared emperor by the name of Charles V. or rather of Charles Quint, as he was then, and ſtill is called to this day [x].

The election of Charles was a terrible mortification to Francis I. All the world immediately thought, the jealouſy between theſe two potent princes would infallibly occaſion bloody wars, and this opinion was but too well confirmed by experience. Beſides the king of France's jealouſy, which was doubtleſs one of the chief cauſes of the following rupture, there were differences between them of very great importance, and extremely difficult to adjuſt. Francis I. had pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples. Moreover, by the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to reſtore Navarre to Henry d'Albret, within four months after ſigning the treaty, and this article was yet unperformed. On the other hand, Charles, as heir of the houſe of Burgundy, believed he had a right to the duchy of that name. He pretended that after the death of the laſt duke, his great grandfather, Lewis XI. had unjuſtly ſeized it upon a bare allegation that it was a male fee, though the contrary was evident. He had ſuffered his title to lie dormant during his minority. But after he was of age he had thoughts of reviving it, and the imperial dignity lately obtained helped very much to confirm him in that reſolution. The duchy of Milan was another cauſe of diſpute, which would naturally produce a war between the two monarchs. It could not be denied that it was a fief of the empire, and yet Lewis XII. had ſeized it, and Francis I. reconquered it, and was now in poſſeſſion, without either's be-

[q] The whole was but fifty thouſand, whereof part was paid. See Rymer, p. 642. Our hiſtorians ſay, the arrears that remained due, were twenty-three thouſand livres. Hall, fol. 65; and Stow, p. 507.

[r] Tournay was delivered up to the king of France, on Feb. 8, 1519. Hall, fol. 67.

[s] Rapin miſtaking the name for the title, ſays Somerſet. He was accompanied in his embaſſy to France, by Nicholas Weſt, biſhop of Ely, the lord St. John, ſir Nicholas Vaux, ſir John Pechy, and ſir Thomas Bulleyn. Hall, fol. 66.

[t] This year was inſtituted the college of phyſicians, in London. King Henry's charter for that purpoſe bears date October 23. By the appointment in this corporation, or college, are included the phyſicians in London, and ſeven miles round that city. The phyſicians named in the charter, are John Chamber, Thomas Linacre, Fernand de Victoria, Nicholas Halſewell, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 654.

[u] He was king of the Romans, and called emperor, though never crowned by that title. Some ſay, the reaſon was, becauſe he declined the charge and hazard of going into Italy, to receive the imperial crown at the pope's hands. He ſpent his leiſure hours in poetry, writing the hiſtory of his life, in Dutch verſe. As knight of the garter, his obſequy was ſolemnly kept in St. Paul's, by our king and the knights of that order. Herbert, p. 34.

[w] The electors of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, ſtood ſo affected, that Pace thought if our king had put in ſooner, he would have carried it. Herbert, p. 33.

[x] Inſtead of ſpending his money in bribing the electors, as Francis did, particularly the marquis of Bradenburgh, he laid it out in raiſing numerous forces, which he brought to Francfort. Whereupon the majority of the electors (viz. the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, the count Palatin, and the duke of Saxony) being thereby terrified and over-awed, agreed to chooſe him. There were then but ſeven electors, which, together with the four juſt now mentioned, were the archbiſhop of Treves or Triers, the marquis of Bradenburgh, and the king of Bohemia. See Guiccard, l. 13. The electorate of Bavaria was appointed in 1648, and that of Brunſwick-Lunenberg-Hanover, in 1693.

John

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London: Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

Archbishop WILLIAMS. Lord Keeper.

Goldar sculp.t

In the Possession of William Cowper Esq.r

Published as the Act directs. May. 21. 1785.

ing inveſted by the emperor Maximilian, or ſo much as deſiring it. Charles therefore could alledge it was his duty to maintain the rights of the empire, and endeavour to diſpoſſeſs the king of France of that duchy. The duke of Gueldres afforded another occaſion of quarrel between theſe two monarchs. He was a profeſſed enemy to the emperor, and France protected him openly. Finally, the treaty of Noyon gave Charles another cauſe of complaint. He pretended, Francis had extorted from him ſo diſadvantageous a treaty, by threatening war when his affairs neceſſarily required his preſence in Spain, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdoms: that therefore the reſignation of the kingdom of Navarre, and the penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, to which he had been engaged under the ſpecious pretence of a maintenance for the princeſs his future ſpouſe, were nothing elſe but the price of a peace he had been made to purchaſe.

But though the two monarchs looked upon each other with a jealous and envious eye, and wanted not pretences for a war, neither of them durſt, however, begin before he had ſounded the reſt of the ſovereigns. And how they ſtood affected will alſo be neceſſary to know, for the better underſtanding the ſequel, the intereſts of princes giving to hiſtory a light, which without that aſſiſtance is ſought for in vain.

Leo X. was equally afraid of the two monarchs, being ſenſible to which ſide ſoever the balance inclined, Italy muſt be in danger. If he could have ſet them at variance without making Italy the ſeat of the war, he would freely have done it. But that was not poſſible. Much leſs was it in his power to ſtand neuter. The reaſon is, becauſe he could not hinder the conteſts about Naples and Milan from being decided by arms, and therefore could not avoid interpoſing in a quarrel, which would ſo nearly concern him. He took therefore the courſe which beſt agreed with his temper, and that was to be reſerved, and manage both the monarchs, till he found it his intereſt to declare himſelf. But through all his diſguiſes he diſcovered however ſome partiality to the emperor, in the grant of a diſpenſation to hold the empire with the kingdom of Naples, though that was directly contrary to the terms on which he had given him the inveſtiture of that kingdom. Francis complained of it, but the pope excuſed it, as he could not refuſe, without involving himſelf in troubles from which it would not have been eaſy to be delivered.

As for Henry VIII. the poſture of affairs between Charles and Francis might have rendered his reign very glorious, had he not entirely given himſelf up to the intereſted counſels of cardinal Wolſey. He had it in his power to preſerve the peace of Europe, by keeping the balance even between the two rivals, without ſuffering it to incline too much to either ſide. This was his grand intereſt as well as the kingdom's, and accordingly this was his reſolution. Hence it was that he frequently engaged in one or other ſide, but not always as the intereſt of Europe, the welfare of his realm, and his own glory required. Thus whilſt he thought to follow the maxims of good policy, he helped without perceiving it to gratify the paſſions of his miniſter, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Charles and Francis were ſo convinced of the advantages to be reaped from the king of England's friendſhip, that they neglected nothing which they thought would procure it. The beſt or rather the only means to that end was to gain cardinal Wolſey to their intereſts. And therefore, they ſpared neither flatteries nor promiſes, nor preſents to make him their friend. They took occaſion ſometimes to write to him, on purpoſe to ſtile him their friend, their father. In their letters they extolled his virtue, his prudence, his capacity, in ſuch affecting terms, that he muſt have been blind not to ſee, they had farther views than to expreſs their eſteem for him. Wolſey made good uſe of theſe teſtimonies of their friendſhip, to obſerve to his maſter how formidable he was to theſe monarchs, ſince they did not diſdain even to careſs his miniſter. But withal, it ſerved him to inſinuate how far his own merit excelled that of other miniſters, ſince it was univerſally known. All this produced the effect he expected. Henry deemed himſelf the arbiter of Europe, and remained ſo perſuaded of his favourite's capacity, that he no longer ſaw but with his eyes, nor acted but by his advice.

Thus Wolſey was then at the top of the wheel. He was favourite, prime miniſter, lord chancellor, adminiſtrator of the biſhopric of Bath and Wells, archbiſhop of York, ſole legate a latere, Campejus his colleague being recalled. He had a penſion from the emperor and the king of France, and received an immenſe profit from his chancellorſhip, by the privileges annexed thereto by the king. Beſides this, the king never ceaſed making him preſents, and giving him continual occaſions of increaſing his incomes. On the other hand, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republic of Venice, ſtrove with emulation to gain his goodwill, and ſeemed, as I may ſay, to glory in their dependence upon him. The beginning of the year, Francis I. ſent him letters patents, whereby he conſented, that he ſhould alone regulate the ceremonies of this interview with Henry, giving him thereby an authentic teſtimony of his confidence in his probity, upon a point of which kings are commonly very jealous. Mean while, the advances ſuch great princes made the cardinal, did not argue ſo much their eſteem for him, as their fear of loſing the friendſhip of the king his maſter. Francis I. to give Henry a freſh mark of his reſpect, deſired him to ſtand godfather to his ſecond ſon, afterwards king of France, by the name of Henry II. Theſe things demonſtrate Henry's happy ſituation, and how glorious his reign might have been, had he wiſely improved theſe advantages. But unfortunately for him, inſtead of acting for himſelf and his own glory, he laboured in effect for his favourite's intereſts.

It would have been hard to conceive to what height the cardinal's pride was carried, if all the hiſtorians had not taken care to deſcribe it, and all in the ſame colours. The legateſhip of Campejus ſetting that cardinal upon a level with him, he could not long bear that equality. By his creadit at Rome, he cauſed him to be recalled [y], and himſelf appointed ſole legate, with power to viſit the monaſteries, and all the reſt of the clergy [z]. To obtain this commiſſion, he had taken care to defame to the pope all the clergy of the kingdom, intimating, how neceſſary it was to commit the reforming of them to his care [a]. But this was only to increaſe his authority, and ſubject the whole church of England to his orders. When he ſaw himſelf inveſted alone with the dignity of legate, he let looſe, if I may ſo ſay, the reins to his vanity. He ſaid maſs after the manner of the pope himſelf, not only biſhops ſerving him therein, but earls and dukes giving him water and the towel. When he walked into the city, two croſſes were carried before him by two of the talleſt prieſts that could be found, mounted on the higheſt horſes. One of theſe croſſes was that of legate, and the other that of York. At firſt theſe things ſerved only for diverſion to the people, who paſſed their jeſts upon this external pomp [b]. But preſently after, were felt much more grievous effects of the power aſſembled by the legate. A new court of juſtice was erected, called the legate's court, the juriſdiction whereof extended to all actions relating to conſcience, that is, properly ſpeaking, to all the actions of life, ſince there is ſcarce any but where conſcious may be ſome where concerned. John Allen, doctor of law, being made judge of this new court, committed numberleſs rapines and extortions, under colour of reforming the manners of the people, though he was himſelf a perſon of an infamous character [c]. Strict enquiry was made into the life and manners of every body, which gave occaſion to the new judge to oppreſs all that obſtinately refuſed to compound with him. Particularly, he pretended that this juriſdiction reached to all ſuits ariſing from wills or marriage contracts, and drew to his court numberleſs cauſes, without the king's judges daring to oppoſe it [d]. On the other hand, the legate treated the clergy with inconceivable rigour, and conferred all the benefices of the kingdom on his creatures, without troubling himſelf about the rights of the churches, the monaſteries, or the pa-

[y] John Clarke, doctor of law, was ſent to Rome for this purpoſe. The pope's commiſſion to Wolſey is dated June 10, 1519. Herbert, p. 32.

[z] By virtue of his legantine commiſſion, he might ſummon the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and all other biſhops within the king's dominions, to aſſemble at his convocation. He might ſuperintend and correct what he thought irregular within their juriſdictions, appoint all officers in the ſpiritual courts, and preſent to all eccleſiaſtical benefices; conſtitute maſters of faculties; and maſters of ceremonies, to advance his dignity, and exerciſe a viſitorial power over monaſteries and colleges, and all the clergy, exempt and not exempt; and this for one whole year, from the date of this bull. Fidde's life of Wolſey, p. 110. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 734.

[a] The clergy were ſo defamed by the cardinal's information, that they were termed, dati in reprobum ſenſum, given up to reprobate ſenſe; and the like, in the original bull among our records, which lord Herbert ſays, he ſhould have inſerted at large, but that it is too long and infamous to the hierarchy and all religious perſons, p. 32. Compl. Hiſt. The cardinal intended to viſit all the monaſteries in England, that diſcovering their corruptions, he might the better juſtify the deſign he had to ſuppreſs moſt of them, and convert them into biſhoprics, cathedrals, collegiate churches, and colleges; but was diverted from his deſign. However, he led the way to the total ſuppreſſion of them that followed afterwards. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 20.

[b] Inſomuch, that Polydore Virgil ſays, it drew a jeſt, as if one croſs did not ſuffice for the expiration of his ſins.

[c] He was thought to be guilty of perjury. Herb. p. 33. Pol. Virg.

[d] He had a great number of ſpies and informers diſperſed every where, to let him know what livings became vacant, that he might fill them up immediately; and what perſons of note died in every town or pariſh, that he might cite their executors to prove the wills in in his court. Ibid.

Polydore

trons. This is what had ever occaſioned violent quarrels between the kings of England and the court of Rome, and given birth to the famous ſtatute of præmunire, daily violated by the legate, the king ſuffering in him things which he would not doubtleſs have allowed in the pope himſelf, and being informed no farther than the cardinal pleaſed. At laſt, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeeing ſo many oppreſſions, thought it his duty to acquaint the king, who ſeemed ſurpriſed, and charged the archbiſhop to tell the cardinal, that it was his pleaſure he ſhould amend whatever was amiſs[e]. The effect of this remonſtrance was, that the cardinal ſtill more hated the archbiſhop for whom he had already conceived an averſion, for ſubſcribing himſelf in one of his letters, your brother of Canterbury[f]. But ſhortly after, John London, a prieſt[g], boldly accuſing the judge of the legate's court, it was not poſſible to hinder the affair from coming to the king's knowledge. As the judge was convicted of numberleſs miſdemeanours, the king ſo reprimanded the cardinal, that from thenceforward he became, if not better, yet more wary at laſt.

The grandeur, riches, power, and authority enjoyed by Wolſey in England, were not capable of ſatisfying his ambition, whilſt there was ſtill one ſtep higher to which a churchman could aſcend. He had begun ſometime ſince to take meaſures to become pope, when the ſee ſhould be vacant, and the king of France had now offered him the votes of fourteen cardinals. But ſince Charles was elected emperor. Wolſey thought him more capable to procure him the papacy, and probably, continued a private negotiation with him. For that purpoſe, he gradually diſengaged the king his maſter from the intereſt of France, to turn him to the emperor. Mean while, he believed he could not, without too much diſcovering himſelf, hinder the interview of Francis and Henry, which had been deferred till the year 1520[h]. But he well knew how to prevent the ill effects this interview might produce againſt the emperor his new friend. Beſides he could not think of loſing the pleaſure of appearing before the court of France with a magnificence little inferior to that of a king, and of ſeeing himſelf in the preſence of the Engliſh, honoured and careſſed by the king of France, and his whole court, as he would probably be. This was an opportunity which a perſon ſo fond of pageantry and oſtentation could not neglect.

The emperor had reaſon to careſs cardinal Wolſey. He had met in Spain with unexpected difficulties. The Caſtilians and Arragonians were bent to preſerve their privileges, which were continually attacked by the emperor's Flemiſh counſellors. On the other hand, the emperor, on pretence of the cruſade publiſhed by the pope, having demanded a tenth of the clergy, that demand had cauſed throughout Spain troubles which very much embarraſſed that prince. There had been alſo an inſurrection in Auſtria, which was not appeaſed without difficulty. In ſhort the king of France was privately labouring to raiſe the emperor troubles in Naples, Sicily, Navarre, and to withdraw his allies from him. All this made Henry's friendſhip ſo neceſſary to him, that it is no wonder he ſhould endeavour to win the cardinal to his ſide, ſince the miniſter's credit was the only way to gain the maſter. The king of France uſed the ſame method, which greatly increaſed the cardinal's pride; who ſeeing himſelf courted by theſe two monarchs, had it in his power, if I may ſo ſay, to ſet what price he pleaſed upon his ſervices.

Whilſt all the world was impatiently expecting the effect of the jealouſy between the emperor and king of France, the affairs of Scotland ſtill remained in the ſame ſituation, that is, in extreme diſorder becauſe of the regent's abſence. When he went from Scotland, he hoped to return in a few months, but was not ſuffered to follow his inclination. Francis I. foreſeeing the want he might have of England, had made a private treaty with Henry, promiſing to detain the duke of Albany in France. Thus Henry obtained by another way, what the parliament of Scotland had plainly refuſed him. It was very eaſy to conceive, why he oppoſed the duke of Albany's return. His deſign was to throw Scotland into trouble and confuſion, to have an opportunity to interpoſe in the affairs of that kingdom, under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of the young king his nephew. He could not therefore execute it better, than by fomenting diſcord among the nobility, which the regent's preſence might have remedied. But the war which afterwards broke out between Charles and Francis, and wherein he was but too much concerned, prevented the proſecution of his deſigns againſt Scotland. Probably this ſaved the kingdom, which otherwiſe was in great danger of being conquered by the Engliſh.

Before I cloſe the year 1519, I muſt not forget to remark, that this year the emperor received the news of the diſcovery, and beginning of the conqueſt of Mexico, and New-Spain. The mention of this particular is the more neceſſary, though it ſeems foreign to our hiſtory, as it was the gold and ſilver wherewith the new world furniſhed Spain, that contributed moſt to render Charles V. ſo powerful as he will hereafter appear. Beſides, money growing more plenty, by the trade carried on by other countries with Spain, the reader muſt not be ſurpriſed to find hereafter more numerous armies, greater magnificence in princes courts, and the dowries of princeſſes much larger than before. But Spain firſt improved the gold and ſilver of the new world, and was thereby enabled, in the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. to aſpire to univerſal monarchy[i].

[1520] The confidence placed by Francis I. in cardinal Wolſey, in giving him power to regulate his interview with Henry, would have been very honourable for that miniſter, if, on the other hand, this proceeding had not ſhewn his little eſteem for him, as believing him liable to corruption. Be this as it will, Wolſey, by virtue of powers received from the two kings, made the 12th of March 1520, a regulation, importing among other things, "That the interview ſhould be on the 4th of June[k], between Ardres and Guiſnes; that the king of England ſhould go towards Ardres, as far as conveniently he could[l], without paſſing however the Engliſh pale, and the king of France ſhould meet him at the place where he ſhould ſtop." Hence, he ſo ordered it, that Francis paid the firſt viſit to Henry. But he aſſigned for reaſon, that the king his maſter having croſſed the ſeas, on purpoſe to do his friend honour, it was very juſt, Francis ſhould in ſome meaſure make him amends, by advancing, to receive him, a little beyond the limits of his own territories in ſome open place appointed by deputies on either ſide. The reſt of the regulation concerned the ſafety of the two monarchs, their queens, the queen dowager of France, ſiſter of Henry, Louiſa of Savoy, ducheſs of Angulême, mother to Francis I. the train of the princes and princeſſes who were to aſſiſt at the interview, the place where the two kings were to meet and confer together, and laſtly, the diverſions which the two courts were to take.

During the time between the regulation and the interview, Francis cauſed the cardinal to be ſounded, to know whether, by his means, he could not prevail with Henry to reſtore Calais for a ſum of money. This propoſal was, doubtleſs, attended with ſecret promiſes to the cardinal, anſwerable to ſo great a ſervice, ſince he did not think fit to reject it. He durſt not however ſpeak of it directly to the king, but tried ſo to manage, that others ſhould inſpire him with the thought that in caſe the king adviſed with him upon it, he might give him his opinion more freely. To that end, in his converſation, he would frequently turn the diſcourſe upon Calais, and ſay, as it were accidentally, What have we to do with this Calais, that lies on the continent, and coſts us ſo much? It were to be wiſhed we were honeſtly rid of it! This artifice failing, he never ventured to make the king ſo extraordinary a propoſal, and the other, as being reſolved to engage with the emperor, he was not ſo deſirous to oblige the king of France.

The time of the interview approaching, Henry[m] came to Canterbury the 25th of May, in order to paſs his Whitſuntide there, and then proceed to Calais. But the next day news was brought him, that the emperor was landed at Dover. This arrival ſurpriſed the whole court, and perhaps the king himſelf. But the cardinal had no reaſon to be ſurpriſed, ſince

[e] Polydore Virgil ſays, the king replied to the archbiſhop, that he ſhould not have heard of theſe things but by him; adding, that no man is ſo blind any where as in his own houſe; therefore, I pray you, (ſays he) father, go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs that he amend it. Herbert, p. 33.

[f] When the bearer of the letter informed the archbiſhop what offence the cardinal had taken at his ſubſcription, he ſaid, with ſome ſhew of reſentment, Peace, knoweſt thou not that the man is inebriated with proſperity. Hollingſhead, p. 848.

[g] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him a prieſt of London. See Herbert, p. 33.

[h] Both kings in the mean while agreeing, not to cut off their beards till they ſaw one another. Herbert, p. 34.

[i] Hernando Cortes, undertaker of the expedition to America, going, in the year 1518, with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horſe, and ſeven little field-pieces, into many populous but diverſly affected kingdoms, did ſo dexterouſly behave himſelf, that playing the part ſometimes of an embaſſador, and ſometimes of a ſoldier, he prevailed himſelf of all. And, in concluſion, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his countrymen and enemies, laid a foundation of a greater dominion than any man before him did. Herbert, p. 34. See Don Ant. de Solis, Hiſt. of Mexico.

[k] Within four days after the end of May. Rymer, p. 707.

[l] A mile. Ibid.

[m] He ſet out from Greenwich May 21. Stow, p. 508.

In

the emperor had the 29th of March promiſed, by letters patents, dated from Compoſtella, to give or cauſe to be given him by the pope, the biſhopric of Badajos[n], within two months after the conference he was to have in perſon with the king of England, as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts. Hence it is plain, the emperor's journey to England had been reſolved ever ſince March, at leaſt between the emperor and the cardinal. But it was uncertain whether the king was informed of it. However, the cardinal was commiſſioned to go and welcome the emperor to Dover, where the king came alſo on the morrow. Then the two monarchs went together to Canterbury, where Henry ſent for his queen, who was extremely glad to ſee her nephew, the emperor having never ſeen him before[o]. The emperor's aim in this viſit was to diſſuade the king from the interview with Francis, but he could not ſucceed, Henry making him ſenſible, he could not recede with honour. But very likely he had alſo in view, the ſecuring of cardinal Wolſey, in order to gain, by his means, the king to his intereſt. It is the common opinion, his journey was not fruitleſs, but that he could obtain the cardinal's favour, only by promiſing to uſe all his credit to raiſe him to the papacity, in caſe Leo X. died before him. Though the emperor had not obtained all his deſires, he departed however very well ſatisfied with his viſit, Henry having promiſed not to enter into any engagement with the king of France to his prejudice[p]. On the 30th of May, Charles proceeded to Flanders, and Henry to Calais[q].

I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the interview of the two monarchs between Ardres and Guiſnes, as regulated by the cardinal. Whilſt it laſted, there was nothing but entertainments, tournaments, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions, wherein the two courts mixed to their mutual ſatisfaction. Every thing on both ſides was ſo magnificent, that the aſſembly was called the camp of the cloth of gold[r]. But amidſt all the pleaſures which the two courts took together, the affairs however was not neglected. The following articles were agreed upon by the two kings at their conferences: that after Francis ſhould have paid the million of crowns, according to the late treaty, he ſhould give Henry an annual penſion for life of an hundred thouſand livers Tournois[s], that in caſe the dauphin ſhould become king of England by this marriage with the princeſs Mary, the penſion ſhould be continued to Mary and her heirs for ever; that the differences between the kings of England and Scotland, ſhould be referred to the arbitration of Louiſa of Savoy, the king of France's mother and the cardinal of York. The two kings parted not till the 24th of June, after paſſing about three weeks together in continual diverſions.

Henry being returned to Calais, was pleaſed, before he repaſſed into England, to repay the viſit received from the emperor at Canterbury. To that end he came to Graveling the 10th of July, and returned the ſame day to Calais. On the morrow, the emperor with the lady Margaret his aunt, governeſs of the Low Countries, came to ſee Henry at Calais, and ſtayed three days with him. Theſe mutual viſits made Francis extremely jealous, and not without reaſon. Probably, in theſe conferences were laid the firſt foundations of the alliance afterwards concluded between the emperor and Henry. In a few days after, Henry returned into England.

The greateſt princes very juſtly court cardinal Wolſey. He abſolutely governed his maſter, who, in the preſent ſituation of his affairs, could make the balance incline to which ſide he pleaſed. The ſenate of Venice foreſeeing that a war would ſoon break out in Italy, endeavoured beforehand to make Wolſey their friend, by ſhewing a great eſteem for him. There is in the Collection of the Public Acts, a letter from the doge to the cardinal, to congratulate him upon the interview of the two kings, as a work of his conſummate wiſdom[t].

But this was only words, whereas the pope, who found he ſhould quickly want the cardinal, thought he muſt gain him by ſomething more ſubſtantial. He granted him, as appears in the Collection, on the 29th of July, a penſion of two thouſand ducats upon the biſhopric of Placentia in Spain, and conſtituted him perpetual adminiſtrator of the ſee of Badajos, without prejudice to the benefices he had or ſhould have for the future. There is no doubt, this was done with the emperor's conſent, who endeavoured by degrees to gain ſo powerful a miniſter, whoſe credit was very neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. He had left Spain full of troubles, occaſioned by the greedineſs of the Flemings, who only ſought to enrich themſelves at the expence of the Spaniards. This had even obliged him to depart with ſome precipitation, for fear of being embroiled in affairs which might have prevented his going to receive the imperial crown. He had left for governors in Spain, Adrian, Florentio, biſhop of Tortoſa, and the conſtable of Caſtile. But he was no ſooner gone, than ſeveral lords and ſome cities of Caſtile joined in a league for the defence of their liberties, and expulſion of the Flemings. This league was followed by an open rebellion, which very much embarraſſed the two governors. Mean while, having drawn together a body of troops, conſiſting partly of the garriſons left in Navarre, they formed a good army, and at length defeated and reduced the mal-contents to obedience.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Spain, the emperor was preparing for his coronation, which was ſolemnized the 21ſt of October[u].

Luther's defection made then great noiſe in Germany. Leo X. endeavoured to excite all the princes of the empire againſt the doctor, who had boldly appealed to a general council, notwithſtanding pope Pius the ſecond's bull. In ſhort, after fruitleſs trials to win him by promiſes, or frighten him by threats, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt him and his followers. But Luther, regardleſs of theſe thunders, renewed his appeal to a council in very harſh terms. The pope, exaſperated that a ſingle monk ſhould thus dare to brave him, deſired the elector of Saxony, then at Cologne, to put him to death, or ſend him to Rome. The elector refuſing, the pope's nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publicly burnt at Cologne, and Luther, in revenge, cauſed the pope's bull and the decretals to be openly burnt at Wirtemberg, and publiſhed a manifeſto in defence of his proceedings. He found himſelf ſupported by the elector his ſovereign, who earneſtly deſired to ſee a reformation in the church.

Mean while the duke of Wirtemberg, who at the inſtance of Francis I. had forſaken the league of Swabia, was driven out of his dominions, and the emperor purchaſed them. As the king of France was not then in condition to protect him, he was forced to ſubmit to the emperor's terms, without hopes of being reſtored.

The troubles ſtill continued among the Scots, who were divided in two factions, whereof Andrew Hamilton, and George Douglas[w] earl of Arran were the heads. During

[n] In Eſtremadura; worth five thouſand ducats yearly. The town of Badajos is deemed one of the bulwarks of Spain. The earl of Galloway, who commanded the Britiſh troops in thoſe parts, had his right hand ſhot off there.

[o] The emperor ſaw likewiſe the queen dowager of France, Henry's ſiſter, once propoſed for his wife, at the ſight of whom (ſays Polydore) he was ſo ſad, (ſhe being a celebrated beauty) that he could not be perſuaded to dance. Herbert, p. 36.

[p] The treaty of commerce made between England and Germany, in 1506, was all now confirmed. Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 714, &c.

[q] See the liſt of the noblemen and others that attended the king and queen in Rymer's Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 710, 711.

[r] The king cauſed a building 328 feet ſquare to be erected, from which a private gallery reached to the caſtle of Guiſnes. The parts of this great building were artificially framed in England, and afterwards taken aſunder and brought home. The model whereof, lord Herbert ſays, was at Greenwich in his time. The two kings met on the 7th of June, in the vale of Andren, and alighting, walked hand in hand to a tent of cloth of gold. On the 9th they came and viewed the camp or place of exerciſe, 300 yards long, and 106 broad, with ſcaffolds on the ſides for the beholders. There were alſo ſet up two artificial trees, with the arms of the two kings and their aſſiſtance, on which were affixed the articles of the juſts, &c. June 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, the two kings, with ſeven aſſiſtants each, encountered all comers, and came off with applauſe. June 16th was ſpent in feaſting and dancing with the queens, and other ladies. June 17th, being Sunday, and the 18th being foul weather, they repoſed. The 19th they continued their courſes. On the 20th, the Tournay began, where our king particularly got that honour, that a brave French nobleman, with whom he fought, preſented him with his horſe, as a gage of his being overcome. On the 21ſt the ſport was ſo rough, that four of the aſſiſtants were hurt. On the 22d, the barriars began. The 23d, our king, with his ſiſter, queen Mary, went in maſquing habits to ſee the French queen at Ardes, Francis likewiſe going to the Engliſh queen. On the 24th, after many compliments, embraces, and rich preſents, they took leave of one another. Herbert, p. 37. See Hall, who ſeems to have been an eye-witneſs, fol. 73, &c.

[s] This ſum was not to be paid till the marriage was ſolemnized, per verba de præſenti, between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary; and then, every year afterwards to king Henry, during his life. See Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 719, 720.

[t] In this letter, the doge compliments him in the ſtrongeſt terms, and ſtiles him all along, dominatio veſtra reverendiſſima, and in one, place majeſtatis ejus pars altera. But it ſeems the univerſity of Oxford was wont to out-do the doge, and not ſcruple to beſtow abſolutely on the cardinal the title of majeſty, as appears from ſeveral letters to him, from that univerſity. But it ſeems that appellation was not then appropriated to kings. See Fiddes, p. 178.

[u] At Aix, the ſame day Solyman was crowned at Conſtantinople; and it is obſervable, that as Charles was the XIth from Albertus, in whoſe time the houſe of the Ottomans began, ſo Solyman was the XIth prince of his race.

[w] Rapin by miſtake calls him earl of Arran; whereas at this time the earl of Arran was James Hamilton. See p. 108, note [z].

the year 1520, the Hamiltonians found means to conſtrain Archibald Douglas earl of Angus, one of thoſe left by the regent to govern in his abſence, to relinquiſh his poſt. After which they would have taken away his life. But with foureſcore men he beat, in the ſtreet of Edinburgh, above a thouſand of his enemies, and drove them out of the city. All this ſerved only to exaſperate more and more the factions againſt one another, ſo that at laſt Douglas recieved into his party all the friends of the Humes, beheaded by the regent, in order with their aſſiſtance to withſtand his enemies. Theſe were the ſad effects cauſed by the regent's abſence, whom the king of England hindered from returning into Scotland. Mean while the truce between the two kingdoms was farther prolonged to the 9th of April this next year, by the king of France's mediation, and the council of Scotland poſitively promiſed to ſend an honourable embaſſy to the king of England to deſire a peace[x].

[1521] The poſture of affairs in the beginning of the year 1521, did not promiſe a long continuance of the peace of Europe. Four ſovereigns enjoyed almoſt the whole, and had a great influence upon the dominions they were not poſſeſſed of. They were all four young, able, and ambitious enough to form vaſt projects, which could not be executed without putting all Europe in combu ion.

Francis I. ſecretly envying Charles V. ſought occaſion to ſhew his concern at ſeeing him on the imperial throne, and was thinking to uſe the pretence of recovering the kingdom of Naples for himſelf, and Navarre for Henry d'Albret. But his deſign of attacking the emperor was founded upon another and more powerful motive, namely policy, which required his utmoſt endeavours to humble this formidable rival, otherwiſe France might be in great danger. To execute this grand project, it would have been neceſſary for him to be wholly intent upon his affairs, and to be a good œconomiſt, in order to ſupport the expence in which he was going to engage. But unhappily for him, he was too much addicted to his pleaſures, and very often applied to other uſes, the money deſigned for the war. Moreover, he was too eaſily governed by his miniſters, and ſtill more by the ducheſs of Augouléme his mother, whoſe intereſts were often contrary to his. However, he fancied his affair in ſuch a poſture, as promiſed a happy ſucceſs of his undertakings. Spain was diſaffected and agitated with inteſtine troubles, which probably would greatly embarraſs the emperor. On the other hand, the Turks threatened Hungary, which the emperor could not abandon without indangering his Auſtrian dominions. In the next place, Francis flattered himſelf with having in the king of England a faithfull friend, who would not forſake him, and who ſeemed to be almoſt equally concerned, to prevent the too great advancement of the houſe of Auſtria. In a word, he imagined to have reaſon to expect that the pope, with whom he was in treaty for the conqueſt of Naples, inſtead of helping to increaſe the emperor's power, would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to humble a neighbour, who could not but be a terror to him. All this was ſtrengthened with Francis's alliance with the Venetians and Switzers, who joining with the pope and the king of England, would of courſe render him ſuperior to his enemy, whoſe kingdoms, remote from each other, were leſs capable of giving mutual aſſiſtance. Thus Francis, flattered by theſe appearances, formed extraordinary projects ſuitable to his ambition and age, being then but twenty-ſeven years old.

As for Charles V. he had not yet done any thing to give a very advantageous idea of him. His youth had been ſpent under the guardianſhip of the emperor Maximilian his grandfather, or of Margaret of Auſtria, his aunt; and ſince he had aſſumed the adminiſtration of the Low-Countries, his governor Chievres did all in the name of the prince. His firſt proceedings, after the death of king Ferdinand, begot no great opinion of him, for he had ſcarce ſet foot in Spain, before the country wa all in commotion. His advancement to the empire was owing, perhaps, to the little eſteem the world had for him. However, he was then the moſt potent prince in Europe. Beſides the imperial dignity, he poſſeſſed all Spain, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Low-Countries, the archduchy of Auſtria, and many other provinces and lordſhips in Germany. So, with his own forces alone, he was able to withſtand Francis I. aſſiſted by all his allies. Henry VIII. was the only ſovereign that had at firſt embarreſſed him, by reaſon of his union with France. But he had artfully drawn that thorn out of his ſide, by means of cardinal Wolſey. With this he began, as I may ſay, to diſcover his ability, which till then had been as it were concealed. After that he diligently applied himſelf to gain the pope, and ſucceeded to his wiſh. Thus, at the time I am now ſpeaking of, he was become very formidable, not only by his forces, but alſo by the proofs he had given of his capacity. As ſoon as he was raiſed to the empire, he rightly judged he ſhould find in Francis I. an enemy that would ſpare nothing to make him feel the effects of his envy. For that reaſon he thought early of means to ſcreen himſelf from his attempts, not only by a juſt defence, but even by attacking him firſt. He had two plauſible reaſons; one was, that the crown of France withheld from him the duchy of Burgundy, ſince the death of his great-grandfather Charles, the laſt duke of Burgundy. The other concerned the duchy of Miland, whereof Francis ought to have received the inveſtiture from the emperor, ſince it was a fief of the empire, and yet he had never vouchſafed to aſk it. He believed moreover to have cauſe of complaint for Francis's extorting from him the treaty of Noyon, as was before related.

In vain therefore do the hiſtorians of both ſides ſtrive to caſt the blame of the rupture upon one or other of the two monarchs. It is certain, both thought at the ſame time of making war, and took meaſures before hand to execute their deſigns, though each privately endeavoured to engage his rival in ſomething that ſhould make him be deemed the aggreſſor. So, as the beginning of a rupture is not to be judged of by the firſt act of hoſtility, but rather by the cauſe, one can hardly be miſtaken in affirming Charles V. and Francis I. to be equally authors of a war which ſet all Europe in a flame. Charles was not above one and twenty years of age, but of a very different character from that of his enemy. Francis was too much addicted to his pleaſures, whereas Charles was too intent upon his affairs, having been uſed to it from his youth. Francis was of a free and open temper, but Charles was much more reſerved. He maturely thought of what he had to ſay or do, and readily made uſe of artifice and evaſion to accompliſh his ends, framing his conduct by that of Maximilian and Ferdinand, his grandfathers.

Leo X. had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his lot, could he have reſolved to live in quiet. He was abſolute maſter of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to which he had lately added all la Romagna, Modena, Reggio, and the duchy of Urbino. His own, the church's, and all Italy's grand intereſt, was therefore to endeavour by all forts of means to keep the balance even between the emperor and the king of France, and to manage ſo, that neither of theſe two monarchs ſhould become too powerful in Italy. This was very practicable, ſince his dominions being ſituated between thoſe belonging to theſe two princes in Italy, they neceſſarily wanted him, in order to invade Naples or Milan. Thus, by keeping a ſtrict neutrality, he would have probably freed Italy from a war, and preſerved the papal power in its full luſtre. But he was of too active a ſpirit to remain in peace. As he had a great opinion of his addreſs, he ventured to engage in all ſorts of affairs, how difficult ſoever they appeared, becauſe, let what would be the event, he hoped to get clear by ſome artifice. Beſides, he had this in common with all the popes, his predeceſſors, that the reſpect for his character removed his fear of being reduced to extremities, in caſe his undertakings were not crowned with ſucceſs. As to the reſt, he was entirely addicted to his pleaſures, ſpending moſt of his time with muſicians and buffoons, and in ſome ſtill leſs innocent diverſions. This, added to his liberal temper, threw him into ſuch exceſſive expences, that he was poor amidſt his vaſt incomes, and always contriving means to procure money. Hence his extraordinary zeal to form a league againſt the Turks, becauſe it afforded him a pretence to levy tenths upon the clergy, and ſell his indulgences to the great ſcandal of all Chriſtendom[y].

Had this pope being of a more narrow genius, he would have doubtleſs maintained the tranquillity of Italy. But as he found himſelf capable of forming and executing great deſigns, he had a mind to render his pontificate illuſtrious by ſome ſignal actions. Unfortunately for him and his ſucceſſors, he reſolved to drive the French, Spaniards and Ger-

[x] This year the earl of Kildare was diſchagred from the office of deputy or lord lieutenant of Ireland, which was conferred on Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, and lord admiral. He went over to his government in the beginning of April, with about a thouſand men, and remained there two years, in which time he had many engagements with the natives and reduced the earl of Deſmond to reaſon. Hall, fol. 70. Stow, p. 508.

[y] This is the pope of whom Bembo, his ſecretary, reports this ſaying: It has been long and well known how beneficial this fable of Jeſus Chriſt has been to us and our predeceſſors.

A lord

mans out of Italy, a project which may well be deemed extravagant. To accompliſh it, he was neceſſarily to make uſe of the one to ruin the others, and by thus cauſing the balance to incline all to one ſide, he could not but give maſters to himſelf and all Italy, which he would have avoided by ſtanding neuter. But what chiefly engaged him in this project, was his deſire to ſeize the duchy of Ferrara, and recover Parma and Placentia, which he could not hope to effect, whilſt the French were poſſeſſed of the duchy of Milan. On the other hand, he was a little uneaſy with reſpect to Florence. He could not help fearing that Francis would think of reſtoring the Florentines to their ancient liberty. He reſolved therefore to begin with the French, but took care not to diſcover his deſigns. On the contrary, he continued private negotiations with the king of France as well as with the emperor, and put both equally in hopes of his friendſhip. Mean while, as his intent was not always to remain in this ſituation, he ordered ſix thouſand men to be levied in Switzerland, and ſent for them into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, having demanded a paſſage through the Milaneſe, under colour of providing for the defence of his towns.

Henry VIII. was then more advantageouſly ſituated than any king of England had ever been before him. He was at peace with all Europe except Scotland, which would have been glad to be left in quiet. Though he had now conſumed all the money found in the king his father's coffers, he was however aſſured of being always ſupplied, ſince he was in a good underſtanding with his parliament, and had the art of managing the two houſes with a very ſingular addreſs. Thus being able to raiſe numerous forces, and at liberty to turn them which way he pleaſed, it was doubtleſs in his power to render himſelf umpire of Europe. For that reaſon Charles and Francis with equal ardor courted his friendſhip, being ſenſible he could invincibly obſtruct their deſigns, and cauſe the balance to lean to the ſide he ſhould pleaſe to eſpouſe. It was his intereſt to keep always in this ſituation, till obliged to interpoſe in their differences, to hinder the one from riſing to the prejudice of the other. And indeed this was his aim and intention. But unfortunately for him, his weakneſs for his prime miniſter the cardinal was beyond all imagination. This favourite had ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he inclined him which way he pleaſed, always under the ſpacious colour of carrying his glory to a greater height, though in reality he had only his own intereſts in view. We have already ſeen ſenſible proofs of his great influence over his maſter, in what paſſed during and after the late war with France. He had perſuaded him to deliver to the emperor Maximilian, the city of Terouenne, which might have been of great ſervice to him, and to keep Tournay, which was of little or no advantage. Afterwards, when he was in poſſeſſion of the biſhopric of Tournay, he had artfully perſuaded him that the keeping of that place would be an everlaſting monument of his glory. But when he ſaw he was like to loſe the biſhopric, and had ample amends offered him, he found other reaſons to convince him that he ought to part with a place which was of no benefit to him. We ſhall ſee preſently that he led him alſo to make a very falſe ſtep in eſpouſing the emperor's part againſt France, whereas his true intereſt was to keep the ballance even between the two potentates. All this was done for the ſake of cardinal Wolſey, who having the ambition to aſpire to the popedom, thought to ſucceed by the emperor's means. The penſion procured him by Charles upon the biſhopric of Placentia in Caſtle, and the adminiſtration of the ſee of Badajos, at a time when he had not yet received any public ſervice from him, are inconteſtible proofs that the cardinal had engaged with him, as being ſure of governing his maſter as he pleaſed. Theſe things afforded no very advantageous idea of Henry's penetration.

Such were the characters, intereſts, and deſigns of the four principal ſovereigns concerned in the new war I am going to ſpeak of. The king of Scotland was yet too young to be reckoned among the directors of the affairs of Europe. The Venetians ſought only to live in peace, being, as I may ſay, exhauſted by the former war. However, they could not avoid entering into this alſo. As for the Switzers, they were ſatisfied with their penſions from France, and generally inclined to obſerve the articles of their alliance with that crown. But they were not entirely ſecured from the ſecret practices continued by the pope's and the emperor's agents with ſome of their magiſtrates, to try to perſuade them not to take part with France.

Francis I. having formed a deſign to make war upon the emperor, without incurring the blame of the rupture, reſolved to begin with what could not be imputed to him as a premeditated deſign to quarrel. By the treaty of Noyon, Charles was bound to reſign Navarre to Henry d'Albret within four months, in default whereof Francis was free to aſſiſt Henry to recover his kingdom. The affairs of Spain being extremely imbroiled ſince the emperor quitted that country, Francis believed it a fair opportunity to invade Navarre. He was the more inclined to this undertaking, as the two regents of Spain had been forced to draw troops from Pampelonia and other places of that kingdom, to reinforce the army which was to act againſt the fore-mentioned league. He ſent therefore into Navarre in the beginning of March an army under the command of Leſparre, of the houſe of Foix, elder brother of Lautrec and Leſcun. This general finding the kingdom without troops and almoſt deſerted, became maſter of it in the ſpace of a fortnight. Had he ſtopped there, perhaps Navarre would have been ſtill at this day annexed in deed, as it is in name only, to the crown of France, ſince the Spaniards were unable to expel Henry d'Albret, from whom the kings of France of the houſe of Bourbon are deſcended. But the deſire of acquiring fame, or procuring the king's advantage, carried Leſparre to enter the province of Guiſpuſcoa, and beſiege Logrogno. The regents of Spain had no thoughts of recovering Navarre. But when they ſaw the French invading Spain itſelf, they aſſembled their forces to ſtop their progreſs. The mal-contents themſelves lately vanquiſhed, accepting a general pardon, led all their troops to the regents. Leſparre ſeeing an army much ſtronger than his coming againſt him, would have retired, but was ſo cloſely purſued that he was forced to come to a battle, wherein he was defeated and taken priſoner. The loſs of this battle occaſioned the loſs of Navarre, which the Spaniards recovered in leſs time than the French had conquered it. Thus the king of France had the mortification to loſe his army to no purpoſe, and flagrantly diſcover to the emperor how he ſtood affected towards him.

The ſame time that he invaded Navarre, he raiſed Charles an enemy from another quarter, namely, Robert de la Mark, prince of Sedan and ſovereign of Bouillon, who believing to have cauſe to complain of the emperor, for a denial of juſtice to the young princes of Chimay[z], whoſe guardian he was, implored the king of France's protection. Very probably, Francis had offered it before it was deſired. However, Robert de la Mark, ſeeing himſelf ſupported by the king, was ſo bold as to ſend a defiance to the emperor, who was then at the diet of Worms. Shortly after, the earl of Fleuranges, eldeſt ſon of la Mark, put himſelf at the head of four or five thouſand men[a] levied in France, and beſieged Vireton, a place in Luxenburg belonging to the emperor.

Then it was that Charles, who had with reluctance agreed to the league of London, thought proper however to make uſe of it in ſummoning the king of England to aſſiſt him, as obliged by the treaty, ſince it was evident, the king of France had raiſed him this enemy. Henry, prepoſſeſſed by the cardinal, was glad of a pretence to caſt the blame of the rupture upon the French king. Mean while, to proceed according to the articles of the league, he ſent an embaſſador to require him to forbear all hoſtilities againſt the emperor, not only in Luxenburg, but alſo in Navarre. Francis replied, he was not author of the war between Robert de la Mark and the emperor, and all he could do was to forbid his ſubjects to ſerve or aſſiſt la Mark. As to Navarre, it would have been needleſs to anſwer, ſince it was now out of his power to re-enter it. He performed his promiſe with regard to the war of Luxenburg, and Fluranges diſbanded his army. Francis took care not openly to ſupport the duke of Bouillon, for fear of affording Henry, who had offered his mediation, a pretence to declare for the emperor. I ſhall purſue this affair, when I have ſpoken of thoſe of Italy, which are of no leſs importance.

In the beginning of this, or perhaps before the end of the laſt year, Leo X. concluded with the French embaſſador reſiding at Rome, a treaty, whereby he joined in a league with Francis for the conqueſt of Naples. The treaty ran, that all that part of the kingdom of Naples lying between the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and Gariglian ſhould remain to the pope: and the reſt ſhould be for Henry, the king's ſecond ſon; but during his minority, the kingdom ſhould be governed by the pope's legate, who ſhould reſide at the city of Naples. Whatever the pope's intention was in making this treaty, it

[z] A lord named d'Aimeries, had ſeized the town of Hierge, in Ardennes, belonging to thoſe princes; and d'Aimeries was ſupported by the emperor. P. Daniel, tom. vii. p. 437.

[a] Three thouſand foot and four hundred horſe. Ibid.

Theſe

may be almoſt affirmed, he acted with inſincerity, becauſe it muſt have been very diſadvantageous to him for the ſame prince to hold Milan and Naples. What may moſt probably be conjectured is, that his intention was to deal by Francis I. as Ferdinand, king of Arragon had done by Lewis XII. when he made much the ſame partition with that prince. At leaſt Francis, who had often experienced what the pope was capable of, could never believe he really intended to aſſiſt him in that conqueſt. Wherefore he delayed the ratification of the treaty, to gain time to conſider ſeriouſly of the affair.

Leo X. finding the time for ratifying the treaty was expired, ſuſpected the king of projecting with the emperor ſome agreement prejudicial to the holy ſee. They who act not ſincerely, are ready to think others like themſelves. However, the king of France's affected delays afforded the pope a motive or pretence to conclude another treaty with the emperor, to drive the French out of the Milaneſe, and reſtore the Sforzas. As he continued at once ſecret negotiations with the emperor and the king of France, it would be very difficult to know his real intent, if there was not a notable difference between the two treaties juſt mentioned. That with the French embaſſador concerned a chimerical project, the execution whereof was almoſt impracticable in the preſent juncture of affairs, and beſides, really contrary to his true intereſt, whereas the other was to his advantage, and agreeable to the projects he had formed. So, probably the firſt was made only to procure better terms from the emperor. Beſides, he had been ever wont to have, as they ſay, two ſtrings to his bow, which he conſidered as the grand myſtery of politics. His treaty with the emperor was no leſs advantageous, than that he would have made with the king of France. The chief articles were theſe:

That the pope and emperor ſhould join their forces to expel the French out of the Milaneſe, and reſtore Franceſco Sforza. That prince was then at Trent, having retired thither a little before his brother Maximilian, was diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions.

That Parma and Placentia ſhould be reſtored to the church.

That the inhabitants of the Milaneſe ſhould provide themſelves with ſalt only at Cervia, a town in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

That the emperor ſhould aid the pope to conquer Ferrara.

That the ſum the emperor gave the pope for the kingdom of Naples ſhould be augmented.

That the emperor ſhould protect the family of Medici.

That he ſhould grant to the cardinal de Medici a penſion of ten thouſand ducats, upon the archbiſhopric of Toledo.

That Alexander de Medici, natural ſon to Lorenzo, late duke of Urbino, ſhould have in the kingdom of Naples, lands to the value of ten thouſand ducats a year.

The treaty was kept ſo private that it came not to France's knowledge, till the two allies were going to invade the Milaneſe. Mean while they concerted proper meaſures to accompliſh their deſigns. The pope who had already ſix thouſand Lwitzers in his ſervice, took care to augment his forces on divers pretences. The emperor ordered the viceroy of Naples to keep the troops of that kingdom ready to march upon the firſt notice, and at the ſame time cauſed levies to be made in Germany to reinforce his army in Italy. Proſper Colonna was declared general of the league.

Whilſt Francis continued in a fatal ſecurity, and left the Milaneſe deſtitute of troops, never imagining he ſhould be attacked in Italy, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of the pope, the two allies were contriving to ſeize at once, Milan, Genoa, and Como, before they proclaimed war againſt him. For the firſt of theſe projects they employed Hieronimo Morone ſenator of Milan, who being ſuſpected by the French, was baniſhed the city. Morone having aſſembled a great number of exiles [b] in the neighbourhood of Milan, Leſcun, who commanded in the abſence of his brother Lautrec, the governor, ſallied out of Milan with ſome troops, and purſued the exiles of Keggio, where they had retired, and even demanded of the governor to deliver them into his hands. The governor refuſing, Leſcun withdrew, and poſted himſelf about ten miles from Reggio, within the pope's territories, and lay encamped ten or twelve days. Then the pope, who only wanted a pretence to declare againſt France, called a conſiſtory, greatly aggravated Leſcun's affront, and declared that in revenge he was reſolved to join with the emperor. But he had already done ſo, and the affair of Reggio was a mere pretence to delude the cardinals.

Whilſt Leſcun was at Reggio, Adorno baniſhed from Genoa attempted to ſurpriſe that city with ſome gallies ſupplied by the pope and the viceroy of Naples, but could not ſucceed. A few days after, Leſcun diſcovered a plot to ſurpriſe Como, and was fully informed that the pope and the emperor were the authors. It is therefore evident, that in caſe they had ſucceeded in their deſigns, they would have made no ſcruple to appear the aggreſſors.

Leſcun no longer doubting that there was a deſign to invade the Milaneſe, acquainted the king, and withal ſent for the four thouſand Switzers, intended for Milan, who were ready to march. Francis ſurpriſed at the danger the Milaneſe was in, ſpeedily ordered a levy of twenty thouſand Switzers, and ſent Lautrec to Milan, promiſing he ſhould want for nothing. But this promiſe was but very ill performed.

Mean while, Proſper Colonna having aſſembled at Reggio, the army of the allies beſieged Parma, where Leſcun had now thrown in ſome troops. But before he could take the place, Lautrec having received the ſupplies he expected from Switzerland, forced him to raiſe the ſiege, and perſued him even beyond the borders of the Milaneſe. As he imagined Parma to be out of danger, he had drawn out Leſcun with the garriſon to ſtrengthen his army. But no ſooner was Leſcun out of the city, than the inhabitants declared for the pope, and erected the church's colours on the walls.

But this was not the only misfortune Lautrec was to be expoſed to during the campaign. Preſently after, he was deſerted by the twenty thouſand Switzers he had lately received, and conſtrained to retire to Milan, where Proſper Colonna purſued him in his turn with all poſſible diligence. Whereupon Lautrec deſpairing of defending Milan, quitted the town, after ſupplying the caſtle with ammunition, and withdrew to Como, where the four thouſand Switzers he ſtill had forſook him and returned home, becauſe he had no money to pay them. So Colonna, taking poſſeſſion of Milan, went from thence to make other conqueſts which Lautrec could not oppoſe. In a word, Francis loſt the whole duchy of Milan except a few places.

Probably, Lautrec would not have been able to ſupport himſelf long in Italy, had not the pope's death on the firſt of December afforded him ſome reſpite. Leo X. is ſaid to die with joy at the news of the good ſucceſs of the legate. Some however, affirm his death was haſtened by poiſon [c]. However this be, the news of the pope's death was no ſooner ſpread, but the troops he maintained diſbanded themſelves. Of the twelve thouſand Switzers he had in the army of the allies, but fifteen hundred remained, and the Florentines retired to their own country. Thus Proſper Colonna found himſelf in a few days in as ill a ſituation as Lautrec. The college of cardinals not knowing what courſe to take, gave no orders, but deferred every thing till the election of a new pope. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara recovered ſome of his towns in la Romagna, and Franceſco Maria della Royere took poſſeſſion again of the duchy of Urbino. If Lautrec had then been ſupplied with the men and money he was promiſed, he would have doubtleſs expelled the imperialiſts out of Milan. But Francis I. entirely neglecting the affairs of Italy, thought only of defending himſelf in Flanders and Picardy, where he was vigorouſly attacked. He ſtill held however in Italy, Genoa, Cremona, the caſtles of Milan and Novarra, with ſome ſmall places on the lake Gorda.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Italy, the war at length was begun in the Low Countries in a manner very diſadvantageous to France. The troops raiſed by Robert de la Mark to beſiege Vireton being diſbanded, Francis thought he had ſatisfied the emperor and the king of England. It was indeed ſufficient to take from Henry all pretence of declaring againſt him, ſince by the treaty of league, in caſe one of the allies was invaded, the reſt were not to declare againſt the aggreſſor, till being ſummoned to deſiſt from the war, he ſhould have refuſed. Francis was ſummoned and had deſiſted, conſequently Henry had no cauſe to complain. But it was otherwiſe with the emperor, who was not contented

[b] Theſe were ſome of the emperor's adherents that had been baniſhed by the French. Guiccard.

[c] Guicciardi ſays it was ſecretly whiſpered, but upon conjectures only, that the French king had him poiſoned by means of one Barnabo Malaſpiana, his chaplin, who was impriſoned on ſuſpicion; but the proſecution was dropped and he was diſcharged, by the cardinal de Medici, out of reſpect for the king of France, l. 14.

Lord

with ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction. He forbore however to complain to the king of France, but was reſolved to be revenged of Robert de la Mark, who had dared to ſend him a defence. Beſides, he conſidered, if France undertook to defend that prince, as it was very likely, he would incur the blame of the rupture, and this was what the emperor and cardinal Wolſey chiefly deſired, in order to uſe that inducement to perſuade Henry to declare againſt France. So, Charles having prepared an army, gave the command to Henry, count of Naſſau, who entering the territories of Robert de la Mark, took and razed ſeveral places. Francis was patient, chooſing rather to forſake his ally, than give the king of England a pretence to arm againſt him. Then Robert ſeeing himſelf without refuge, made his ſubmiſſion to the emperor, who granted him a truce for ſix weeks. Mean while, though the emperor had to deal only with a petty prince, unable to reſiſt him, and of whom he had been ſufficiently revenged, he continued to re-enforce his army. Francis ſeeing ſo many troops in the neighbourhood of Champagne, eaſily perceived, they were not ſolely deſigned againſt Robert de la Mark, and that he might be taken unprovided, unleſs he prepared for his defence. Mean while, he repreſented to the king of England, that he could not avoid taking up arms, in order to reſiſt the emperor, who was preparing to attack him. Henry anſwered, he would ſide with neither, but as a common friend, offered to be their umpire. Adding, if they would both ſend their plenipotentiaries to Calais the beginning of Auguſt, cardinal Wolſey ſhould be there to act in his name as mediator. Charles readily accepted ſo advantageous a propoſal, ſince he and the cardinal underſtood one another. As for Francis, he durſt not reject it, though he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with the king of England. But he did not yet know that Wolſey was wholly devoted to the emperor. It was therefore agreed, that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal mediator, ſhould meet at Calais the 4th of Auguſt.

Mean while, the lord of Liques[d] having levied an army at his own charge, as he affirmed, ſurpriſed Mortagne, and St. Amand, in the Tournaiſis, on pretence of ſome claim of his houſe. The emperor affected to conſider this as a private quarrel, in which he had no concern, though Liques's army was compoſed of his ſubjects. His aim was to oblige Francis to take ſome ſtep which might give occaſion to accuſe him of being the aggreſſor. Herein he only imitated that prince who had attacked him under the name of Robert de la Mark. But ſome time after, the governor of Flanders beſieging Tournay in form, it was not poſſible to put ſo favourable a conſtruction upon that ſiege, eſpecially as what paſſed then in Italy left the emperor no room to diſſemble any longer. It is certain, Francis had been ſurpriſed as well in Italy as in Champagne and Flanders. He had intended no doubt to attack the emperor, but did not expect to be invaded firſt. For that reaſon he wanted time to prepare his army. Mean while, the imperialiſts took and razed the town of Ardres.

The time appointed for the congreſs of Calais[e] being come, cardinal Wolſey repaired thither with a numerous retinue[f], and carried the great ſeal with him[g]. It appears in the Collection of the Public Acts, that he was furniſhed with ſeveral of the king's commiſſions, to be uſed as he ſhould think proper. By the firſt, he was conſtituted the king's lieutenant-general to adjuſt, as mediator, the differences between the emperor and the king of France. By a ſecond, he was impowered to treat and conclude with Francis I. a renewal of the alliance. But probably this was only to ſhew the French embaſſadors Henry's impartiality, and pretended deſign to join with that prince, who ſhould be found to be unjuſtly attacked. By a third, he had power to conclude a league between England and the emperor, the pope, the king of France, or any other potentate whatever. Thus Henry, without having yet examined on which ſide the blame lay, left it to his lieutenant to engage him in which party he pleaſed. But very probably, his reſolution was taken already, and the congreſs of Calais intended only to ſhew he was not reſolved, till after a ſtrict information, and to cauſe the blame of the rupture to be thrown on the king of France. All the proceedings of the cardinal mediator, diſcovered, that he meant not to procure a peace between the two monarchs, but only to find the king, his maſter, a pretence to declare for the emperor.

Whilſt theſe affairs were negotiating at Calais, the imperialiſts beſieged and took Mouzon, in Champagne. Then they ravaged the country, and plundered the little town of Aubanton, where the count of Naſſau ſuffered his ſoldiers to commit grievous outrages; after which he laid ſiege to Mezieres. Francis wanting time to aſſemble his army, could not be ready till the end of September: which however was ſoon enough to throw ſuccours into Mezieres, and thereby force the count of Naſſau to raiſe the ſiege. The earl of St. Pol recovered Mouzon ſhortly after, and the count of Naſſau retired into the earldom of Namur. Campagne being thus freed, Francis ordered his army to march into Flanders, where the imperialiſts ſtill continued the ſiege of Tournay. When his troops were drawn together, he aſſaulted Rapaume, Landrecy, Bouchin, and carried them. Afterwards hearing, the emperor, who had headed his army, was retiring towards Valenciennes, he reſolved to go and attack him, but loſt the opportunity by his own fault. It is ſaid, if he had been as ſpeedy as he might, and ought to have been, he would have infallibly defeated the emperor, who giving all over for loſt, was retired with a hundred horſe only, quitting his army, not to be a witneſs to their deſtruction. Upon this occaſion, Francis I. gave the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, great cauſe of diſguſt, by ſetting the duke of Alencon at the head of the vanguard, though that poſt properly belonged to the conſtable, when the king was in the army. It is ſaid, the king gave the conſtable that mortification, to oblige his mother the ducheſs of Angoulême, who hated him. But he had too much reaſon afterwards to repent his complaiſance to his mother.

At the very time Francis I. was attacked in Campagne, he ſent an army into Navarre, under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who arrived about the end of September, at St. John de Luz. At firſt, he pretended to march towards Pampelona. Then after ſeveral marches and countermarches, he ſuddenly approached, and beſieged Fontarabia. When the breach was made, he ordered the town to be furiouſly ſtormed, but however was bravely repulſed. But the garriſon, being little able to ſtand a ſecond aſſault, ſurrendered by capitulation. This conqueſt was of very great importance, Fontarabia being one of the keys of Spain.

Whilſt the war was vigorouſly continued in Italy, Champagne, Flanders, Picardy, Navarre, cardinal Wolſey was buſy at Calais in treating with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and the king of France. The congreſs laſted ten weeks, and the parties could not be brought to agree. In all appearance, the mediator inſtead of cloſing, helped rather to widen the breach. It was long debated to know which had begun the war. This was the chief point with reſpect to Wolſey, who intended to throw the blame on the king of France. Afterwards, when the differences themſelves came to be conſidered, the propoſal of the emperor's plenipotentiaries ſhewed a peace was ſtill very remote. They demanded reſtitution of the duchy of Burgundy, and abolition of the homage due to the crown of France, for Flanders and Artois. The only reaſon they alledged to ſupport their laſt pretenſion was, that it was unbecoming for an emperor to do homage to a king. Theſe two propoſitions were of ſuch a nature, that Francis would hardly have accepted them, even after the loſs of many battles. On the other hand, the French embaſſadors having notice of what paſſed in Italy, earneſtly demanded reſtitution of Milan, and that the emperor ſhould withdraw his troops from before Tournay. They inſiſted moreover upon the reſtitution of Navarre, to which the emperor was bound by the treaty of Noyon. If the emperor had been afraid of Henry's joining with the king of France, he might have granted part of theſe demands without being forced to diſmember his dominions. But Francis could not reſign Burgundy, without letting the enemy into the heart of his kingdom, nor the homage of Flanders and Artois, without diſhonour. But as the emperor was ſecure of the king of England, he perſiſted in his demands, without any abatements.

After the mediator had long feigned to endeavour only to procure a peace, he declared he ſaw no way to ſucceed. Then he preſented to the plenipotentiaries a treaty to ſign, containing articles of little importance, namely, that the French and Flemings ſhould have liberty to fiſh for herrings till the end of January: that the two contending monarchs ſhould enjoin their ſubjects to purſue no veſſel into the ports

[d] Lord of Hainault.

[e] Which was July 25. In the mean time a ſix weeks truce was appointed between the emperor and king of France. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 748.

[f] He was attended by Charles Somerſet, earl of Worceſter, the lords St. John, Ferrers, and Herbert, the biſhops of Durham and Ely, the primate of Armagh, ſir Thomas Boleyn, ſir John Peche, ſir John Huſſey, ſir Henry Guildford, and many others. He came to Dover the 8th of July and ſailed to Calais the 10th. Hall. fol. 86.

[g] For which reaſon many Engliſh were forced to go to him to receive their diſpatches, and at home the conſtitution of ſheriffs was ſuſpended, &c. which things were urged againſt him afterwards in his trial. Herbert, p. 44. Hall, fol. 88.

or harbours belonging to the king of England, and commit no hoſtilities within the territories of the ſaid king during the war: that the pope's nuncio, and the plenipotentiaries at Calais, might freely retire with all their train, without receiving any injury from the troops of the two monarchs: that the king of England and the cardinal legate his lieutenant, ſhould be the conſervaters of theſe articles, to be ratified within ten days. We have here a very ſenſible proof of the cardinal's inſolence, who, in a treaty drawn by himſelf, preſumed thus to ſet himſelf upon a level with his maſter, by being declared conſervator with the king. Theſe conventions were ratified by the two monarchs the 2d and 11th of October, and there appears not in the Collection of the Public Acts, the leaſt trace of any other treaty made at Calais at that time.

Du Bellai [h], however, ſays in his memoirs, that the king of England having ſent embaſſadors to Francis I. during the congreſs at Calais, they laboured ſo effectually, that at length it was agreed, the emperor ſhould raiſe the ſiege of Tournay, and withdraw his troops out of the Milaneſe; that Francis ſhould retire into France with his army, and their differences be referred to the arbitration of the king of England. He adds, after theſe conventions, each thought the peace concluded, but that upon the emperor's receiving news of the taking of Fontarabia, he demanded before the treaty was ratified, the reſtitution of that place, and upon Francis's refuſal, the treaty remained unexecuted. But very probably, this illuſtrious author, who was better acquainted with the particulars of the war, than of the negotiations, was miſinformed. Firſt, becauſe the Collection of the Public Acts, mentions not this pretended treaty, though we ſee there another of much leſs conſequence, concluded at the ſame time. Secondly, we do not find in the Collection, any embaſſy from the king of England, either to the French king or the emperor, in the time which muſt have preceded this treaty. Thirdly, there is no likelihood that the emperor would have withdrawn his troops out of the Milaneſe, that is, would have reſtored Milan to France, and loſt the hopes of acquiring Tornay, which was now reduced to extremities, for the bare advantage of ſeeing Francis retire into his own kingdom. In ſhort, it may have been eaſily perceived, Henry was very far from the thoughts of forcing the emperor to yield to theſe terms, and it will ſtill be more plainly perceived by what follows. Add to all theſe conſiderations, that ſeeing the regard the emperor and the king of France had for cardinal Wolſey, it is not likely they ſhould conclude a treaty without his knowledge, and by the miniſtry of other embaſſadors, whilſt he was at Calais to do the office of a mediator. It may be, theſe propoſals were made to Francis, and he was ſo blind as to imagine they would take place, becauſe he was yet ignorant of the ſecret engagements of the king of England and his miniſter, with the emperor, and becauſe ſuch a report was ſpread in the court of France. Be this as it will, after the taking of Fontarabia, the war continued without intermiſſion, and with great animoſity. Francis I. became maſter of Heſdin about the beginning of November, and Tournay ſurrendered to the emperor by capitulation.

Mean while cardinal Wolſey ſtill remained at Calais, under colour of ſearching for ſome farther expedient to procure a peace between the two monarchs. He frequently ſent expreſſes to both, with propoſals which he knew they would not accept. At laſt, feigning a deſire to gain time, he went himſelf to the emperor at Bruges [i], where he was received with as much reſpect as if he had been king of England [k]. Here he concluded with the pope and the emperor a league againſt France, by virtue af the powers he had brought with him. By the treaty the pope engaged to thunder the church's cenſures againſt the king of France. Henry was to invade him with an army of forty thouſand men. The emperor and Henry obliged themſelves to break all their engagements with him. Moreover, Henry promiſed to give in marriage to the emperor the princeſs Mary, affianced to the dauphin. Theſe were the chief articles agreed upon by the emperor and the cardinal the 24th of November, 1521, which were to be ratified within three months. But they engaged to be ſecret till the time of performance. Thus was Henry perſuaded by his miniſter to oppreſs his ally the king of France, who had done him no injury. The only thing he could complain of, was, that Francis had lately permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, doubtleſs becauſe he perceived the cardinal was meditating ſomething againſt him. It is vain to enquire what intereſt Henry had to declare againſt France, and cauſe the ballance to incline to the emperor's ſide: no other can be found but the cardinal's, who wanted to be pope at Francis's coſt. The death of Leo X. haſtened by poiſon, as ſeveral affirm, and happening during theſe tranſactions, has made ſome ſuſpect that Wolſey was concerned in it, and the more, becauſe he aſpired to be ſucceſſor to a pope much younger than himſelf; but no proof was ever produced. Certainly Henry would have acquired more glory in continuing umpire of the peace between the two contending monarchs, and in procuring tranquillity to all Europe, than by all the conqueſts his miniſter flattered him with [l].

Hitherto cardinal Wolſey had puſhed his fortune to ſuch a height, that it ſeemed difficult to make any addition to it. And yet all this was not capable to ſatisfy him. His legateſhip had been prolonged for two years, the beginning of this year. But he thought himſelf to be too much above all other legates, not to have a different commiſſion from theirs. In April he procured from Leo X. a bull, impowering him to make fifty knights, fifty count palatines, as many acolyths [m] and chaplains, forty notaries apoſtolic, who ſhould have the ſame privileges as thoſe made by the pope; to legitimate baſtards, to give degrees in arts, law, phyſic, and divinity, and grant all ſorts of diſpenſations. In a word not content with all the riches he poſſeſſed, or with the means he had to increaſe them inceſſantly, he cauſed alſo the rich abbey of St. Albans to be given him this year in commendam.

It is no wonder, if, being arrived to ſo high a degree of grandeur and riches, his pride increaſed in proportion. Though the king's blindneſs for him was inconceivable, it was not ſo with the courtiers, who ſaw but too plainly how groſly he miſled his maſter, who placed ſo great a confidence in him. But none dared to take notice of it, ſuch was the dread of his haughty and revengeful temper. The duke of Buckingham, ſon of the duke of the ſame name, who in the reign of Richard III. loſt his head on the ſcaffold, for endeavouring to procure the crown for Henry VII. ſadly experienced how dangerous it was to diſcover what was thought of that proud prelate. He happened one day to ſay, in the hearing of one who betrayed him [n], that in caſe the king died without iſſue, he thought he had a right to the crown, and if ever he aſcended the throne, his firſt care ſhould be to puniſh the cardinal according to his deſerts. The duke's title was not altogether groundleſs, ſince he was deſcended from Anne of Gloceſter, grandaughter to Edward III. Doctor Morton, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſſed the duke his father to endeavour to ſeize the crown; but the duke choſe rather to act for the earl of Richmond, than for himſelf, as was ſhewn in the reign of Richard III. What the ſon had ſaid concerning his title, was therefore rather imprudent that criminal, ſince he pretended not to the crown unleſs the king died without heirs. Indeed, his title might be ill grounded; but he had done nothing to ſupport it. His crime then conſiſted only in what he had ſaid againſt the cardinal, who, for that reaſon, reſolved to diſpatch him. For that purpoſe, he gained ſome of his domeſtics, and learnt by their means that he conſulted a certain monk [o] who pretended to foretell things to come, and had conferred with him ſeveral times ſince April 1521. Probably, the duke, fond of his title, had enquired of the monk whether the king would die without children. And that was ſufficient to give the cardinal occaſion to miſconſtrue all his proceedings. When he believed he had ſufficient evidence againſt him, he began with depriving him of his two principal ſupports;

[h] Martin du Bellai, brother to cardinal John Bellai, was much eſteemed by Francis I. and employed by him in his wars, and in important embaſſies. He writ memoirs, containing the moſt memorable tranſactions under the reign of Francis I. to the reign of Henry II.

[i] On Auguſt 12, being attended by four hundred and ſixty horſe. Hall, fol. 87. Stow, p. 514.

[k] The emperor met him a mile out of town. Hall, fol. 87. Herbert, p. 43.

[l] Wolſey ſtaid thirteen days at Bruges. He returned to England, and landed at Dover, November 27. Hall, fol. 88.

[m] An inferior church ſervant in popiſh countries, who, under the ſubdeacon, waits on the prieſts and deacons, lights the candles, carries the bread and wine, and pays other ſervile attendants.

[n] Charles Knevet, his ſteward, who was turned out of his place by the duke, upon the complaints of his tenants, was the perſon that informed againſt the duke, and told the cardinal all the particulars which were alledged againſt him. The firſt thing that incenſed the cardinal, was his ſpeaking againſt the interview of the two kings as an idle expence, though no man made a greater figure there than himſelf. Herb. p. 41. The reſt of the witneſſes againſt the duke were, Gilbert Perke, his chancellor, and John Delacourt, his confeſſor. Hall, fol. 86. The words above mentioned were ſpoken by the duke to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny, who, for concealment, was committed to the Tower, as was alſo Henry Pole, lord Montague; and ſir Edward Nevil, the aforeſaid lord's brother, was forbid the king's preſence. Hollingſhead, p. 863.

[o] One Nicholas Hopkins, prior of the Carthuſian monaſtery of Hinton, near Briſtol. Hall, fol. 85, 86.

For

namely, Henry Piercy, earl of Nothumberland, his father-in-law, whom he ſent to the Tower on ſome pretence[p], and Thomas Howard earl of Surrey[q], his ſon in-law, on whom he conferred the government of Ireland, to remove him from London. Preſently after, the duke was apprehended[r], and accuſed of high treaſon. The ſubſtance of his impeachment was, that he had ſeveral times conſulted the monk concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown, and affected to make himſelf popular. The duke confeſſed he had talked ſometimes with the monk; but denied it to be with the intent he was charged with. However, he was condemned to die as a traitor, which he could not bear to hear when the ſentence was pronounced[s]. My lord of Norfolk, cried he, you have ſaid as a traitor ſhould be ſaid unto, but I was never one. My lords, continued he, addreſſing himſelf to the peers, his judges, I nothing maligne for what you have done to me, but the eternal God forgive you my death, and I do. I ſhall never ſue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deſire. My lords and all my fellows, I deſire you to pray for me. When he ſaid he would not ſue to the king for life, his meaning was, he thought it would be fruitleſs, knowing he was the cardinal's victim, who had an abſolute ſway over the king. Indeed, the miniſter had ſo ordered it, that though all the peers of the realm had a right to aſſiſt at the trial, there were preſent only one duke, one marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons[t]; and probably he had ſecured the majority. All the favour the duke received was to be beheaded, inſtead of dying the death of a traitor[u]. This execution was attended with loud murmurs among the people, and ſatyrical libels againſt the cardinal, wherein was ſaid, among other things, that it was not ſtrange the ſon of a butcher ſhould delight in ſhedding blood. But this was all the revenge that was taken for this injuſtice. He was too deeply rooted in the king's mind, to fear theſe murmurs, which beſides never reached the king's ears, all about him being either ſpies or creatures of the cardinal.

The king was then wholly intent upon one affair, namely, the war he had reſolved to make upon France, as if his glory and grandeur had depended upon the ruin of that kingdom, whereas his true intereſt was to ſupport France againſt the emperor, who was now grown too powerful. He was already formidable to all Europe, even without the aſſiſtance of England, how much more by his union with that kingdom? This was owing to cardinal Wolſey's ambition, whoſe counſels to his maſter were always ſelf-intereſted. Probably, France was going to be reduced to a very ſad condition, it being hardly poſſible for her to reſiſt ſo potent enemies, who were to invade her from ſeveral quarters. Francis I. imagined, however, he had ſtill one refuge by means of the Scots, who would make a conſiderable diverſion in England. The congreſs of Calais having plainly diſcovered Henry's partiality to the emperor, he made no doubt of its being an introduction to a rupture. In this belief, though he had engaged to detain the duke of Albany in France, he thought proper to keep him no longer, not thinking himſelf bound to perform a promiſe, the motive whereof is now no more, namely, the mutual friendſhip between him and Henry. He permitted therefore the duke of Albany to return into Scotland, or rather ſent him back, in hopes he would employ part of the Engliſh forces on the borders of the two kingdoms. He very juſtly expected this ſervice from a prince who was devoted to him, and looked upon his ſettlement in France as much more ſolid than that in Scotland, where his regency was to laſt but a few years. The duke therefore departed for Scotland, and arriving the 30th of October, 1521, after a four year's abſence, reſumed the regency. As he intended to ſerve France to the utmoſt of his power, his firſt care was to oblige the earl of Angus, the queen's ſpouſe, to quit the kingdom, deeming him one of the king of England's principal adherents, and yet the earl took refuge in France.

Whilſt the chriſtian princes were all employed in their temporal concerns, the reformation made great progreſs in Germany, by means of Luther's writings, which were read with great eagerneſs. Luther was ſatisfied at firſt with attacking the ſale of indulgences, than the indulgences themſelves, and the pope's power to grant them. This naturally led him to examine the grounds of the papal authoriy; and being perſuaded there was nothing to ſupport it in ſcripture, he writ upon that ſubject without any regard to the Roman pontiff. He attacked likewiſe in his writings the celibacy of prieſts, monaſtic vows, and private maſſes. Though at the time I am now ſpeaking of, namely, the beginning of the year 1521, he had preached and wrote againſt the pope but three years, he had gained many followers, and ſtill more enemies, not only by his novel opinions, but alſo by his ſharp and ſatyrical ſtile, wherein he threw off all ceremony with reſpect to the church of Rome. The book that made moſt noiſe was entitled, Concerning the Babyloniſh Captivity. In this book the popes were not ſpared.

In the ſeveral anſwers which appeared, as well againſt this as the other books of Luther, the decretals of the popes, and the works of Thomas Aquinas, were urged in favour of the papal authority. This gave him occaſion, in his replies, to ridicule thoſe, who, in defence of the papal power, alledged the deciſions of the popes themſelves, and the teſtimony of Thomas Aquinas, who was canonized for carrying the pope's authority as high as poſſible. Beſides, he did not ſhew much regard for that author's writings; which probably was the chief thing that incenſed Henry VIII. againſt him. As Henry had much ſtudied the works of Thomas Aquinas, and from thence properly had acquired all his theological knowledge, he could not bear to ſee his favourite author thus contemned[w]. He thought himſelf therefore a match for Luther, and able to confute his writings. But as Leo X. had by a bull expreſly forbid the reading of his works, and as an anſwer neceſſarily ſuppoſed the peruſal, cardinal Wolſey applied to the pope for a power to permit ſuch to read them as deſired it with intent to confute them. This was granted him by a brief dated the 17th of April, 1521, the pope little thinking who the perſon was that was going to ſupport his cauſe.

Henry finiſhed in September his books againſt Luther, entitled, Concerning the Seven Sacraments. He defended indulgences, papal authority, the number of ſacraments, and other articles combated by Luther, proceeding upon Thomas Aquinas's principles, as upon undeniable truths. Very probably he was aſſiſted by cardinal Wolſey in compoſing this work, which was preſented to the pope in full conſiſtory[x]. Leo X. who was ſtill living, received it with great joy, and ſpoke of it in the higheſt ſtrains of flattery, making no ſcruple to compare it to the works of St. Auguſtine and St. Jerom. This is no wonder. A book compoſed by a great king, in defence of the papal authority, could not be too much eſteemed by a pope. A few days after, Leo aſſembled the cardinals, to conſult with them after what manner he ſhould requite the king of England's ſervice to the church. After a long debate, they reſolved at laſt to honour that monarch with the glorious title of defender of the faith[y]. In conſequence of this reſolution, the pope ordered a bull to be drawn, conferring that title on Henry, and all the kings of England his ſucceſſors[z]. I ſhall not repeat here the magnificent enco-

[p] For claiming certain wards, which he was forced to relinquiſh. Herbert, p. 40.

[q] The cardinal bore the earl of Surrey a grudge, for having drawn his dagger at him on ſome occaſions. Hollingſhead, p. 855.

[r] By ſir Henry Marney, captain of the king's guard; and brought to the Tower, April 16. Hall, fol. 85.

[s] By the duke of Norfolk, who was for the time conſtituted high ſteward. He was brought to his trial May 13. Hall.

[t] Namely, the duke of Suffold, the marquis of Dorſet, the earls of Worceſter, Devonſhire, Eſſex, Shrewſbury, Kent, Oxford, and Derby; the lords St. John, Delaware, Fitzwarren, Willoughby, Broke, Cobham, Herbert, and Morley. Hall.

[u] He was executed on Tower-Hill May 17, 1521, and was buried in the church of the Auguſtines, in Broad-ſtreet, London. Edward Stafford, deſcended of Edmund, earl of Stafford, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſon of Edward III. left (by Alianor his wife, one of the daughters of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland) one ſon, Henry, and three daughters; Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Catharine, to Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmorland; and Mary to George Nevil, lord Abergavenny. With this duke of Buckingham, ceaſed that great place of high conſtable of England, hereditary in his family. Dugdale's Baron, vol. i. p. 171.

[w] Wolſey alſo much read Thomas Aquinas, and was therefore called Thomiſticus. Pol. Verg.

[x] The manner of delivery was thus: Dr. John Clarke, dean of Windſor, our king's embaſſador, appearing in full conſiſtory, the pope knowing the glorious preſent he brought, firſt gave him his foot, and then his cheek to kiſs; after which he received the book, and made a ſpeech. This copy, richly bound, is kept in the Vatican, where lord Herbert ſays, he remembers to have ſeen it. The book is dedicated to the pope. "In this addreſs your holineſs may be ſurpriſed (ſays the king) to find a perſon bred to war, and the buſineſs of ſtate, engaged in a controverſy of this nature, with a man that has ſpent his whole time in the improvements of learning." Some have thought that this book was compoſed, at leaſt in part, by Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, Stephen Gardiner, and ſir Thomas Moor. Herbert, p. 38. Fiddes, p. 251.

[y] It was debated whether he ſhould be ſtiled protector, or defender of the Roman church; or, of the apoſtolic ſee; or, the apoſtolical, or orthodox king. But defender of the faith was at laſt pitched upon. This title had formerly been enjoyed by ſome of our kings his predeceſſors. Spelman. Fuller, in his church hiſtory, ſays, there went a tradition, that Patch, the king's fool, perceiving the king very jocund one day, aſked him the reaſon, and when the king told him it was becauſe of his new title, defender of the faith, the fool made this arch reply, Prithee, good Harry, let thee and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itſelf. Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 248.

[z] The beginning and end of this bull is engraven from the original, with the very hand-writing of the cardinal's to it, in the XIIIth vol. of the Fœd. p. 756.

Among

miums the pope gave the king in this bull, and in a letter of thanks for his book[a]. It may be eaſily imagined, he ſpared not the moſt extravagant expreſſions to flatter a prince, who was ſo fond of being flattered, and of whom he ſtood in need, his nuncio being then at Calais, negotiating with cardinal Wolſey a league againſt France[b].

[1522] I have already ſpoke of this league, which was really concluded at Bruges. Henry founded his joining with the emperor upon Francis's having been the aggreſſor, by encouraging Robert de la Mark to take up arms. But beſides that Francis denyed he was concerned in that undertaking, and had even obliged Robert to deſiſt, it was evident the emperor had prevented him, by joining in a league with the pope, though their league was not ſo ſoon made known. The ſecret attempts upon Como, Milan, Genoa, and the open war in the Milaneſe, by which the king of France loſt that duchy, were clear evidences that the league was concluded before Robert de la Mark's affair. Henry pretended alſo to have againſt Francis another cauſe of complaint, which however had no better foundation; namely, that contrary to his promiſe, he had permitted the duke of Albany to return into Scotland. But if it is conſidered that the duke arrived not in his own country till the 30th of October, and that the league of Bruges was ſigned the 24th of November, it will be eaſy to perceive the league was already reſolved before Henry could know that the duke of Albany was returned into Scotland. But though, upon the firſt notice, he had taken a haſty reſolution to join with the pope and the emperor, was that a juſt cauſe to proceed to a war, which would probably ruin France? The truth is, theſe were only pretences to cover the injuſtice of a war undertaken by Henry for the cardinal's intereſt, and perhaps without knowing himſelf the real motive of that miniſter's proceedings.

Mean while, Henry perceiving the duke of Albany would embarraſs him if he continued in Scotland, attempted a ſecond time to drive him from thence. To that purpoſe, he ſent Clarenceux his herald, with orders to ubraid him with breach of promiſe, and with returning into Scotland to marry the the queen dowager, and deprive the young king of the crown. The pretended reaſon of this laſt charge, was that the queen dowager being deſirous of having her marrige with the earl of Angus annulled, the duke of Albany had ſeconded her ſuit at the court of of Rome[c]. The duke anſwered he was returned into Scotland, by the invitation of the great men: that he had never done any thing to give occaſion to ſuſpect him of aſpiring to the crown, neither had he ever any ſuch thought: that indeed he had countenanced the queen's ſuit, but without any deſign to marry her, having a wife of his own.

Henry was not ſatisfied with ſummoning the regent, but ſent alſo a letter to the parliament of Scotland, containing the ſame accuſations againſt the duke of Albany, and a charge to the ſtates to expel him the kingdom. The ſubſtance of the parliament's anſwer was: that what had been reported to his majeſty concerning the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, to take forcible poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, was utterly falſe; that the duke did nothing with regard to the king, that could breed the leaſt ſuſpicion, ſince he did not ſo much as offer to change any of his domeſtics without the conſent of the ſtates, and that it was with the queen's advice and conſent, that they had taken care of the guardianſhip and education of the king: that they could not believe the duke had ever intended to put away his wife and marry the queen, or that the queen had any thoughts of eſpouſing the duke: that as for the treaty with the king of France, to hinder the duke of Albany's return into Scotland, it was never communicated to them, neither had they any knowledge of it: that they could not help thinking ſuch a treaty very ſtrange, ſince they rather imagined, his majeſty ſhould have ſollicited the duke to return to defend the king his nephew againſt his rebellious ſubjects, whereas they ſaw with grief, it was he who fomented the rebellion: that if it continued thus, they did not ſee how it was poſſible to keep a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms: that however, if he would be pleaſed to ſend away the biſhop of Dunkeld from his court, and without interpoſing in the affairs of Scotland, leave to the regent and ſtates the care of governing the kingdom, a truce might be concluded till the embaſſy that was to be ſent him, was ready. But that, in caſe he would have no truce, unleſs they expelled the regent, they would endeavour to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they could.

Queen Margaret, to whom the king her brother had likewiſe writ upon the ſame ſubject, ſent an anſwer, ſharply expoſtulating with him for giving ear to the report concerning her marriage with the duke of Albany. She freely owned, it was with her conſent and advice that the duke was recalled, adding if he had not been ſo unkind a brother, ſhe ſhould have had no occaſion to ſeek the protection of a ſtranger.

Henry could not expect any other anſwer, ſince he was conſcious to himſelf, that his accuſations againſt the regent of Scotland were only affected pretences to complain indirectly of the king of France. He ordered however the lord Dacres[d] to march into Scotland with five hundred men, and proclaim on the borders, that if the Scots made not peace with him by ſuch a time[e], it ſhould be to their peril. But he did not ſupport this bravado[f]. His ſole aim was to furniſh his party in Scotland with a pretence to refuſe to ſerve the regent, in caſe he attempted to make a diverſion in England in favour of France. And in this he was not diſappointed. In October following, the regent of Scotland raiſing an army to make an inroad into England, was no ſooner come to the borders, but many of the lords refuſed to attend any farther, alledging, they were unwilling to engage the kingdom in an unneceſſary war with England. The oppoſition the duke of Albany found in his army, convincing him he ſhould be able to do nothing conſiderable, he propoſed a truce, which the Engliſh gladly accepted. For, Henry's aim was only to terrify the Scots with a dread of the ſucceſs of a war with England during the minority of their king. So, the duke of Albany ſeeing it was not in his power to ſerve France as he deſired, returned about the end of October to Paris, in order to take freſh meaſures with the king. Thus Henry attained his ends, in avoiding a rupture with Scotland, as a war with that kingdom could not but extremely incommode him, in his preſent circumſtances.

Mean while, Francis I. having had ſome intelligence of what paſſed at Bruges between the emperor and the cardinal, and deſiring to convince Henry how directly contrary to the league of London his proceedings were, ſent him letters patents, inſerting the article of the treaty, whereby they were engaged mutually to aſſiſt one another. Then he recited what the emperor had done againſt him, as well in Italy as in Champagne and Flanders, and ſummoned him to perform the treaty he had ſolemnly ſworn. Henry in anſwer ſent a herald to proclaim war againſt him[g], alledging, he was obliged to it by the ſame treaty of London, becauſe Francis had firſt attacked the emperor, and moreover had diſappointed him with reſpect to the duke of Albany[h]. Thus war was once more declared between France and England, upon very frivolous, not to ſay unjuſt occaſions. But Wolſey had the art of perſuading the king his maſter to whatever he pleaſed.

Henry having without cauſe proclaimed war againſt France, did not dare to call a parliament to demend a ſubſidy. For he could alledge neither any juſt cauſe, nor any neceſſity

[a] Among other expreſſions in this letter there are theſe words: quaſi reputantes, non ſine permiſſu divino, erupiſſe adverſus Chriſti eccleſiam, luteranam hanc impietatem, ut ipſe majore ſua cum; loria talem propugnatorem & defenſorem ſortiri poſſit. Rymer's Fæd. tom. xiii. p. 758.

[b] This year, 1522, muſkets were invented, which du Ballai ſays, were firſt uſed in this war. This year alſo, it being obſerved there was a great decay of tillage and huſbandry, occaſioned by the many incloſures made by the nobility and gentry, who, within fifty years, had turned moſt of their lands into paſture, and kept them in their own hands; from whence, among other inconveniences, it followed, that the number of huſbandmen, and perſons capable of defending the country, was very much leſſened; many towns and villages were depopulated; and the prices of wool and meat were very much enhanced, as being engroſſed by perſons who were not obliged to ſell: to remedy all this, the king revived the ſtatutes made againſt incloſures, and iſſued out his commiſſion to juſtices of peace, and other magiſtrates to ſee them put in execution. Stow, p. 512. Hollingſh. p. 862.—The ſea overflowing the dykes of Holland, drowned 72 villages, and above an hundred thouſand people. Alſo there was ſo great a dearth in England, that wheat was ſold for twenty ſhillings a quarter. Stow, p. 514.

[c] She was offended, it ſeems, at his leaving her at Harbottle, and very much nettled at the love he bore to a certain Scotch lady. She alledged, among other things, at the court of Rome, that ſhe heard her huſband James IV. was living three years after Floddon field, and therefore not dead when ſhe married the earl, ſo much did that report prevail. Herbert, p. 50.

[d] Warden of the Weſt marches. Herbert.

[e] By the firſt of March. Hollingſhead, p. 872.

[f] King Henry alſo fitted out ſix ſhips, under the command of Chriſtopher Coo, to guard England againſt the inſults of the Scots and French. Stow, p. 514. Hall, fol. 91.

[g] In the end of March. Whereupon king Francis ordered all the effects of the Engliſh merchants at Bourdeaux, and elſewhere, to be ſeized. And Henry did the ſame by the French and Scotch merchants in London, and moreover cauſed them to be impriſoned. Hall, fol. 92, 93.

[h] At this time, Anne Bulleyn, who had lived in the French court ever ſince her going over with Mary, king Henry's ſiſter, and wife of Lewis XII. returned into England. Herbert, p. 46. Burnet's Ref. tom. I. p. 44. Fiddes, p. 268. Du Tillet, p. 397.

Stow

for undertaking a war deſtructive to the Engliſh merchants. However, money muſt be raiſed, and it was the cardinal's buſineſs, who had embarked him in the war, to find means. The expedient he thought moſt proper was, to order the ſheriffs to ſend a liſt of their names of all above ſixteen years old, with an exact account of what each perſon was worth in land, ſtock, moveables, and money. This was ſuch a ſurvey as was formerly taken in the reign of William the Conqueror, and had given ſo great cauſe of complaint to the nation[i]. This was followed by a general loan of the tenth of his lay ſubjects, and a fourth of the clergy, according to the true value of their eſtates, beſides twenty thouſand pounds which the king borrowed of the city of London. Thus one injuſtice commonly draws on another. The war was manifeſtly unjuſt, and became ſtill more ſo by the means employed to maintain it. Theſe kinds of involuntary loans, to which certain kings of England have ſometimes forced their ſubjects, are a manifeſt violation of the privileges of the people, and tend directly to arbitrary power. If the king may oblige his ſubjects to furniſh him with money, when he ſhall think neceſſary, though it be by way of benevolence or loan, he may be aſſured, he will very ſeldom, or perhaps never think himſelf obliged to call a parliament. It is true, Henry was neither the firſt nor laſt that uſed this extraordinary method to raiſe money. But, though he was ſo fortunate as to receive no prejudice by it, ſome of his ſucceſſors, who were pleaſed to imitate him, were not ſo happy.

The general loan made a great noiſe over all the kingdom. Every one openly exclaimed againſt the cardinal, who was the author. But he little regarded the people's clamours, becauſe he was ſupported by the king. However, though at firſt he had given orders to exact loans with the ſame rigour, as if they had been a tax impoſed by the parliament, he met with ſo many obſtacles, that he was apprehenſive of raiſing in the kingdom commotions not to be appeaſed at his pleaſure. So, the tax was levied much more gently than at firſt was intended. This cauſed ſo great a miſtake in the cardinal's calculation, that the king was forced at laſt to recur to the uſual method of a parliament to maintain the war, as we ſhall ſee preſently. The London merchants were the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of the levying this tax. They were required to declare upon oath the real value of their effects; but they firmly refuſed it, alledging, it was not poſſible for them to give an exact account of their effects, part whereof was in the hands of their correſpondents in foreign countries. At length, by agreement, the king was pleaſed to accept of a ſum according to their own calculation.

Cardinal Wolſey's concern at not ſucceeding in this affair according to his wiſh, was not comparable to his trouble at being diſappointed in another, which touched him more nearly, and for which he had ſpared neither money nor pains. I mean his election to the papal dignity, of which he thought himſelf ſure. Leo X. dying the beginning of December the laſt year, when his obſequies were over, the cardinals entered the conclave, where they were not a little embarraſſed concerning the election of a new pope. Julio cardinal de Medici aſpired to the papacy, and had many votes for him. But the emperor's party and ſome cardinals gained by Wolſey, openly oppoſed the election of Julio. Mean while, as it is required to have two thirds of the voices to be choſen pope, if the cardinal de Medici had not enough for himſelf, he had however enough to exclude any other. And this long detained the cardinals in the conclave[k]. Though the emperor had promiſed Wolſey his intereſt, he intended not to keep his word. His deſign was to cauſe Adrian Florentio, biſhop of Tortoſa, native of Utrecht, and formerly his preceptor, to be choſen, reckoning, when he ſhould be pope, he would be entirely devoted to him. But this affair was managed ſo artfully, and withal ſo privately, that the cardinals of his party, without diſcovering their intent, were ſatisfied with breaking the cardinal de Medici's meaſures, till an opportunity offered to carry their point.

Mean while, Wolſey left no ſtone unturned. As he built all his hopes upon the emperor's intereſt, he writ to him to put him in mind of his promiſe, repreſenting the advantages to have a pope at his devotion. At the ſame time he ordered Pace, who was then at Venice, inſtantly to repair to Rome, and do him what ſervice he could. The emperor was very much embarraſſed in relation to Wolſey. He had promiſed to uſe all his intereſt in his favour, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. It was his intereſt to have a pope at his devotion. But he knew cardinal Wolſey too well, to imagine ſuch a pope would be guided by his counſels. It was neceſſary therefore, in order not to loſe Wolſey's friendſhip, to cauſe Adrian to be choſen without the emperor's appearing to be concerned in the election. As he had gained that miniſter to his intereſt, ſolely by the promiſe of procuring him the papacy, he could not doubt, that if he ſaw himſelf deceived, he would turn his maſter againſt him. Wherefore the emperor concealed his deſigns, and was ſo faithfully ſerved in the conclave, that they could not be diſcovered, neither had Adrian ever one vote in the daily ſcrutinies. Mean while, he kept cardinal Wolſey in hopes, and threw upon the cardinal de Medici's faction, the obſtacles which occurred in the performance of his promiſe. At laſt, when they that were in the emperor's ſecret, and managed his affairs in the conclave, were ſecure of a ſufficient number of votes, one day as the cardinals were met to make a ſcrutiny, ſome one propoſed cardinal Adrian biſhop of Tortoſa then in Spain. He enlarged upon the great qualities of that cardinal, and the advantages which would accrue to the church by his promotion. Whereupon they who were of the party voted one after the other for Adrian, as if they had been inſpired, and perhaps without knowing one another's deſign, ſo dexterouſly had the buſineſs been managed. The reſt that were not in the ſecret, ſeeing two thirds of the voices for Adrian, voted the ſame way, leſt a fruitleſs oppoſition might turn to their prejudice. Thus the election was made with unanimous conſent, and paſſed for a miraculous inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. It is not likely that Wolſey was ſuch a dupe, as to believe the emperor was not concerned in Adrian's election, ſince the thing was ſo plain. The new pope who aſſumed the name of Adrian VI. had been his preceptor, and upon his recommendation was made cardinal, and was now regent in Spain. Beſides, there is no likelihood that the cardinals would have thought of chooſing a Barbarian, for that is the honourable appellation the Italians beſtow on thoſe that are not of their nation, if the election had not been managed by the emperor. However this be, Wolſey ſhewed no reſentment, whether he waited for an opportunity to be only revenged, or thought proper to keep fair with the emperor againſt another vacancy. For it was probable there would be one very ſoon, the new pope being old and infirm. Adrian VI. was elected in January 1522, but it was Midſummer before he came to Rome.

The emperor having made a pope at his devotion, and ſettled his affairs in Flanders and Germany, reſolved to return into Spain, where his preſence was neceſſary. But as he had cauſe to fear ſome change at the court of England, on account of what had paſſed in the late conclave, he thought proper to viſit Henry in his way. This viſit was neceſſary, as well to confirm with that prince the articles agreed on at

[i] Stow gives an account of this ſurvey from an original warrant directed to the conſtable of a hundred, who was commanded to charge the conſtables of every pariſh within the ſaid hundred to appear perſonally before certain commiſſioners, and to bring with them the names of all perſons above ſixteen years old, dwelling within the ſaid hundred, and to enjoin them to repair to a certain place aſſigned, with their arms, and declare what their names are, and to whom they belong, and who is lord of every town or hamlet, and who ſtewards, and who parſons of the town, and what their benefice is worth, and who owners of every parcel of land within the ſaid precincts, and what is the yearly value of every man's land, what ſtock on the lands, and who the owner thereof; alſo what ſtrangers dwell there, and what buſineſs they follow; alſo the value and ſubſtance of every perſon above ſixteen years of age; alſo what penſions go thence to religious and ſpiritual men. Which being certified, the king rejoiced, finding his kingdom ſo wealthy (ſays Polydore Virgil.) See Stow's Ann. p. 515. This warrant was dated at Brentwood, March 27, 1522.

[k] The conclave is in the vatican, where there is a long gallery full of cells, which are choſen by the cardinals by lot. The funeral of the deceaſed pope laſting nine days, on the tenth each cardinal goes to his cell, and are ſhut up in the conclave with one ſervant, called a conclaviſt, with each a ſecretary and gentleman to attend them, carry their meſſages, and manage their intrigues. The conclave is guarded by the militia of the city, to prevent their receiving any letters; and the diſhes of meat (which are received in at a window by the conclaviſt) are ſearched by the maſter of the ceremonies for the ſame reaſon. The cardinals meet every morning and evening in the chapel for a ſcrutiny, which is done by writing their ſuffrages in the billets done up in two folds, and ſealed with two ſeals. In the firſt fold, the conclaviſt writes the name of the cardinal his maſter votes for, becauſe the cardinal's hand would be known. In the ſecond the cardinal writes his own name; and on the outſide, the conclaviſt writes any motto the cardinal pleaſes, as deo volente, by which they know their own billets when they are read, for the fold containing the elector's name is not opened till the pope is choſen, and then he opens all to know who elected him. When the billets are ready, they put them, after a ſhort prayer, into a chalice upon the altar, and appoint two of the number to read the names of the cardinals aloud, and keep account of the votes for each. And this they do till two thirds of the votes fall upon one perſon; and if they do not, the billets are all burnt. The court of Rome conſiſts at preſent of the pope and ſeventy cardinals; viz. fifty cardinal prieſts, fourteen cardinal deacons, and ſix cardinal biſhops, who are for the moſt part of the pope's privy council. See Puffendorf's Introduction to the Hiſtory of Europe, and Relig. Cuſtoms, vol. I.

Bruges, as to try to preſerve cardinal Wolſey's friendſhip, without which he could not expect to preſerve the king's. He landed the 26th of May at Dover, where the cardinal waited on him with a magnificent train, and Henry came himſelf two days after[l]. From thence he conducted the emperor to Greenwich, and then to London [m], where he was received with all the honour and reſpect uſual on ſuch occaſions. The cardinal legate forgot not to ſhew his grandeur by ſaying his maſs[n] before the two monarchs, aſſiſted by ſeveral biſhops, and ſerved by dukes. As he had reſolved to hide his reſentment, the emperor had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his reception, and found a ready compliance with all his deſires. After ſome ſtay in London the king invited him to Windſor, where he was inſtalled of the order of the garter, into which his brother Ferdinand alſo had been admitted the 23d of the foregoing April[o]. This done, the two monarchs received the ſacrament together, and ſwore to the treaty of Bruges.

The preamble of the treaty ran, that the emperor and king of France had referred their differences to the arbitration of the king of England, who had ſent the cardinal of York to Calais to decide them: that in theſe conferences it was long debated to know, which of the two monarchs had been the aggreſſor, and after mature deliberation the cardinal had declared it was the king of France, as well by means of Robert de la Mark, as by invading Navarre: that therefore the king of England was obliged by the treaty of London, to aſſiſt the prince attacked againſt the aggreſſor. That moreover, he had himſelf cauſe to complain of the king of France for breach of promiſe, in ſending back the duke of Albany into Scotland, and for diſcontinuing the payments of the ſums due to him. Upon all theſe accounts, Charles and Henry deeming themſelves free and clear from all engagements with the king of France, had reſolved to contract a ſtrict alliance, and ſeal it with a marriage between the emperor and the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, upon the following terms. Of theſe terms I ſhall recite ſuch only as may be of ſervice to the ſequel of the hiſtory. Thoſe concerning the marriage were to this effect:

That the emperor ſhould eſpouſe by proxy, Mary, daughter to Henry, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be twelve years old.

That her dowry ſhould be four hundred thouſand crowns, out of which ſhould be deducted what the emperors Maximilian and Charles had borrowed of the king of England.

That in caſe the marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed by the emperor's fault, he obliged himſelf to pay four hundred thouſand crowns to the king of England, who bound himſelf in the ſame ſum to the emperor, in caſe the marriage was hindred on his part.

The terms of the league were:

That before the end of May, 1524, the emperor ſhould enter France on the ſide of Spain, and the king of England in Picardy, each with an army of thirty thouſand [p] foot, and ten thouſand horſe.

That they ſhould make neither peace nor truce without a mutual conſent.

That if any places ſhould be conquered upon France, they ſhould be reſtored to him of the two allies, who had a right to them; and to prevent all diſputes, each ſhould declare his pretenſions before the 1ſt of May, 1524.

That if the king of England intended to ſubdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to an entire obedience, or the emperor to recover Gueldres or Friſeland; if the Scots invaded England, or the duke of Gueldres made war upon the emperor; in all theſe caſes the two monarchs ſhould be bound to aſſiſt one another.

That they ſubmitted to the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the cardinal of York, as legate, and required him to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt him of the two that ſhould firſt violate the treaty.

That the treaty ſhould be kept private, ſo that the common enemy might have no knowledge thereof.

That the pope ſhould be entreated to enter into the league as a principal contractor, and reputed as ſuch, provided he accepted it within three months.

That the Venetians ſhould be likewiſe admitted, provided they renounce their alliance with France.

That the two monarchs ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Switzers to forſake the French, or at leaſt to be neutral.

The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, the emperor ſigned alſo letters patents, promiſing to pay Henry whatever was due to him from Francis, in caſe Francis, on account of the preſent league ſhould refuſe to continue the payment to which he was obliged.

But cardinal Wolſey had not waited to do his own affairs till the king's were finiſhed, for on the eighth of June the emperor by letters patents, had engaged to pay him the penſion of twelve thouſand livres[q], which the king of France gave him for the biſhopric of Tournay. Some days after, he obliged himſelf to pay him a penſion of two thouſand five hundred ducats, till the like penſion was aſſigned him upon the vacant churches in Spain, in lieu of that he received out of the biſhopric of Badajos, which the emperor deſired to diſcharge. But the emperor's bounties to cardinal Wolſey were amply recompenſed by a great ſum lent him by the king before his departure.

During the emperor's ſtay in England, which was about five weeks, he ſo won the affection of the whole court by his civilities, careſſes, and preſents, that he was almoſt ſure of leaving none but friends about the king. He gained the good will of the Engliſh, chiefly by conſtituting the earl of Surrey, admiral of his fleet[r]. The commiſſion was drawn whilſt the emperor was at London, before his journey to Windſor. As he was to make ſome farther ſtay in England, the earl of Surrey taking with him both the Engliſh and Flemiſh fleets, made two deſcents into France, and carried away a rich booty[s]. Then he returned and conveyed the emperor to Spain[t].

I muſt now briefly relate the ſucceſs of the wars which were waging in ſeveral places. The death of Leo X. had put the affairs of the allies in Italy in a very ill ſituation. The troops of the church and of Florence had relinquiſhed the army, immediately after the news of the pope's death. Beſides that, Proſper Colonna received no more ſupplies of money, either from Rome or the emperor, was forced to diſband moſt of his remaining troops, and to keep but what was abſolutely neceſſary for the defence of Milan. Mean while, the emperor ordered a levy of ſix thouſand Landſquenets[u], which Franceſco Sforza, and Hieronimo Adorno a Genoeſe, were to lead into Italy. Shortly after, Lautrec received a reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand Switzers, which rendered him ſuperior to the allies, and yet he could not hinder the Landſquenets from joining the emperor's army. His only refuge was to try to bring the imperialiſts to a battle, and for that purpoſe he beſieged Pavia; but Proſper Colonna found means to throw ſuccours into the place without running any hazard. Whereupon Lautrec diſpairing of ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege and encamped at Monzas and Colonna, who was afraid for Milan, poſted himſelf at Bicocca, a country ſeat with a large park, capable of being eaſily fortified as ſurrounded with a deep ditch. Here Colonna intrenched himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he could not be attacked without raſhneſs. Lautrec had no inclination to attack the imperialiſts in that poſt, but could not poſſibly help it. His Switzers would have money, and he had none to give them; Louiſa, of Savoy, the king's mother, having applied to other uſes the four hundred thouſand crowns deſigned for the army in Italy. Mean while the Switzers preſſed their general either to give them money, or lead them to

[l] See the names of the noblemen and others, that attended the king and the cardinal to Canterbury in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 767. Hall ſays, Wolſey ſet out for Dover the 20th of May; being accompanied by two earls, thirty-ſix knights, a hundred gentlemen, eight biſhops, ten abbots, thirty chaplains, all in velvet and ſattin, and ſeven hundred yeomen. He came to Dover the 26th. In the mean time, Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, with the lord Delaware, and a large retinue of knights and gentlemen were ſent to Calais, to wait on the emperor, fol. 93.

[m] On the 6th of June. Stow, p. 516.

[n] On Whitſunday. Ibid.

[o] On St. George's day, and had the order and habits ſent him to Noremberg. He was afterwards emperor. Herbert, p. 47.

[p] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays forty thouſand. Whereas in the original it is only thirty thouſand or more. See Herbert, p. 48.

[q] Or nine thouſand crowns of gold de ſoliel. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 769.

[r] The lord Herbert has inſerted the patent (which is dated June 8) as well for the rareneſs of it, as the honour of the perſon, p. 49. Com. Hiſt. vol. II. The earl returned to England, Jan. 25, 1522, from his government of Ireland, wherein he was ſucceeded by Peter Butler, earl of Ormond. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIII. p. 766. Hal. fol. 90. And on December the fourth this year, the ſaid earl of Surrey was made high treaſurer. Rymer, tom. XIII. p. 777.

[s] He landed June 13, near Cherbourg, and after having deſtroyed the adjacent country, returned to Portland: he landed a ſecond time on July 5, near Morlaix, in Bretagne, with ſeven thouſand men, and burnt and plundered that town; from whence he brought away a great booty. Herbert, p. 50. See a liſt of the moſt remarkable Engliſh gentlemen, in this expedition, in Hall, fol, 99, 100.

[t] The emperor embarked at Southampton, July 6. Hall, fol. 99.

[u] So German foot ſoldiers were called formerly. Hall calls them lance knights.

There

battle, elſe they were reſolved to return home. This put him at length upon aſſaulting the camp at Bicocca, where he was repulſed with great loſs [w]; after which, the Switzers quitting him, he was conſtrained to repaſs the mountains, not being able to withſtand the imperialiſts. Preſently after, Colonna became maſter of Genoa. This rich city being taken by ſurpriſe, whilſt a capitulation was negotiating, was miſerably ſacked. In ſhort, Francis had nothing left in Italy but the caſtles of Milan and Cremona, and even theſe were very cloſely blocked up.

In other parts where the war was carrying on during this campaign, France was more proſperous. After admiral Bonnivet had taken Fontarabia, the Spaniards inveſted that place, and continued the ſiege, without being able to accompliſh their enterprize. At laſt, marſhal de Chabanes being ſent into Bearn to take the command of the French army, in the room of marſhal de Chatillon, who was dead, raiſed the ſiege, and appointed one Frauget governor of Fontarabia, who afterwards behaved very ill.

In Picardy and Champagne, the imperialiſts and Engliſh having joined their forces performed nothing of moment. The two armies, commanded by the count de Bure for the emperor, and by the earl of Surrey for the king of England [x], were ſo ſuperior to thoſe of France, that the duke of Vendome who commanded in Picardy, was not able to reſiſt them. So, having furniſhed the towns with ammunition, he contented himſelf with inceſſantly annoying them with a ſmall body of troops. In September the two generals beſieged Heſdin, but after having been five or ſix weeks before the town, were forced to retire. From thence they marched to Dourlens, and finding the place deſerted, and the gates pulled down, ſet fire to it. Then intending to approach Corbie in October, the bad weather, and the care the French had taken for the defence of that place, hindered their undertaking the ſiege. After that, the imperialiſts retired into Artois, and the Engliſh returned home [y].

Thus all the efforts of the emperor and the king of England would have done Francis no great miſchief this campaign, if he had not himſelf been the cauſe of his ill ſucceſs in Italy, by neglecting to find the Switzers money. Indeed, if Lautrec had not been forced to attack the imperialiſts at Bicocca, probably he would have been maſter of Milan before the end of the campaign. Charles V. then perceived, that to gain any conſiderable advantages upon France, much greater efforts were to be uſed, and for that reaſon continued to careſs cardinal Wolſey in order to ſecure the king his maſter's aſſiſtance. In the Collection of the Public Acts, there is a letter of his to the cardinal, full of obliging expreſſions, plainly denoting his want of him. "I return your thanks (ſaid he to him) for the good affection you have always ſhown me, deſiring you to continue it, as I firmly believe you will, for you are ſenſible that I place my whole confidence in you." Again, "I entreat you to give the ſame credit to my ſaid embaſſadors as to myſelf, and ſhew yourſelf, on this occaſion, as I take you to be, my good and faithful friend, for I ſhall have a greatful remembrance of it."

[1522] The extraordinary method uſed by the cardinal to raiſe money having been very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, he judged it more proper to proceed for the future in the uſual way; and therefore the king aſſembled a parliament the 15th of April 1523 [z]. The convocation meeting at the ſame time according to cuſtom [a], the cardinal reſolved to eſtabliſh a good precedent in favour of the king, by exacting from the clergy a conſiderable ſubſidy. His character of legate gave him ſuch intereſt with that body, that he was almoſt ſure of obtaining whatever he was pleaſed to demand. But to find leſs difficulties, he removed on divers pretences ſome of thoſe from whom he feared to meet oppoſition, and gained others by promiſes or threats. Matters being thus ordered, he demanded of the clergy a ſubſidy of one half of their annual revenues, payable in five years. Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and a proctor of the inferior clergy, one Philips, would have oppoſed this exaction, but the cardinal treated them in ſuch a manner as diſcouraged the reſt from ſupporting them. So the ſubſidy was granted, though the clergy privately murmured, that the pope's legate, who ought to maintain their rights, was the firſt to violate them.

This affair being thus ended with reſpect to the clergy, the cardinal repaired to the houſe of commons, where he made a long ſpeech, endeavouring to ſhew the neceſſity of the war the king had undertaken, by aggravating the pretended injuries he had ſuffered from the king of France. He concluded with demanding a ſubſidy of the fifth part of the goods of ever lay ſubject to be paid in four years [b]. This demand cauſed warm debates among the commons. Several repreſented, that if the kingdom was actually invaded, hardly could the king require ſuch a ſubſidy, much leſs for a war wantonly undertaken, and rather for the intereſt of the emperor than of England. However as the court party were very numerous in the houſe, it was reſolved to grant the king a ſubſidy, which was but one half of what was demanded. The cardinal, who was uſed to be complied with, was extremely offended at the oppoſition of the commons. He went again to the houſe and told them, he deſired to reaſon with thoſe who oppoſed his demands. But the commons replied by their ſpeaker [c], that it was the order of that houſe to hear and not to reaſon, but among themſelves. At this reply, the cardinal withdrew, extremely mortified, perceiving he would only prejudice the king's affairs, in attempting to treat the commons with the ſame haughtineſs he treated the reſt of the world. His ſolicitation however had ſome effect, ſince there was an addition made to the ſubſidy [d].

Beſides this affair, for which properly the parliament was called, nothing remarkable paſſed in the ſeſſion, except an act of attainder againſt the late duke of Buckingham, who had been condemned by a ſentence of his peers. All the world was ſatisfied this ſentence had been procured by indirect and irregular methods, and the cardinal was publicly accuſed of having ſacrificed that lord to his vengeance, he had the credit to obtain this act, in order to divert the blame thrown upon him. But withal, the parliament ſhewed that the act was paſſed out of mere condeſcenſion, ſince by another, Henry Stafford ſon of the deceaſed was reſtored to his eſtate and honours [e]. A ſtatute was made alſo this ſeſſion, impowering the king for his life to repeal all attainders of high-treaſon by his letters patent under the great-ſeal [f].

Theſe were the firſt attempts made in this reign to render the king maſter of the debates of the parliament. Cardinal Wolſey was the firſt author, and unfortunately for the ſubjects, the king too well improved his miniſter's inſtructions. Such favourites as this have but too much cauſe to fear the parliament, and therefore ſtrive to the utmoſt of their power to leſſen its authority, by enlarging that of the ſovereign who ſupports them. But their labour is in vain; very few fail at laſt of falling into the hands of that authority they have endeavoured to deſtroy. Wolſey is one of thoſe who have the moſt openly abuſed their favour, not only againſt the nation's but alſo the king's intereſt, which was much leſs dear to him than his own. He was never contented with eſtates or honours. The 24th of March this year he procured for himſelf the biſhopric of Durham, one of the richeſt in the kingdom, in lie of Bath and Wells, which he was willing to reſign. Two months after, Adrian VI. prolonged his

[w] There were three thouſand Switzers ſlain. Guicciard, l. 14.

[x] The earl of Surrey had about ſixteen thouſand men. The forward of his army was led by Robert Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter; the rear by ſir William Sandes, and ſir Richard Wingfield; and the main body by the earl himſelf. Sir Edward Guildford was captain of the horſe. Hall, fol. 101, 103.

[y] After having burnt and plundered ſeveral villages. They took fourteen thouſand ſheep, fourteen hundred oxen and cows, thirteen hundred hogs, and ſix hundred mares and horſes. Hall, fol. 102, 103.

[z] Which met at Black-Friars, in London. Herbert, p. 55.

[a] See a particular account of this convocation in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III. p. 24.

[b] The charges of the war with France, computed at eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the ſum demanded was four ſhillings in the pound. See Hall, fol. 109. Herbert, p. 55. Stow's Survey, B. III. p. 177.

[c] The famous ſir Thomas Moore.

[d] At firſt, every man of twenty pounds a year was to pay two ſhillings in the pound; and from twenty pounds downward to forty ſhillings a year, one ſhilling in the pound; and under forty ſhillings, every head of ſixteeen years old or more, four-pence in two years. But afterwards, by the liberal motion of ſome, particularly of ſir John Huſe, a knight of Lincolnſhire, thoſe of fifty pounds a year and upwards were induced to give one ſhilling more for three years to come, which at length being continued to the fourth year, and extended to thoſe who were worth five pounds in goods, was all that could be obtained. Hall, fol. 110. Herb. p. 56.

[e] He was only reſtored in blood, and not to honours and lands. However, the king by letters patents, bearing date the 25th of September this year, granted to him and Urſula, his wife, daughter of ſir Richard Pole, by Margaret, of Clarence, part of the lands of the late duke his father, among which was the caſtle and mannor of Stafford. Dugdale's Baron. Vol I. p. 171.

[f] This parliament was, on July 31, adjourned to Weſtminſter, where it ſat till the 13th of Auguſt, and then was diſſolved. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted now were theſe: 1. That no foreign artificers in England ſhall take any apprentice, but what is born under the king's obeiſance; or have above two journeyman that are not ſo; and that they ſhall have a proper mark for their wares, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds. 2. There is one confirming the college of phyſicians. 3. By another, the marriage of the ſix clerks in chancery is allowed. 4. It was ordained, that no perſon, of what eſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, ſhall kill any hare in the ſnow, with a dog, or otherwiſe, upon pain of forfeiting ſix ſhillings and eight-pence for every offence. For the reſt ſee the ſtatutes.

Reflecting

legateſhip for five years, after the expiration of the term granted by Leo X. Thus eſtates and honours were inceſſantly heaped upon him, without however any poſſibility of ſatisfying his greedineſs. Indeed, he carried his deſires much higher, ſince he ſtill aſpired to the papacy, Adrian's age and infirmities giving occaſion to think his pontificate would not laſt long. He ſtill expected to be raiſed to that high dignity by the emperor's means, and therefore forgot nothing to preſerve his favour. To this doubtleſs muſt be aſcribed the honourable reception given this year to Chriſtiern king of Denmark and Sweden, who had married the emperor's ſiſter. This prince having by his cruelties rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects, and for that reaſon been expelled his dominions, arrived in England about Midſummer with his queen, and was received as a king unjuſtly oppreſſed, and not like one that had by his barbarities drawn his misfortunes upon himſelf. Henry was not contented to do him all poſſible honour, but moreover renewed with him the treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, as if that prince had ſtill been in poſſeſſion of his dominions.

This was the fruit of cardinal Wolſey's intereſted counſels, who never regarded either honour or juſtice in gratifying his paſſions. He expected every thing from the emperor, and therefore uſed his utmoſt endeavours to increaſe that monarch's power, that he might be better able to perform his promiſe. It was not the cardinal's fault that France was not utterly ruined. At leaſt he performed this year in conjunction with the emperor projects tending to the entire diſſolution of that ancient monarchy.

Though by the treaty of Bruges, ratified by the emperor and Henry at Windſor, they were not to enter France till 1524, an opportunity which offered cauſing them to take other meaſures, they reſolved to anticipate their expedition, and invade the king of France in three different places. The emperor was to have a ſtrong army on the frontiers of Spain, to become maſter of Fontarabia and Bayonne. Henry was to employ his forces in Picardy jointly with thoſe of the Low Countries; and the conſtable of Bourbon, who had ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by the emperor, or perhaps by his own offer, was to make an inroad into Burgundy. As moſt of the events of the following years turn upon that prince's diſguſt, it will be requiſite briefly to mention the reaſons.

The duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood royal of France, had received the conſtable's ſword ever ſince the firſt year of Francis I. He had all the qualifications neceſſary for that high poſt. Perhaps he had too much merit, ſince, if we believe Mezerai, Louiſa of Savoy mother to Francis wiſhed to have him for her huſband. But as he feigned not to underſtand what ſhe deſired, he made her his irreconcileable enemy. From that time, he perpetually received mortifications from the king, over whom the ducheſs his mother had too great an aſcendant. The firſt mentioned in hiſtory was when in 1521 the king, commanding the army in perſon, gave the conduct of the van to the duke of Alencon, contrary to the prerogatives annexed to the office of conſtable. But this was nothing in compariſon of another, which however is related in the hiſtory of France only upon uncertain reports. The king telling the conſtable he ſhould be glad to marry him to the ducheſs his mother, received an anſwer ſo injurious to the ducheſs [g], that he gave him a box on the ear. This fact is not perhaps ſufficiently atteſted. But however it is certain the ducheſs's affection for the conſtable turned to hatred. From thence forwards he was looked upon with an evil eye at court, and no more truſted with the command of the king's armies. This was ſufficient to give him great diſguſt. But his enemy not being ſatisfied with theſe mortifications, which ſeemed to her too ſlight a revenge for her contemned love, commenced a ſuit againſt him for his whole eſtate. The cauſe was naturally to be tried by the parliament of Paris; but the ducheſs put it into the hands of the chancellor and ſome other commiſſioners, her creatures, which convinced the conſtable that his ruin was determined. So perceiving no way to avoid ſo fatal a blow, his deſpair cauſed him to throw himſelf into the emperor's arms. A Flemiſh lord [h] was the manager of the negotiation, wherein the king of England interpoſed, as being equally concerned with the emperor to create troubles in France. It is hard to know exactly when the negotiation began; but we find in the Collection of the Public Acts of England, the treaty was advanced the 17th of May, 1523. We ſee there Henry's commiſſion to Richard Sampſon and Richard Jerningham, to treat with the duke of Bourbon [i] in order to draw him into the league. This commiſſion empowered the envoys alſo to receive of the ſame prince a promiſe or engagement to own Henry for king of France, to do him homage and ſwear fealty to him. It cannot be inferred from hence, that the conſtable entered into any ſuch engagement, but only that Henry intended to draw him into it. However, by the treaty made by the duke with the two monarchs, after the conqueſt of France he was to have for his part Provence, to be erected into a kingdom, and was to marry Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, widow of don Emanuel, king of Portugal [k]. The duke was to bring into the field an army of his friends and vaſſals, to whom the emperor promiſed to join ſeven or eight thouſand men. This army was to act in the bowels of the kingdom, whilſt the emperor and Henry invaded Bearn and Picardy.

Mean while, Francis I. ignorant of the deſigns of his enemies, was ſolely employed in preparing to recover the duchy of Milan, where he intended to command his army in perſon. He haſtened his preparations the more, becauſe the Venetians were ſtrongly ſollicited to join with his enemies, on pretence that he amuſed them with the vain hopes of ſeeing him ſpeedily in Italy with a powerful army. But notwithſtanding all his diligence, it was not poſſible to avoid that misfortune. The Venetians ſeeing no French army arrive, and dreading to be expoſed to the emperor's indignation, entered at laſt into the league againſt France about the end of July [l].

On the other hand, pope Adrian VI. laboured with all his power to procure a truce between the chriſtian princes, fancying after that, there would be no difficulty to unite them together in a war againſt the Turks. But as his genius was mean, and very different from that of Leo X. and Julian II. his predeceſſors, inſtead of making the princes ſubſervient to his deſigns, he was himſelf without knowing it inſtrumental to thoſe of others. The emperor told him he heartily deſired the truce, but intimated the neceſſity of its being for ſome time, in order to reap the intended advantage. He thereby laid an invincible obſtacle in the way, becauſe the king of France being lately diſpoſſeſſed of the duchy of Milan, would never hearken to a long truce, which would afford his enemies time to ſecure their conqueſt. That monarch's oppoſition gave the emperor and the king of England occaſion to engage the pope to proceed farther, by hinting to him that after the example of ſome of his predeceſſors, he ſhould exert his apoſtolic power, which no chriſtian prince would preſume directly to oppoſe. Pleaſed with theſe hopes, Adrian publiſhed a bull dated the 30th of April, enjoining by virtue of the power committed to him by God, a three years truce between all chriſtian princes, under pain of excommunication and interdict, againſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe to obſerve it. But the king of France diſregarding ſuch a truce, continued his preparations for the Milan expedition, and ordered his troops to march towards Italy. Then the pope was told, that Francis alone, by his noncompliance and obſtinacy, hindered the chriſtians from joining their forces againſt the Turks. By theſe ſecret practices the good pope was gradually brought to conclude a league againſt France with the emperor, the king of England, Ferdinand, archduke of Auſtria, the emperor's brother, the duke of Milan, the Genoeſe, and the Florentines. This league was ſigned the 3d of Auguſt, a few days after the Venetians had deſerted France.

Italy ſeemed by this league to be ſecured from all invaſions. And indeed Proſper Colonna, who commanded in Milan, ſo little expected to be attacked, that he neglected to take neceſſary meaſures for the defence of that duchy. Mean while, Francis purſued his projects, and the more, as he heard there were no preparations at Milan. The emperor ſeemed wholly to neglect the defence of that ſtate, on purpoſe to draw Francis into Italy, reckoning that his abſence would promote the duke of Bourbon's deſigns. Nay, it is ſaid, that to induce Francis to abſent himſelf from his kingdom, Henry had cauſed him to be privately told, there was no danger from him that year in Picardy.

Affairs being in this ſituation, Francis departed for Lyons in order to paſs into Italy. In the mean while the emperor was preparing an army in Spain to beſiege Fontarabia and Bayonne. But the army was raiſed very ſlowly, becauſe it

[g] Reflecting on her looſe behaviour. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 501, 504.

[h] The count de Rœux. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508. Together with William Knight, doctor of law, the Engliſh reſident, with the lady Margaret, and ſir John Ruſſel. Herb. p. 58.

[i] The name of Bourbon is in blank, but it is certain that it is the conſtable which is there meant. Rapin.

[k] The emperor promiſed to appoint her his heir, in caſe he and his brother Ferdinand died without iſſue; and to give her a dower of two hundred thouſand crowns. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 508.

[l] June the 28th, according to P. Daniel, p. 499.

Florentius

was not to act till Francis was engaged in the war of Milan. On the other ſide, the count de Bure[m] his general in Flanders, remained quiet, waiting to join the Engliſh, who the better to deceive the king of France were not to land at Calais till the end of September. In ſhort, the emperor ordered eight thouſand Landſquenets to march in ſmall diviſions into Franche Comté, who were to join the duke of Bourbon as ſoon as he was ready. Upon that prince's revolt the allies built all their hopes, imagining that Francis being in Italy, France thus unexpectedly invaded in ſo many places at once would make no great reſiſtance. Theſe hopes were the better grounded, as Francis having no intelligence of the duke of Bourbon's plots, had no troops at all in Burgundy, few in Guienne and Bearn, and Picardy was in an ill ſtate of defence.

Mean while, the conſtable, not to be obliged to attend the king, pretended to be ſick at Moulins. But Francis, whilſt on the road to Lyons, happened to be informed by two of the conſtable's ſervants, that their maſter held private correſpondence with the emperor. Surpriſed at the news, he turned out of his way to go to Moulins, where he told the duke, who ſtill feigned to be ſick, what had been diſcovered to him. The duke freely owned, the emperor had founded him by the count de Rœux, but that he had refuſed to hearken to his propoſals: that he deſigned to inform his majeſty of it, but being prevented by his illneſs from coming to court, he durſt not truſt any perſon with the ſecret. Whether the king believed what the conſtable ſaid, or thought he could not arreſt him in his own territories, he was contented with ordering him follow him to Lyons. The duke ſet out indeed as if he intended to follow the king, being carried in a litter on pretence of his ſickneſs, and travelling by very eaſy journies. But upon notice that two of his confidents were arreſted at court, he privately withdrew from his attendants, and taking with him only Pomperan, one of his gentlemen, he eſcaped through by-ways, and ſafely arrived at Trent in Germany.

The conſtable's flight, convincing the king there was ſome grand plot in France to be executed during his abſence, he relinquiſhed his deſign of going into Italy, and contented himſelf with ſending his army[n] under the command of admiral Bonnivet, who paſſed the Alps about the end of Auguſt or the beginning of September. About the ſame time the emperor aſſembled his army in Spain, the Landſquenets arrived in Franche Comté, and the Engliſh landed at Calais, to act in Picardy in conjunction with the Flemings. It will be abſolutely neceſſary briefly to relate what paſſed during this campaign in thoſe four ſeveral places.

The caſtle of Milan, where Lautrec had left a garriſon, ſurrendered the 4th of April. So the French had no place of importance in the Milaneſe, except the caſtle of Cremona, which too was ſo cloſely blocked up, that there was no likelihood of its holding out long. On the other hand as France could expect no farther aſſiſtance from the Venetians, and as all the reſt of Italy was joined in a league againſt her, Proſper Colonna who commanded in Milan did not doubt that the king would deſiſt from his deſign in carrying war in the Milaneſe. For that reaſon, he had neglected to repair the fortifications of the capital city which were in an ill ſtate, the ramparts being fallen down in ſeveral places. However upon advice that admiral Bonnivet was going to paſs the Alps, he drew together all his forces to try to defend the paſſage of the Teſin; but he came too late. The French had made ſuch ſpeed, that he was forced to retire to Milan, in the utmoſt diſorder. Nay, he reſolved to abandon that city, if, by an unaccountable negligence, they had not given him ſome days time to repair the works. He had but fifteen thouſand men, with which he could not expect to defend againſt an army of above forty thouſand, ſo large a city, which alſo was open in ſeveral places. However, as he had learnt by long experience, that it muſt not always be thought the enemies will do what is moſt for their advantage, he never ceaſed repairing the places which wanted it moſt, deeming he could but withdraw at laſt in caſe the French were as expeditious as they ought to have been. If Bonnivet had marched directly to Milan, he would have found the gates open. But after taking Novarra and Vigerano, and paſſing the Teſin without oppoſition, he prepoſterouſly imagined a few days more or leſs would ſignify nothing. So having loſt to no purpoſe four or five days, he gave the emperor's general time to put Milan in a poſture of defence[o]. At laſt, approaching the city, when it was too late, he found it incapable of being attacked by the good management of Colonna. Whereupon he reſolved to encamp at Chiaravalla, in hopes of cutting off the proviſions of Milan, and of having the imperialiſts at his mercy. But he took his meaſures ſo ill, that after perſiſting in his deſigns till the end of November, he was forced himſelf to remove from Milan for want of proviſions. All he did during that time was to relieve the caſtle of Cremona, reduced to the laſt extremities[p]. Such was the ſucceſs of Bonnivet's campaign, which might have been more glorious for him, and more advantageous for the king his maſter, had he taken juſter meaſures and improved his ſuperiority. Colonna died ſhortly after, and Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, took the command of the imperial army. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that nothing remarkable paſſed in thoſe parts till the end of the year, when the duke of Bourbon came and took the command of the emperor's troops, not without Lanoy's great diſguſt, who unwillingly reſigned his poſt to a foreigner.

The allies, as I ſaid, were reſolved not to invade France till September, becauſe it was to be preſumed, the king would then be employed in Italy. For this reaſon it was the beginning of that month before the emperor aſſembled his army in Spain. Lautrec, who commanded in Guienna, hearing the Spaniards were drawing together, haſtened to the frontiers, to provide for the defence of Bayonne and Fontarabia, which were moſt expoſed. Frauget, an officer of note, was governor of Fontarabia, having been left there the laſt year by marſhal de Chabanes. Lautrec, relying upon Frauget's bravery and experience, left him in the ſame poſt, after having reinforced the garriſon, and laid in ſome ammunition. After that, he did not queſtion the place would be able to maintain a long ſiege. Theſe precautions being taken with regard to Fontarabia, he repaired to Bayonne. He was no ſooner arrived, than the Spaniſh army appeared before the walls, ſupported by a fleet, which threw the inhabitants into great conſternation, the town being weak towards the ſea. But Lautrec ſo managed it, that the Spaniards were diſappointed, though they had expected to carry the place without oppoſition. Perceiving therefore, that the ſiege would employ them too long, they ſuddenly raiſed it, and inveſted Fontarabia, which was baſely ſurrendered by Frauget, in a very few days[q]. He was like to have loſt his head for a fault of that conſequence. But though he preſerved his life, he ſaved not his honour being publicly degraded.

The emperor was not ſo ſucceſsful in Burgundy and Champagne. Lamothe of Noyers, the duke of Bourbon's officer, was gone ſome time ſince into Germany, to conduct into Burgundy, count de Furſtemberg, who with ſeven or eight thouſand Landſquenets, was to join there the duke of Bourbon. Though this project ſeemed to be fruſtrated by the duke's flight, count de Furſtemberg however entered Champagne with his army. He immediately took Coiffy and Monteclair, ſmall places, which made no great reſiſtance But the duke of Guiſe, who commanded in that province, knowing Furſtemberg had no cavalry, aſſembled all the nobles of the country, and forming ſome ſquadrons, cloſely followed the Germans. Furſtemberg finding himſelf too weak in the heart of the enemy's country, and having no horſe to oppoſe thoſe of the duke of Guiſe, reſolved to retire into Lorrain. He could not however make his retreat without receiving a terrible check near Neufchatel, where the duke of Guiſe defeated the beſt part of his troops.

Whilſt the war was carrying on in Italy, Bearn, and Campagne, Henry embarked his troops under the command of the duke of Suffolk[r], who landing at Calais, joined the count de Bure, the 20th of September. Theſe two bodies made together an army of twenty-five, or thirty thouſand foot, and about ſix thouſand horſe. The duke de la Trimouille, who commanded in that country, was ſo inferior in number of troops, that he durſt not keep the field. All

[m] Florentius, of Egmont.

[n] Conſiſting of three and thirty thouſand men. Guicciard, l. 15.

[o] Galeazzo, viſcount of Milan, meeting him, and deſiring him to ſtay till he had raiſed a tumult in the city (which he aſſured him of in two or three days) made Bonnivet loſe the opportunity. Herb. p. 59. According to others, Galeazzo put Bonnivet in hopes, that this city would ſurrender by capitulation, whence he might reap great advantages, and at leaſt get a large ſum of money. P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 516.

[p] And which Janot d'Herbouville, the governor, had kept for the French near two years together, after the taking of the town. Ibid.

[q] Being deſirous to ſave his goods. Herbert, p. 59. But P. Daniel lays the blame on don Pedro, ſon of the marſhal of Navarre, who held intelligence with the Spaniards, tom. VII. p. 529.

[r] Charles Brandon. He was attended by ſeveral lords and gentlemen, whoſe names ſee in Hall, fol. 113. The vanguard was commanded by the lord Sandes; the right wing by ſir William Kingſton; the left by ſir Everard Digby; the rear by ſir Richard Wingfield; and ſir Edward Guildford was captain of the horſe. This army conſiſted of ſix hundred demi lances, two hundred archers on horſeback, three thouſand archers on foot, five thouſand bill men, two thouſand ſix hundred pioneers and labourers; to whom were added ſeventeen hundred men out of the fortreſſes of Guiſnes, and Calais. So that this whole army was thirteen thouſand one hundred ſtrong. Hall, fol. 114.

he could do was to throw ſuccours into the places moſt expoſed, and ſpeedily inform the king what paſſed in thoſe parts. Francis I. being then at Lyons, was extremely embarraſſed to withſtand ſo many unexpected invaſions. It is ſaid, that deceived by falſe advices from England, he had been in hopes Picardy for this year would be unmoleſted, and yet he ſaw it was there his enemies intended to make their greateſt effort. In this perplexity, he immediately diſpatched the duke of Vendôme, with all the troops he could aſſemble, both to defend Picardy, and ſecure Paris, where he did not queſtion the alarm was very great. Indeed, the duke of Suffolk, and the count de Bure paſſing by Terouenne, Heſdin and Dourlens, had taken Roy and Montdidier, and were advanced as far as Corbie. But the news of the duke of Vendôme's march cauſing them to be more circumſpect, they thought proper to proceed no farther, and the rather becauſe the ſeaſon began to be very incommodious and they were afraid of being engaged between the dukes of Vendôme and la Trimouille. Theſe conſiderations induced them to think of retreating. In their return, they became maſters of Bouchain, the governor whereof brought him the keys, though they had no thoughts of attacking the place. Then leaving an Engliſh garriſon in Bouchin, they retired into Artois. But preſently after the French recovered that town. Thus the progreſs of the confederate army was not ſo great as Francis had reaſon to fear. Had the army taken the field ſooner, he would have been greatly embarraſſed. But as I ſaid, the hopes the emperor and the king of England had conceived of the duke of Bourbon's undertaking, was the cauſe of their not beginning the campaign in any place, till about the end of September.

When Adrian VI. came into the league, he had no deſign to ruin France, in order to compel Francis to wage war with the Turks, but he had been told, it would be a certain means to oblige that prince to conſent to that truce. Mean while, without the pope's knowing any thing of it, the emperor and Henry had combined to invade France, and divide it between them. Probably, if he had lived to the end of this year, he would have ſeen that their deſigns did not correſpond with his, but he died about ſix weeks after ſigning the league againſt France. He was a good man of a character very different from thoſe of his predeceſſors. Inſtead of thinking to enlarge the eccleſiaſtical ſtate by unjuſt confiſcations, he had given the duke of Urbino the inveſtiture of his duchy. He had done the ſame by the duke of Ferrara, knowing that the former popes had quarrelled with theſe princes only to gratify their deſire of enriching their own relations. He would have even reſtored Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara, if the clamours of his council, who could not underſtand that juſtice ought to be the foundation of policy, had not prevented him. He thought likewiſe of reforming the court of Rome, but death ſuffered him not to execute his deſign. All theſe proceedings, ſo remote from thoſe of his immediate predeceſſors, who has uſed the courtiers and people of Italy to ſee the popes purſue the looſe maxims of temporal princes, cauſed it to be ſaid, that he was indeed an honeſt man and a good chriſtian, but an indifferent pope. Accordingly the Italian writers ſpeak of Adrian VI. in terms importing no great eſteem for him.

The beginning of this year, cardinal Julio de Medici, who retired to Florence upon the death of Leo X. returned to Rome, and was very civilly received. In a ſhort time, he gained the good will of the pope to ſuch a degree, that he ſupplanted the cardinal of Volterra, the prime miniſter, and cauſed him to be committed to the caſtle of St. Angelo. From thence forward he had the ſole management of the pope's affairs, gaining more and more his eſteem, by putting on the devout, and expreſſing a great zeal to unite all chriſtian princes againſt the Turks. By this artifice he led him to publiſh a bull for a triennial truce, and at length to ſign the league againſt France. A miniſter like this was, doubtleſs, too politic for ſuch a pope. Adrian VI. died the 14th of September, at the very time the armies began to take the field. Had he lived any longer, he would without doubt have perceived, the league he had imprudently engaged in, was by no means proper to procure the union, he ſo much deſired among the chriſtian princes.

Cardinal Wolſey having notice of the pope's death, writ to the king to inform him of it, deſiring his aſſiſtance and protection[s]. The next day he writ to him again, praying him to recommend him to the emperor, by a letter under his own hand. He flattered himſelf that the emperor would have a grateful ſenſe of his late ſervice, in cauſing the king his maſter to declare againſt France, and would now at leaſt keep his word with him, ſince he had no preceptor to be elected, as in the former conclave. But if the Italian hiſtorians are to be credited, the emperor little thought of procuring him the papacy, and the conclave much leſs, who met preſently after Adrian's deceaſe. Of the thirty-nine cardinals which were in the conclave, Julio de Medici had fifteen or ſixteen at his devotion, beſides three who had promiſed not to be againſt him, if he was like to ſucceed in the conclave; ſo that he had only ſeven or eight to gain, in order to have two-thirds of the voices. But this was not eaſy. Cardinal Colonna, his adverſary, was at the head of a much more numerous party, who would have infallibly carried it, if the cardinals of that faction could have as readily united in chuſing a pope, as in preventing the election of Julio. This made the conclave hold fifty days. As for Wolſey, if he had any cardinals for him, they could not be many, ſince he had againſt him the French party, and the emperor's adherents were the ſame with thoſe of Julio de Medici. In ſhort, Colonna's faction not agreeing upon the choice of a pope, becauſe the head would have one elected who was not liked by his friends, his indignation at their obſtinacy cauſed him to be reconciled with the cardinal de Medici. Guicciardini ſays, Julio gave him a promiſe under his hand to make him his vice chancellor and preſent him with his palace, one of the moſt magnificent in Rome. Be this as it will, Colonna giving him ſeven or eight votes which were at his diſpoſal, there was no farther obſtacle to his election. It being reported in the conclave, that the cardinal de Medici would be elected the next ſcrutiny, moſt of the cardinals ſtayed not till day appeared, but went and made their court to the perſon who was ſoon to be their maſter. Their example drew in the reſt, who finding it not in their power to hinder the election, were willing alſo to ſhew they freely concurred. So, that very night, between the 18th and 19th of November, all the cardinals went and paid obeiſance to the new pope, and the next morning his election was confirmed by a ſolemn ſcrutiny, wherein he had all the voices. Thus it is that the holy ghoſt influences the cardinals in the choice of a pope, who, contrary to their intention, was to be the cauſe of the deepeſt wound the church of Rome had ever received. The new pope aſſumed the name of Clement VII. on account of St. Clement's day, which was very ſhortly to be ſolemnized. He was natural ſon of Julian de Medici, uncle to Leo X. But this defect of birth, though contrary to the canons, was not conſidered. Leo X. who made him cardinal in the beginning of his pontificate, took care to have it legally atteſted, that Julian promiſed his mother marriage. So, taking for granted, that a bare promiſe was equivalent to a marriage, he declared Julio legitimate. Alexander VI. took the ſame courſe when he made Cæſar Borgio, his baſtard ſon, cardinal. He produced witneſſes who depoſed, that Cæſar was born of a married woman, whence it was inferred, the child was to be deemed the huſband's ſon. In this manner did the vicars of Jeſus Chriſt abuſe laws divine and human to gratify their paſſions.

The news of Clement's election was a great mortification to Wolſey, who, after the promotion of Adrian VI. had expected to be pope upon the firſt vacancy. He muſt have been extremely incenſed with the emperor, who had twice deceived him. So it may be aſſured, conſidering his vindictive temper, he reſolved from that moment to be revenged. But as he could not execute this reſolution without his maſter's aſſiſtance, he was to take care not to diſcover that he acted from a motive of revenge; otherwiſe he would have run the hazard of being diſappointed. He concealed therefore, under the maſk of a feigned moderation, the reſentment he harboured in his breaſt, and contented himſelf with telling the king, that ſeveral had voted for him in conclave, but his abſence had turned to his prejudice, and the ſituation of the affairs of Italy cauſed the cardinals to chuſe Julio de Medici. A few days after, the king's embaſſador at Rome had orders to notify to the new pope, the king's and Wolſey's joy at his promotion[t]. At the ſame time, Wolſey deſired the continuance of his legateſhip, affirming, that by reaſon of the king's prerogative, it was not worth to him a thouſand ducates a year. Clement VII. was entirely of the emperor's party, and knowing of

[s] He proteſts in that letter, which is dated September 30, that he thought himſelf unfit for the papal dignity, and that he deſired much rather to end his days with the king. Which was ſtrange diſſembling. See Burnet's Ref. tom III. p. 19.

[t] A diſpatch was ſent for that purpoſe to John Clarke, biſhop of Bath and Wells, ſecretary Pace, and dr. Thomas Hanyball, maſter of the rolls, and reſident at Rome. Herbert, p. 59.

From

what conſequence the king of England's aſſiſtance was at the preſent juncture of affairs in Europe, gladly embraced the opportunity to gratify cardinal Wolſey, and make him his friend, by whoſe means he might gain the favour of the king his maſter. In this diſpoſition he granted the cardinal more than he deſired. By a bull of the 9th of January, 1524, he gave him the legantine power for life. This is the firſt, and perhaps the only inſtance of a perpetual legateſhip.

Wolſey was now raiſed to the higheſt point of grandeur that a ſubject can aſpire to. He was archbiſhop of York, biſhop of Durham, abbot of St. Albans, cardinal legate a latere for life, lord chancellor of England, prime miniſter and favourite, careſſed by the emperor, reſpected by the pope, regarded by all the princes of Europe, with almoſt an abſolute power in England, where nothing material was tranſacted, either in ſpirituals or temporals, but by his ſole direction. It is eaſy to ſee, ſo many advantages were but too capable of rendering him proud and inſolent. He looked upon the king's ſubjects as ſlaves, and unfortunately for them, inſpired the king by degrees with the ſame principles, and inſinuated to him, that he ought to conſider the parliament only as an inſtrument to execute his will. Theſe inſinuations were but too effectual, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. In order, to render him independent of the parliament. he perſuaded him to exact from his ſubjects[u] at once, the ſubſidy given by parliament, and payable in four years. Every one aſcribed to the cardinal this illegal proceeding, which eſtabliſhed a very dangerous preſident. But he little regarded the complaints of the people, ſince he was ſecure of the king's countenance, and the pope's protection.

He undertook this year a thing he would never have ventured upon, had he not been fully ſatisfied, that the pope could not be without the king's aſſiſtance. And that was, to cauſe ſeveral religious houſes to be ſuppreſſed, in order to appropriate the revenues to two colleges, which he intended to found at Oxford and Ipſwich. If the pope had reaped any advantage, his conſent would have been very ſtrange. But that he ſhould agree to the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral monaſteries, to gratify a private perſon, is what could hardly be expected, and perhaps had never happened. Accordingly, the pope would never have granted it, had not the ſatisfying the paſſion of this ambitious miniſter been abſolutely neceſſary to his deſigns. The cardinal's project was to found a magnificent college at Oxford, by the name of Cardinal College, which was to conſiſt of one hundred and eighty-ſix perſons, with ſalaries. The other college was to be founded at Ipſwich, the place of his birth, but only for grammar, and to qualify young ſcholars for his college at Oxford. But as theſe projects were not accompliſhed this year, I ſhall ſpeak of them on another occaſion, and cloſe the year 1523, with an account of what paſſed in Scotland, where affairs were no more undiſturbed than elſewhere.

Henry being engaged in a war with France, juſtly dreaded the diverſion the Scots might make on the frontiers. On the other hand, the king of Scotland's minority frequently tempted him to become maſter of that kingdom, after the example of Edward III. his predeceſſor, who diſpoſſeſſed the king his nephew at a like juncture. The factions in Scotland increaſing his hopes, he never ceaſed to foment them by means of his adherents, who were very numerous, becauſe he had wherewithal to give penſions. He uſed for pretence his being obliged by nature to take care of the king his nephew's concerns, who was not of age to diſtinguiſh what was advantageous from what was prejudicial. So, as an affectionate uncle, he did his endeavour to remove the duke of Albany, under colour there was danger of that prince's ſeizing the crown. He knew he ſhould never accompliſh his deſigns ſo long as Scotland was guarded by ſuch an Argus. The queen his ſiſter had made him very uneaſy in joining with the regent, becauſe he was thereby deprived of all pretence of ſaying the king was in danger. Indeed, it was not likely, as the parliament of Scotland wiſely intimated in their anſwer, that the queen ſhould join with the regent to deſtroy the king her ſon. Henry, however, to give ſome colour to the accuſation, was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, the queen his ſiſter deſigned to marry the duke of Albany. But finding at laſt, this ſuppoſition had not the deſired effect, he had recourſe to another expedient, which was, to gain his ſiſter by promiſing to procure her the regency. That done he preſſed yet more earneſtly the parliament of Scotland to remove the duke of Albany, and confer the regency on the queen. But, to render his aſſiſtance more effectual, he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder the duke's return into Scotland. To that end, he ſent out a fleet to take him in his paſſage[w]. At the ſame time he ordered the earl of Surrey to march into Scotland[x], to ſhew the Scots what they were to expect in caſe they did not give him ſpeedy ſatisfaction. The Scots being without a leader, and unprepared againſt this invaſion, ſuſtained great damage during the campaign. The earl of Surrey took Jedworth, and carried fire and ſword into the country[y], without meeting any oppoſition. Mean while, Henry's adherents ceaſed not to cry, that a peace muſt be made with England, ſince it was the only way to ſave Scotland from utter deſtruction. Henry ſupported them by offering to the king his nephew his only daughter Mary in marriage, and magnifying the advantages the Scots would receive from the alliance. But withal he required of them that they ſhould break all the engagements with France. It was, however, very unlikely he ſhould ſeriouſly think of giving his daughter to the king of Scotland, ſince ſhe was affianced to the emperor, and he ſtrictly united with that prince. Beſides, ſuch a marriage would have been of no advantage to himſelf or the nation. To this the oppoſite party replied, the king of England ſought to diſengage Scotland from France, only the more eaſily to ruin the kingdom, and that to make an alliance with England by abandoning France, was the ready way to be ſlaves to the Engliſh; that this was not the firſt time the kings of England, by ſuch marriages, had attempted to become maſters in Scotland, and the worſt was to be feared from neighbours who had ever aſpired to the poſſeſſion of all Great-Britain. In a word, the deſtroying with fire and ſword a country whoſe friendſhip was courted, was a ſtrange way of deſiring an alliance, and propoſing a marriage. All theſe reaſons were anſwered by the other party. But it tended only ſo to increaſe diſorder and confuſion among the Scots, that it was impracticable for them to come to any reſolution. Mean while, Henry, who only intended to terrify them, by making them feel the effects of his arms, ordered the earl of Surrey to quit Scotland, and return into England. But he had ſcarce ſent his men into winter quarters, when the Scots made inroads on the borders of England, which obliged him to march a ſecond time into Scotland, where he became maſter of Jedburrough.

Mean time, the duke of Albany hearing what paſſed in Scotland, burned with deſire to repair thither, to appeaſe by his preſence the troubles cauſed by the king of England's adherents, and to ſtrengthen the French party which was in danger of being ſurmounted by the other. Francis I. had granted him an aid of three thouſand foot, and two hundred men at arms, to enable him to make diverſion upon Henry. But it was not poſſible to tranſport thoſe troops into Scotland, whilſt the Engliſh fleet kept the ſea to hinder their paſſage. Policy therefore was to be recurred to. For that purpoſe, he feigned to deſiſt from his deſign of going into Scotland, and ſent his troops into quarters remote from the coaſt, with orders however to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. The tranſport ſhips were likewiſe ſent away to certain ports, from whence they were ordered to ſail to the appointed rendezvous, the moment they heard from the duke. This ſtratagem deceived the Engliſh admiral, who being informed by his ſpies, that the duke of Albany was returned to court, and had diſmiſſed his troops and vaſſals, thought there was nothing more to fear this year, and ſo returned with the fleet into England. The duke was no ſooner informed of it, but he aſſembled his troops and ſhips, and embarking about the middle of September, arrived in Scotland the 24th[z], the ſame day the earl of Surrey became maſter of Jedburrough.

The regent's arrival revived the courage of the French party, who began to be greatly diſmayed, and drew from the king of England ſeveral perſons who had only favoured him out of fear. Some time after, the regent ſummoned the nobility of Edinburgh, and endeavoured to convince them that the kingdom would be in great danger, unleſs the king of England's deſigns were timely and vigorouſly oppoſed. But all his eloquence was not capaple of cauſing a change of opinion in thoſe who preferred Henry's penſions to all the arguments that could be alledged. However, he aſſembled an army, and advanced towards the borders, where he arrived the 22d of October. But when he came

[u] From all perſons worth forty pounds. Hall, Herbert, p. 60.

[w] Sir William Fitzwilliams, with thirty-ſix great ſhips, cruiſed on the coaſts of France, and Anthony Pointz, with a good fleet guarded the weſtern ſeas. As Fitzwilliams was cruiſing about, he diſcovered twelve French ſhips, in which the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and other perſons of quality were, whom the duke of Albany had ſent before him into Scotland. Giving chaſe to theſe ſhips, two of them were loſt near Dieppe and Boulogne. Herb. p. 56.

[x] With ſix thouſand men. And ordered Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorſet, warden of the Eaſt and Middle Marches, and the lord Dacres, warden of the Weſt Marches, to join him. Herbert, p. 56. Hall, fol. 114.

[y] He took all the caſtles in Merch and Teviotdal. Buchanan.

[z] With Richard de la Pole, brother of the earl of Lincoln, beheaded in the 5th of his reign, and three thouſand French. Herbert, p. 57.

Forty

to march into England, he met with the ſame obſtacles that had ſtopped him the laſt year. That is, the generals, and officers of the Engliſh party refuſed to follow him, maintaining it was manifeſtly againſt the intereſt of Scotland to provoke the Engliſh, and therefore it was ſufficient to be upon the defenſive. They added, if the deſign was to ſerve France, it could not be done better than by keeping an army on the frontiers, which would oblige the Engliſh to have the like in thoſe parts. But in the preſent circumſtances of Scotland, it was too much to hazard a battle, the loſs whereof would prove the ruin of the kingdom. In ſhort, the regent ſeeing it was in vain to perſuade them to follow him, ordered Werk caſtle to be aſſaulted by the French troops; but they were vigorouſly repulſed. Mean while, upon notice of the earl of Surrey's approach at the head of a numerous army [a], he did not think proper to expect him, but choſe to retire. Indeed, it would have been too dangerous to give battle with an army wherein the Engliſh had ſo many favourers. The ſeaſon being no longer proper for one or other to keep the field [b], the earl of Surrey, content with having ſtopped the Scots, ſent his troops into winter quarters, and the regent followed his example.

Whilſt the flames of war were kindled in almoſt all parts of Europe, the reformation made great progreſs in Germany, and began even to ſpread in Switzerland, France, and England. In the beginning of this year the canton of Zurick, moved by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers articles of religion they had hitherto profeſſed, though Zuinglius and Luther differed about the euchariſt [c]. Many likewiſe in France and England began to diſlike a religion, that ſeemed to be founded more upon the pope than upon Jeſus Chriſt. Adrian VI. hearing of the daily progreſs of Luther's doctrine in Germany, diſpatched a nuntio to the diet of Nuremberg, to exhort the German princes to deſtroy Luther and his followers. He confeſſed, however, in a letter to them upon the ſame ſubject, that many abuſes and diſorders were crept into the church [d], throwing the blame upon thoſe who had governed before him. But he ſaid to reform all at once, would be the way to ſpoil all, and therefore it was neceſſary to proceed by degrees in this reformation. Luther having ſeen the letter, publiſhed it in Germany, with notes of his own, wherein he ſaid, among other things, that the degrees the pope mentioned were ſo large, that there was an hundred years interval between each of them. On the other hand, the diet taking advantage of the pope's confeſſion, demanded a free council in Germany, where every one ſhould be obliged upon oath to ſpeak his real opinion, and that numberleſs abuſes, under which Germany had ſo long groaned, ſhould be reformed.

Mean while, Luther ſtill continued to write in defence of his doctrine. Among other things he publiſhed an anſwer to the king of England's book, wherein he uſed no ceremony. This behaviour obliged Henry to complain of him to the princes of the houſe of Saxony. At the ſame time he exhorted them to hinder the publication of Luther's German bible, for fear the tranſlation ſhould be prejudicial to truth. But his letter had no great effect.

The progreſs of the reformation was not yet conſiderable enough to be regarded by the chief ſovereigns of Europe, whoſe thoughts were wholly intent upon war. Clement VII. refuſed to renew the league, though himſelf had engaged his predeceſſors in it, and declared he would ſtand neuter. This declaration at firſt extremely embarraſſed the duke of Bourbon, becauſe the emperor not having provided for the payment of his troops, it was not poſſible for the duke to ſatisfy them, ſince the pope and the Florentines withdrew their uſual ſupplies. He found means, however, to draw ſome money from the inhabitants of Milan; and at laſt perſuaded the pope to give him twenty thouſand ducats, and cauſe the Florentines to furniſh him with fifty thouſand, on condition of ſecrecy.

Not long after, the duke of Bourbon receiving a ſupply of ſix thouſand Landſquenets, and the Venetian army under the command of the duke of Urbino joining him, he took the field with thirty-five thouſand men. Mean while Bonnivet was greatly embarraſſed. He had not above twenty thouſand men, having loſt the reſt of his army by death or deſertion during the laſt campaign. But what was worſe, he had no money to pay his troops. This was a misfortune common to both ſides. It is true he expected ten thouſand Switzers, and five thouſand Griſons, but foreſaw they would be of little ſervice, becauſe he had not wherewithal to content them at their arrival. This made him reſolve to go in queſt of the imperialiſts, and give them battle. But as they were informed of his condition, they determined to avoid it, though they were ſuperior in number, in the expectation of diſperſing his army without an engagement. And indeed, the five thouſand Griſons who were coming to join the admiral, and were advanced as far as Bergamo, not receiving the money promiſed them, immediately returned. As for the ten thouſand Switzers, they arrived indeed at Jurea, and even advanced to the banks of the Seſia; but it was not poſſible to perſuade them to continue their march for want of money to pay them. Mean while, the imperialiſts became maſters of ſeveral towns, which very much annoyed the French camp, and at laſt forced the admiral to retire to Novarra. In the mean time, the caſtle of Cremona, which the French had hitherto kept, ſurrendered to the imperialiſts.

Bonnivet, finding that the Griſons were returned, that the Switzers would not ſtir without being ſecure of their pay, and that his men deſerted in great numbers, reſolved at laſt to repaſs the Alps. As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon had notice of his march, he purſued him with all ſpeed, to compel him to battle. There were even between the two armies ſeveral ſharp ſkirmiſhes, in one of which the brave Bayard was ſlain. But notwithſtanding all the efforts of the imperialiſts, Bonnivet retreated in good order. When the French had repaſſed the mountains, the places they ſtill had in the Milaneſe ſurrendered by capitulation to the imperialiſts.

The French were no ſooner out of Italy, but the emperor and the king of England thought of means to invade Francis in his own kingdom. They had expected great matters from the duke of Bourbon's revolt, but hitherto it was not poſſible to make any uſe of it, becauſe the conſpiracy was diſcovered too ſoon. The affairs of Italy having proſpered beyond expectation, they reſolved to make uſe of the duke of Bourbon to carry war into France, imagining, if he could have ſome conſiderable advantage, he would cauſe part of the kingdom to rebel. The duke himſelf fed them with theſe hopes, becauſe that was the thing which rendered him conſiderable. He would have been glad to act in ſome place near his own territories from whence he expected great ſupplies. But it was thought more proper that he ſhould enter Provence with an army, by reaſon he could eaſily be aſſiſted by the Spaniſh fleet, which kept at Genoa; whereas, by engaging in the middle of the kingdom, the fleet would be of no ſervice. This reſolution being taken, Henry readily promiſed to find the duke a hundred [e] thouſand crowns a month, on condition that after the firſt month, he ſhould be free to diſcontinue the payment, provided he acted himſelf in Picardy at the head of a royal army, from the firſt of July to end of December.

Though the emperor had put the duke of Bourbon in hopes he would lend him all his army in Italy for his expedition into Provence, he could not however diſpenſe with leaving a good part at Milan, and other places of that duchy, under the command of Lanoy, vicero of Naples. On the other hand, the Venetians withdrew their troops, becauſe they had promiſed by their private treaty only to defend the Milaneſe. So, the duke of Bourbon began his march the 24th of June much weaker than he expected [f], and entered Provence the ſecond of July. He preſently became maſter of Aix, and ſome other places, and at laſt came before Marſeilles, the taking whereof was the chief end of his expedition. But a few days before, Renzo de Ceri, an Italian captain in the French ſervice, had entered with a ſtrong garriſon. Whereupon the duke found he ſhould meet with more reſiſtance than he imagined, but, however, he opened the ſiege.

Mean while Francis I. having intelligence of Bourbon's march, ordered his forces to be aſſembled, and ſome troops ſent to Avignon, for fear the enemy ſhould ſeize it. There he reſolved to aſſemble his army, and came himſelf to command in perſon. It is needleſs to ſpeak either of the ſiege of Marſeilles, or of the king's great diligence in aſſembling his troops. It ſuffices to ſay, that the very day he departed from Avignon, in order to fight the imperialiſts, namely, the 10th of September, the duke of Bourbon raiſed the ſiege

[a] Forty thouſand men. There were beſides, ſix thouſand in Berwick. Buchannan, l. 14. Hall, fol. 115.

[b] It was about the middle of November. See Hall, fol. 116.

[c] Their differences about conſubſtantiation much hindered the progreſs of the reformation; and not being able to be compoſed, Zuinglius's party were called Sacramentarians, and Luther's, Ubiquitarians. Calvin ſucceeded Zuinglius, who by his doctrines of predeſtination, &c. ſo widened the breach between the Lutherans and Calviniſts, that they became irreconcileable. Inſomuch, that the Lutherans at Leipſick, where they are very rigid, have ſet up in their great church the picture of Ignatius Loyola, Calvin, and the Devil, in one frame, with this inſcription, The great enemies of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion. Such enmity does the diſſenting in opinion prepoſterouſly breed among Chriſtian ſects, eſpecially were both ſides are in the wrong.

[d] His words are, In hac ſancta ſede aliquot jam annis Multa Abominanda fuiſſe.

[e] According to the computation in Rymer, it amounted to one hundred and twenty-four thouſand crowns. Tom. XIII. p. 795.

[f] He had thirteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Rapin.

And

of Marſeilles, and retired into Italy. Whilſt the king was at Avignon, he received the news of his queen's death, who died at Blois in July.

The duke of Bourbon's retreat entirely changed the face of affairs. Francis I. who had been in danger of loſing Provence, ſaw himſelf at the head of above forty thouſand men, ready to be employed in any important undertaking. So, perceiving that the imperialiſts took a great compaſs to retire into Italy, he reſolved to improve that advantage, and the ſuperiority of his army, to recover the Milaneſe. This reſolution being taken, he began his march, and tried to reach Milan before them. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon having notice that the king was taking the ſhorteſt road to Milan, made incredible ſpeed not to be prevented, perceiving that thereon would depend the preſervation of the duchy. Thus the two armies marching by different routs, arrived the ſame day, one at Albe, the other at Vercelli. A few days after, the duke of Bourbon joined the viceroy of Naples at Pavia.

Whilſt the imperial army was in Provence, the court of England was otherwiſe diſpoſed than before, and ſeemed to intend to follow new maxims. Henry made no diverſion in Picardy, though he had paid but one month of the ſubſidy he was to give the duke of Bourbon. This was ſufficient to create ſuſpicion in the emperor, which were confirmed by Henry's unſeaſonable demand of the money lent him at his departure from England[g]. He could not believe, Henry would demand his money at ſo improper a time, inſtead of performing his own engagements, unleſs he intended to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel. His uneaſineſs ſtill increaſed upon advice from his embaſſador in England, that a perſon[h] was come from France to London from the ducheſs of Angoulême, regent of that kingdom, and had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolſey. All this, added to the cardinal's revengeful temper, whom he had vainly amuſed with hopes of the papacy, made him juſtly apprehenſive that the king of England was thinking to abandon him and join with his enemy. However, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, there was no other meaſure to take, ſince all depended on the ſucceſs of the war which was going to be renewed in Italy, where his generals were not a little embarraſſed.

As ſoon as the duke of Bourbon and the viceroy of Naples were joined, they conſulted upon what was to be done at ſo ill a juncture. At firſt they reſolved to leave ſtrong garriſons in Pavia and Alexandria, and take refuge in Milan. But the plague had made ſuch ravage in that city, every thing there was in ſo great confuſion, and money and proviſions ſo ſcarce, that they were forced to deſiſt from their deſign and abandon Milan. So, having well ſtored Pavia and Alexandria, they withdrew to Soncino, where Franceſco Sforza alſo repaired with them.

Mean while, Francis I. continuing his march towards Milan, and hearing the imperialiſts were retired, cauſed his troops to enter the city, and ordered the caſtle to be inveſted. If, inſtead of going to Milan, he had marched directly to the imperialiſts, who were little able to withſtand him, he would have infallibly diſperſed them. But Bonnivet's unfortunate advice induced him not only to march to Milan, which muſt have fallen into his hands if he had defeated or routed the imperialiſts, but alſo to reſolve to beſiege Pavia. When he appeared before that place, the generals of the imperialiſts began to take courage, in expectation that the length of the ſiege and the winter ſeaſon would afford them time to take ſome meaſures. Mean while, they ſpeedily ſent for a ſupply of ten thouſand Germans. The pope, the Venatians, and the Florentines, failing them all at once upon the French king's coming into Italy, their only refuge was the length of the ſiege of Pavia which began in November.

Clement VII. who in the late pontificate, had openly declared againſt the king of France, being in great perplexity, ſent a nuntio to the two armies to procure a truce; but not ſucceeding, he made his peace with the king of France. Moreover, he propoſed to him the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples, and concluded with him a private treaty, promiſing free paſſage to the French troops.

Preſently after, Francis detached five or ſix thouſand men, under the command of the duke of Albany, who had left Scotland the beginning of the ſpring, with orders to march towards Naples. As they were neceſſarily to paſs through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, Clement VII. pretended for ſome time to oppoſe it, to make believe it was againſt his will. When the French were in the middle of his dominions, he publiſhed his agreement with the king of France, as if newly made, and ſent the emperor notice, excuſing himſelf on the neceſſity and conſtraint he was under. Though the emperor was very flegmatic, he could not help ſhewing, on this occaſion, an extreme reſentment againſt the pope. He ſaid, it was ſolely at the inſtance of Leo X. that he had undertaken the defence of Italy: that Clement himſelf had preſſed Adrian VI. to ſign the league, and now he was become pope, forſook him in his greateſt need, and left him to proſecute alone a war kindled by himſelf: that however he hoped to come off with honour, and to the confuſion of thoſe who ſo baſely deſerted him. The event ſhewed however, the pope had done him ſignal ſervices, in perſuading his enemy to carry war into the kingdom of Naples, ſince he thereby cauſed him to divide his forces. But it is uncertain whether the pope had any ſuch intention.

Another accident farther contributed to deprive Francis of his great ſuperiority over his enemies. Renzo de Ceri, who defended Marſeilles, having received the king's orders to embark ten thouſand men on the gallies, and join the duke of Albany, who expected him in Tuſcany, took Savona in his way. This ſucceſs, which ſeemed very advantageous for Francis, turned to his real misfortune, as it put him upon ſending a freſh detachment to Savona, under the conduct of the marquis of Saluzzo, to take againſt Genoa what advantages ſhould offer. The two detachments for Naples and Savona[i], ſo weakened the French army, that the imperialiſt no longer feared to take the field, in order to prolong the ſiege of Pavia, till the arrival of the German ſuccours, which the duke of Bourbon himſelf was gone to haſten. And indeed, within a few days Peſcarra became maſter of Caſſano, a poſt very convenient for his purpoſe. With this event ended the year 1524. But before I proceed to the next, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention what had paſſed this year in Scotland.

The duke of Albany returning into France in May, the queen dowager and the earl of Arran of the houſe of Hamilton, adviſed the young king, who was between thirteen and fourteen years old, to aſſume himſelf the reins of the government. This advice was very intereſted, but James was too young to perceive it. He followed it, and ſummoned the ſtates, declared the authority of the regent was ended, and for the future all orders were to be received from the king himſelf. After that, the queen and the earl of Arran governed in the king's name. This change was not made with univerſal approbation. The earls of Lenox and Argyle, concerned to ſee the earl of Arran in poſſeſſion of the government, under colour of the king's anticipated majority, ſent for the earl of Angus from France, to ſupport themſelves by his intereſt, becauſe he was entirely fallen out with the queen his wife. Upon that lord's arrival, they combined with him, and on pretence of freeing the king from the pretended captivity, the queen and the earl of Arran held him in, levied troops and took Sterling, after which they marched to Edinburgh, where the king was. At their approach, the queen and the earl carried the king into the caſtle, but as they had not taken care to lay in proviſions, were forced in a few days to deliver the king to the three lords, who aſſumed the title of regents. Thus the king was again put in guardianſhip under theſe three lords, who agreed to rule by turns, four months each. The earl of Angus begun, and as he was in the king of England's intereſt, ſent embaſſadors to treat of the king of Scotland's marriage with the princeſs Mary, according to Henry's own ſcheme. To facilitate this negotiation, the truce which was to expire the 1ſt of December, was prolonged to the 26th of January 1525.

As England was very quiet during the whole year 1524, the affairs of that kingdom will not take me up long. I ſhall only obſerve, that Clement VII. finding himſelf in a very ill ſituation between the emperor and the king of France, ſhewed great regard for the court of England, whoſe aſſiſtance, he thought, he might want. To that purpoſe, he confirmed the king's title of defender of the faith, conferred on him by Leo X.[k], and to pleaſe cardinal Wolſey, ſuppreſſed St. Frideſwid's priory in Oxford, on the ground whereof the cardinal intended to build his college, and appropriated the revenues to the new foundation. But as this was not ſufficient for the maintenance of the college, the cardinal procured powers to viſit all the religious houſes, notwith-

[g] And likewiſe the yearly penſion that uſed to be paid Henry by France, (ſee above, p. 194.) as alſo the cardinal's penſion of two thouſand five hundred ducats, &c. Guicciard, l. 15.

[h] John Joathim, a Genoeſe. Hall, fol. 135.

[i] Both which were ſixteen thouſand men. Herb. p. 62.

[k] This bull is dated March 5, and has a golden ſeal appendent to it, which is engraved in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 14.

ſtanding their immunities, and particularly thoſe of the Franciſcans, who pretended to be exempted. This was to make a certain liſt of ſuch as might be ſuppreſſed, in order to tranſfer the revenues to his colleges. The bull which gave him theſe powers, was dated the 21ſt of Auguſt. On the 11th of September following, the pope granted him another bull, empowering him to ſuppreſs as many monaſteries as he pleaſed, to the value of three thouſand ducats a year for the ſame uſe [l].

In the beginning of December, cardinal Laurentius Campejus, who had been the pope's legate in Germany, was made biſhop of Saliſbury with the king's conſent. We muſt now return to the ſiege of Pavia, to behold an event which made a very great alteration in the affairs of Europe, wherein England was deeply concerned [m].

[1525] Francis I. ſtill perſiſted in the ſiege, though without making much progreſs, becauſe of the rigour of the ſeaſon, and the imperial army, which being poſted at Caſſano, annoyed his convoys very much. Beſides he had made three detachments, one to beſiege the caſtle of Milan, another for Naples, and a third for Savona. On the other hand, the duke of Bourbon came from Germany about the end of January, with a ſupply of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe [n], which made the imperial army two and twenty thouſand ſtrong. As the generals wanted money, and for that reaſon were not ſure of hindering the army from diſbanding, they reſolved to attempt the relief of Pavia. To that end, they began to march the 3d of February towards the town, bent to improve what opportunities ſhould offer. But as the camp of the beſiegers was ſtrongly entrenched, they waited three weeks before they executed ſo dangerous a reſolution, which might be attended with terrible conſequences. Mean while, the Griſons having recalled their ſix thouſand men in the French ſervice, and theſe troops departing, notwithſtanding all the king's endeavours to detain them [o], the duke of Bourbon thought he ſhould no longer defer attacking the enemy's camp. This reſolution was executed the even of St. Matthias [p], with a ſucceſs very fatal to Francis, ſince his army was routed, and himſelf unfortunately taken priſoner [q].

The ſucceſs of this battle filled all Europe with conſternation and dread. The emperor was without a rival, and in condition to over-run Italy with his victorious army, whilſt the king of England his ally, had it in his power to give France a mortal wound on the ſide of Picardy. Conſequently, the balance of Europe being taken away, the ſovereigns for the moſt part had great reaſon to dread falling at laſt into ſlavery. The Venetians alone, perfectly knowing the danger, propoſed to the pope a league againſt the emperor, not queſtioning the king of England would alſo join in it, becauſe it was his intereſt. This league added to the forces France could ſtill bring into the field, and the ſupplies which might be received from the Switzers by paying them well, would have been ſufficient to keep the emperor in awe, if it could have been ſpeedily concluded. But the pope preferring his own intereſt to that of Europe in general, haſtened his treaty with the viceroy of Naples, who acted in the emperor's name. By this treaty the emperor, among other things, was to give the inveſtiture of Milan to Franceſco Sforza. There were alſo three ſeparate articles concerning the pope in particular, namely, 1. That the inhabitants of the Milaneſe ſhould furniſh themſelves with ſalt from the pope's territories. 2. That the emperor ſhould compel the duke of Ferrara to reſtore to the church the town of Reggio, ſeized after Leo Xth's death. 3. That the pope ſhould have the diſpoſal of the benefices in the kingdom of Naples. By this treaty, which was of no force till ratified by the emperor, the politic viceroy found means to defer the project of league againſt the emperor, propoſed by the Venetians, and to render the other powers jealous of the pope. This was the greateſt ſervice he could poſſibly do his maſter on this occaſion.

Mean while the emperor's generals were greatly embaraſſed after ſo glorious a victory, for want of money to pay their troops. They had indeed received a hundred thouſand ducats from Florence, but that not ſufficing to pay the arrears and ſubſiſtence of the army, they were forced to diſband the beſt part of their troops, when by the treaty with the pope, they were ſure of having no league to fear. Beſides Triulzi, who was beſieging the caſtle of Milan, had now repaſſed the Alps, and the duke of Albany was only thinking of retiring into France with his army. This diſbanding of troops, would have been of very great conſequence to the emperor, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent by his moderation the meaſures which the alarmed ſtates of Italy might take againſt him, if his generals had proceeded accordingly. But proſperity cauſing them to be wanting in policy, they treated the ſtates of Italy, and eſpecially the Venetians, with a haughtineſs that gave them occaſion to think their liberty in danger, and made them reſolve to uſe all poſſible endeavours to avoid the threatened ſlavery.

The emperor could better diſſemble his ſentiments. He received the news of the victory of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, with great moderation, forbidding any demonſtrations of joy, and ſaying, Chriſtians ought to rejoice only for victories over infidels. He ſeemed to ſympathiſe with Francis's misfortune, and, as I may ſay, to put himſelf in his place, by acknowledging it be a mere chance, and no prince, how brave ſoever, exempt from the like accident. Preſently after, he called his council to debate what was to be done with the priſoner. His confeſſor, who ſpoke firſt, was for releaſing him without terms. He repreſented to him, that by ſuch a generous action, he would not only acquire immortal fame, but alſo make the king of France his real friend, who not to be outdone in generoſity, would doubtleſs ſtrive to expreſs his gratitude: that with his help, he would give law to Germany and Italy, without being obliged to demand the aſſiſtance of other inferior princes. But the duke of Alva anſwered all theſe arguments, and concluded it was beſt to reap from this victory, all the advantages it could naturally procure; and the emperor embraced his opinion. This plainly ſhews, that his pretended moderation was but a diſguiſe to hinder the princes of Europe from being alarmed, and from concerting meaſures to oppoſe the execution of his ambitious deſigns.

To continue this diſguiſe, he ſent the count of Beaurain into Italy with certain terms, on which he was willing to releaſe his priſoner. He was very ſure Francis would not accept them. But it was his intereſt to make the world believe it was not his fault that the French king was not releaſed. Wherefore, it was every where induſtriouſly reported, that the emperor had ſent the king very reaſonable terms. But great care was taken not to publiſh them. Among other things, he demanded for himſelf the duchy of Burgundy [r]. Moreover, he had a mind to join to the duke of Bourbon's territories, Provence, and Dauphiné, and erect the whole for that prince into a kingdom independent of the crown of France. Laſtly, he demanded that Francis ſhould give the king of England entire ſatisfaction, concerning what was due to him. The firſt of theſe conditions, in juſtice and equity, contained nothing ſtrange. King Lewis XI. took poſſeſſion of the duchy of Burgundy, after the death of the laſt duke, under colour of a title which was conteſted, and of which however he made himſelf judge. It could not therefore be taken ill, that the emperor ſhould demand reſtitution of what was reſted from Mary, of Burgundy, his grandmother, at leaſt, till the cauſe was legally decided. But what was ſurpriſing, and very hard in the emperor's propoſals, was, his deſire to eſtabliſh in the heart of France, an independent kingdom, to gratify a rebellious ſubject, the prime author of the king's misfortune. Probably, he inſiſted on this article only to make the firſt paſs the better, or to give occaſion for a rupture. Francis I. rejected theſe conditions with the utmoſt indignation [s], and ſwore, he would rather be a captive all his life than except them [t]. But he offered, in his turn,

[l] In this bull the pope ſays, there were ſome monaſteries which had not above five or ſix perſons. Ibid. p. 24.

[m] In the beginning of the year 1524, ſir Anthony Fitzherbert, one of the juſtices of the common pleas, ſir Ralph Egerton, and Dr. Denton, dean of Lichfield, were ſent commiſſioners into Ireland; where they reformed ſeveral abuſes, and conſtituted Gerald Fitzgerald, deputy of that kingdom, of which the earl of Ormond was appointed treaſurer. Hall, fol. 130. Hollingſhead, p. 883.—About this time alſo, divers things were newly brought into England, whereupon this rhyme was made:

Turkeys, Carps, Hops, Piccarel and Beer,
Came into England all in one year.

[n] Five hundred men at arms, and ſix thouſand Landſquenets. Guicciard, l. 15.

[o] Beſides three thouſand Italians, whoſe commander Genovanni de Medici was hurt, diſbanded themſelves. Herbert, p. 62.

[p] Being the emperor's birth-day. Guicciard.

[q] In this battle Richard de la Pole, often mentioned before, was ſlain. Stow, p. 522. It appears from Du Tillet, that June 20, 1523, king Francis concluded a treaty with ſome mal-contents in Ireland, wherein he engaged to ſend over fifteen thouſand men, not only to conquer part of that kingdom, but alſo from thence to invade England, and procure the crown for the ſaid Richard de la Pole, who had ſome pretenſions to it, as being ſon of Elizabeth, ſiſter of king Edward IV. Du Tillet, p. 397, 412.

[r] And that Francis ſhould renounce all pretenſions to Italy. Guicciard, l. 16.

[s] Adding, that it was not in his power to alienate any of the demeſns belonging to the crown of France, without the conſent of the parliament, and other perſons veſted with the government of the kingdom. Ibid.

[t] When the articles were preſented to Francis, he was ſo diſpleaſed at them, that he is ſaid in a fury to draw his dagger and cry, It is better for a king of France to die thus: upon which Hernando de Alencon, who was preſent, haſtily took the dagger from him. Herbert, p. 66.

They

conditions which he thought very advantageous to the conqueror, namely, that he would marry Leonora, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter, and give the duke of Bourbon his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, who had lately loſt the duke, her huſband: that he would agree to hold the duchy of Burgundy as the queen dowager's dowry, and leave it to their male heirs: that he would reſtore to the duke of Bourbon, all his confiſcated eſtates: that he would renounce all claim to Naples and Milan: that he would ſatisfy the king of England concerning what was due to him: finally, that he would pay the ſame ranſom as king John, when taken priſoner at the battle of Poictiers. But the emperor was not ſatisfied with theſe offers. He ſtill inſiſted that the duchy of Burgundy ſhould be reſtored to him without condition. Moreover, he affirmed that Francis had no right to Naples and Milan, and therefore his offer to relinquiſh it, was needleſs and chimerical.

It was not without reaſon that the emperor perſiſted in his demands. It is eaſy to judge the conſternation of France, after the loſs ſhe had lately ſuſtained, the king was a captive, and almoſt all her generals taken or ſlain in the battle of Papia. The kingdom being exhauſted by continual wars under this and the former reigns, was deſtitute of men and money. The Switzers were diſheartened. The canton of Zurich, which had refuſed to furniſh the king with troops for the war, was ſtill in the ſame diſpoſition from a principle of conſcience. Zinglius, who had great intereſt in that canton, perſuaded the ſenate, that to barter the blood of their citizens for money, and ſerve the ambition of princes, was an infamous thing. But though all the cantons had been equally inclined to find troops, it was well known, they would not do without being paid; and to procure the money was no eaſy thing. On the other hand, there was reaſon to fear, the king of England would improve the opportunity to invade France through Picardy, whilſt the emperor attacked the provinces bordering upon Spain. In fine, there was nothing to be expected from Italy, ſince the pope had made his peace with the emperor, it being impoſſible the Venetians would alone maintain the war for the ſake of France. Thus was ſeen on all ſides juſt cauſe of alarm. Certainly, had the emperor and Henry renewed their league, and vigorouſly attacked France, that kingdom, in its preſent ill circumſtances, muſt have been ruined. But at the time the regent, and all true Frenchmen, were under theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope appeared, which hindered their courage from ſinking entirely. The pope and the emperor could not agree, though outwardly they ſeemed willing to unite. The Venetians were inclined to join in a league with the other ſtates to oppoſe the emperor's progreſs. In ſhort, the king of England, inſtead of taking advantage of the king of France's misfortune, generouſly took his part. On the other hand, Franceſco Sforza, ſeeing himſelf as it were the emperor's ſlave, ſtrove to throw off his yoke, and though he miſcarried, his attempt, however, produced a good effect, as it ſhewed the emperor the diſpoſition of the princes who entered into the plot, which it will be neceſſary to explain, in order to give a diſtinct idea of the affairs of thoſe times, wherein England was concerned. But firſt it muſt be ſeen what became of the captive king.

The unfortunate priſoner was kept in the caſtle of Pizzighitone till Eaſter, but with ſo much uneaſineſs on the part of the imperialiſts, that they durſt not remove their troops from that quarter, for fear of being reſcued. At laſt, Lanoy, hearing the Venetian embaſſador at Rome had frequent conferences with the pope, was afraid ſome plot was forming to deliver the priſoner. Wherefore, without imparting his deſign to the duke of Bourbon, whom perhaps he miſtruſted, he reſolved to convey him into Spain. But this was difficult, ſince he had no naval force, and the French gallies were at ſea. To remove this obſtacle, he inſinuated to the king, that the only way ſpeedily to obtain his liberty was to confer in perſon with the emperor: that as the emperor was a generous prince, and had ſhewn a concern for his misfortune, their interview could not but produce a good effect, and promote a ſpeedy peace. Francis agreed to it, full of hopes that he ſhould do more himſelf in two or three conferences with the emperor, than his miniſters in many months. He even lent the viceroy his gallies to carry him into Spain, where he arrived about the middle of June.

He flattered himſelf, he ſhould be treated in Spain as king John was in England: but at his arrival he had the mortification to be confined in the caſtle of Madrid, where the emperor, inſtead of treating with him in perſon, did not ſo much as pay him a viſit. All he could obtain was a ſafe conduct for his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, who came to Madrid in September. She was empowered by the regent her mother, to negotiate with the emperor. But at laſt ſhe was forced to return, and nothing obtained. When ſhe came to Madrid, ſhe found the king her brother, ſo ill, that his recovery was deſpaired of. As there was no room to doubt, that his grief at ſeeing his liberty ſo remote, occaſioned his illneſs, the emperor poſted from Toledo to Madrid, to viſit and comfort him, in the apprehenſion of loſing by his priſoner's death the advantages he expected from his captivity. He put him therefore in hopes of his deliverance in the two viſits he made him, though in general terms, which however produced the deſired effect, ſince the king recovered his health. But when after his recovery he would have renewed the negotiation, he quickly perceived he was farther from his deliverance than he imagined. The emperor ſtill inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Burgundy, and when the king offered to eſpouſe the princeſs Leonora, and hold that duchy as her dowry, Charles executed himſelf as having promiſed to give the queen, his ſiſter, in marriage to the duke of Bourbon. It was no ſmall mortification to Francis to ſee one of his ſubjects preferred before him. But what troubled him ſtill more was, that he ſaw it to be only a pretence to retard the concluſion of the treaty. So, in the deſpair the emperor's rigour threw him into, he gave the ducheſs of Alençon a writing under his hand, whereby he conſented, and even ordered, that the ſtates of France ſhould crown the dauphin his ſon. This in France is called the edict of Madrid. But the parliament of Paris thought not fit to record it, either becauſe it was againſt the laws of the realm, or they deemed ſuch an imperfect edict to be of no authority, ſince the king was not free. It may be, Francis thereby deſigned to let the emperor ſee, that inſtead of having a king in his power, he ran the hazard of having only a prince without dominions.

Whilſt the emperor amuſed his priſoner in Spain, he acted with no great ſincerity with the pope, who did not know what to think of his proceedings. The victorious monarch had courted him very earneſtly. But after making a treaty with him by the viceroy of Naples, he long delayed to ratify it, and at laſt had ſent his ratification without including the three ſeparate articles. He ſaid, that as to the duke of Ferrara, he could not oblige him to deliver Reggio to the pope, being a fief of the empire. As to the ſecond article, whereby the emperor was bound to oblige the inhabitants of the Milaneſe to take their ſalt of the pope's ſubjects, he ſaid that concerning only the duke of Milan, and for his part he could not promiſe for others. That for the benefices of Naples, he could not agree to that article, unleſs a limitation was added, which rendered it of no effect, namely, that what had been practiſed in the reigns of the former kings of Naples ſhould be conformed to. The pope finding the emperor refuſed to ratify theſe three articles, would not accept of the ratification, and they both remained upon the ſame terms as before the treaty. But the emperor had obtained his deſires, ſince he had obſtructed the league which was projected againſt him, in rendering the pope ſuſpected by the reſt of the ſovereigns.

There was another thing which ſhewed the emperor's inſincerity, namely, having ſent the inveſtiture of Milan to Franceſco Sforza, he clogged it with the condition that Sforza ſhall pay him twelve hundred thouſand ducats in recompenſe for the charges in keeping that duchy for him. As it was evident Sforza could not poſſibly perform this condition, it was no leſs ſo that the emperor only ſought a pretence to continue maſter of Milan. Theſe things alarmed the pope, who heard beſides, that the council of Spain was not favourable to him. And, indeed, ſome of the emperor's miniſters had adviſed him to chaſtiſe the pope for joining with France at ſo critical a juncture, and compel him to reſtore Modena to the duke of Ferrara, and Boulogna to the Bontivoglios.

On the other hand, the Venetians ſeeing there was no likelihood that the emperor really intended to reſtore Sforza, could not but be alarmed at his keeping the duchy of Milan. Wherefore, they uſed their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the pope and the king of England to join with them and France againſt the emperor, well knowing that otherwiſe all Italy would fall under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria. A letter of Andria Gritti their doge to cardinal Wolſey of the 31ſt of March, extant in the Collection of the Public Acts, ſhews, that theſe able politicians had formed this project ſhortly after the battle. The letter indeed is only an embaſſador's credentials, who had orders to treat with the king upon a very important affair. But at ſuch a juncture, this important affair could be only the league they were projecting.

Mean while the pope was extremely embarraſſed. In attempting

attempting to manage too artfully, he made ſo many falſe ſteps, that he knew not which way to turn. This is frequently the caſe of thoſe, who quitting the great road walk through by-ways. Clement VII. could not reſolve either to be ſatisfied with the emperor's offers, or enter into a league againſt him. In this uncertainty he choſe to follow the example of Leo X. and Julius II. his predeceſſors, that is, to treat with the emperor and his enemies, at the ſame time, in order to be determined by the events in what would be moſt advantageous. To that end, whilſt he was treating at Rome with the Venetians, he ſent cardinal Salviati to Spain, to negotiate with the emperor, putting into his hands a diſpenſation, deſired by that monarch, to marry his niece Iſabella of Portugal. But the diſpenſation was not to be delivered to the emperor till after the concluſion of the treaty.

The affairs of Italy being in this ſituation, another accident happened, which plainly ſhewed the emperor only ſought to amuſe all the ſovereigns by a feigned moderation, whilſt in truth he was ſolely thinking of extending his dominions. His league with Adrian VI. and the reſt of the ſtates of Italy, was founded upon Franceſco Sforza's reſtoration to the duchy of Milan. As this was the common intereſt of Italy, ſo was it likewiſe the only bond by which the emperor had found means to unite all the potentates againſt France, then in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. That league had ſucceeded according to the deſires of the allies. The French were driven out of Italy, and Sforza returned. But though the emperor had pretended to give him his inveſtiture, he had not yet done it, becauſe Sforza was not able to pay the twelve hundred thouſand ducats he demanded. He was made to hope he ſhould obtain more moderate terms, but that was only to amuſe him, and remove his as well as the pope's and Venetians ſuſpicion, that the emperor intended to keep the duchy for himſelf, or give it to his brother, the archduke, Ferdinand.

What was then but a bare ſuſpicion, ſoon became a certainty. The duke of Bourbon going into Spain, to take care of his concerns, Ferdinand d'Avalois, marquis of Peſcara, was commiſſioned by the emperor to command in Italy. Shortly after, Peſcara affected to appear very diſſatisfied, and openly to complain of the emperor's ingratitude. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far, that at laſt he inſpired Jeronimo Moronè, the duke of Milan's chancellor, with the boldneſs to ſound him, to ſee whether by his means the Spaniards might be driven out of the Milaneſe. Peſcara hearkened to his inſinuations, had ſeveral conferences with him, and managed ſo dexterouſly, that he engaged Moronè to cauſe the duke himſelf to ſpeak to him about the affair. Morenè's project was to kill all the Spaniards in the duchy of Milan, and make Peſcara king of Naples. As this could not be effected without foreign aid, Peſcara propoſed to engage in the plot, the pope, the regent of France, and the Venetians. Accordingly, theſe three powers came into it, and promiſed their aſſiſtance. When matters were almoſt ripe, Peſcara received the emperor's orders to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Milan entirely. He began with ſeizing Moronè, and then conſtrained the duke, who was not able to reſiſt, to reſign the city of Milan and all the reſt of the towns in his poſſeſſion. Only the caſtle of Milan Sforza would not deliver, which was therefore immediately beſieged. Thus the emperor had a plauſible colour to render himſelf maſter of the duchy, and the pope and Venetians could not complain of his puniſhing Sforza's treachery, ſince there were evident proofs that they themſelves were concerned in the plot.

The artifice practiſed by the emperor to ſeize the Milaneſe, ſerved only to confirm the Venetians in their reſolution to hazard all to hinder that duchy from remaining in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. Without troubling themſelves to juſtify their conduct, they plainly told the Spaniſh embaſſador, who preſſed them to join with the emperor, that Sforza's reſtoration was a preliminary they would never depart from. If Clement VII. had ſhewn the ſame reſolution, the emperor would have been a little embarraſſed. But the pope by acting too politically, ſuffered himſelf to be deceived, as he had been before. He had a legate in Spain, who was treating with the emperor, whilſt himſelf was negotiating at Rome with the French and Venetian embaſſadors a league againſt that monarch. He impatiently waited the ſucceſs of his legate's negotiation, and as the concluſion was long delayed, he appointed a day to ſign a league with France and Venice. But in the interval, receiving advice that his treaty was concluded at Madrid, he would hear no more of the league. Soon after, the emperor ſent him by an expreſs the treaty concluded in Spain, which he found ſo equivocal and ambiguous, that he refuſed to ratify it. The Spaniſh embaſſador pretending to be himſelf ſurpriſed at the ambiguities of the treaty, ſtrenuouſly maintained, they were undeſigned, and told the pope, he might draw the treaty as he pleaſed, and engaged to have it ſigned by the emperor within two months. This delay was only to hinder the pope from entering into the league during that time, and Clement ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the aſſurance wherewith the embaſſador ſpoke. This was tranſacted in December, 1525, and in the ſame month died Peſcara.

Having thus ſhewn the ſituation of affairs in Italy, we muſt ſee what paſſed at the court of England, where was no leſs caballing than at Rome and Venice, ſince it was then really debating to preſerve the balance of Europe, which leaned too much to one ſide. The equality between the two houſes of France and Auſtria was properly what made England conſiderable, and conſequently was an advantage not to be neglected. But there were other reaſons that incited Henry to forſake the emperor, and join with France. Though the treaty of Bruges or Windſor ſeemed to have inſeparably united the emperor and Henry, it is however certain, they were not pleaſed with one another, becauſe each was deſirous to make their union ſubſervient to his own affairs, without any regard to his ally. Probably cardinal Wolſey, who was very angry with the emperor, did not a little contribute to diſpoſe his maſter to a rupture.

The princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter, was affianced to the emperor, and yet the king, her father, had offered her to the king of Scotland. On the other hand, the emperor had not ſcrupled to conclude his own marriage with Iſabella, of Portugal, as if he had not been engaged to Mary, and from hence theſe two monarchs ſhewed they had very little regard for one another. Charles hearing that Henry was treating of a marriage between his daughter and the king of Scotland, took that occaſion to throw upon him the rupture of his marriage. In March [u] he ſent into England the lord of Buren, and the preſident of the council of Mechlin, to require the king to ſend him immediately the princeſs, pay down the covenanted dowry, and purſuant to their league, enter Picardy with a powerful army, as he ſhould have done the laſt year. It was eaſy for Henry to perceive, the emperor ſought only to juſtify himſelf, without any intention to accompliſh his marriage with Mary, and this way of proceeding was not very proper to preſerve a good underſtanding. But on the other hand, the emperor had no reaſon to complain of him. Henry had promiſed to find a hundred thouſand crowns a month for the duke of Bourbon's expedition into France, or to make a powerful diverſion in Picardy. But after ſetting the affair on foot by the firſt monthly payment, he had ſtopped there without making any attempt againſt France. Nay, he had demanded the money due to him, when he knew the emperor was not able to pay him. This proceeding ſeemed to demonſtrate he only ſought a pretence. Moreover, the emperor was informed, that in October laſt, when Francis I. was marching into Italy, a perſon without character [w] came to London from the regent, and had ſeveral conferences with cardinal Wolſey. But then Charles had promiſed to invade France on the ſide of Spain, without having done any thing towards it. And yet he took it very ill that Henry ſhould diſappoint him. Thus theſe two monarchs who were thought ſo ſtrictly united, and whoſe union made France and Italy tremble, were in reality eſtranged from one another, and ready to quarrel. In all appearance, the conferences of the perſon from France with cardinal Wolſey had taken effect. Beſides, the cardinal, who was very revengeful, muſt have been extremely incenſed with the emperor for deceiving him twice, after a poſitive promiſe to help him to the papacy.

It was in the beginning of March that the emperor's two embaſſadors diſcharged their commiſſion. But before they had received an anſwer, the news of the battle of Pavia, and the taking of the king of France, reached England [x], by a letter from the governeſs of Flanders, with another from Laynoy, written on the very day of the battle. As the court of England then ſtood inclined, this news was by no means agreeable. Nevertheleſs, as it was ſtill neceſſary to diſſemble, Henry ordered a ſolemn maſs to be celebrated at St. Paul's, where he was pleaſed to be preſent in perſon [y], without however cauſing Te deum to be ſung [z]. His aim was to

[u] They arrived in London, March 5. Hall, fol. 136.
[w] John Jachim de Paſſau. See above.
[x] On March 9. Hall, fol. 136. Herbert, p. 64.
[y] March 12. Accompanied by the embaſſadors of the pope, the emperor, Scotland, Venice, Milan, and Florence. The day before, there were bonfires in London on account of the victory. Hall, fol. 136.
[z] Hall affirms the contrary. Ibid.

They

make the emperor's embaſſadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and withal to ſhew a regard for France, by avoiding to expreſs any joy at her misfortune.

Some days after, the council was aſſembled to conſider what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether the opportunity ſhould be embraced to make conqueſts upon France, in proſecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve France entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if, on this occaſion, England had ſtrictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of Picardy, France in her preſent condition would have been irrecoverably loſt. For, inſtead of being able to withſtand the arms of theſe two powerful enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the emperor without the king of England's aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that France could not be ruined without rendering the emperor too powerful: that he was already in poſſeſſion of Spain, and had alſo an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece, Iſabella, as it was publicly reported: that his late victory in Milan gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in Italy, that probably the pope and the Venetians would not be able to make head againſt him: that he poſſeſſed almoſt all the Low Countries with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity which was become as hereditary in his family: that if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces bordering upon Spain and Italy, the moſt the king could expect was, to ſhare France with him: but it was to be feared, that afterwards the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any ſtate in Europe capable of ſupporting the weakeſt: that therefore, ſuppoſing the king had in France all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandizing himſelf in that kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied till he had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their conqueſts: that what had paſſed between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, in reſpect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for ſuch partitions long to ſubſiſt: that upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of England to make a vigorous effort to ſupport France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria: that the happineſs and glory of England conſiſted in the equality between the king of France and the emperor, ſince thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herſelf courted by both ſides: that there was no other way to cauſe trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the Engliſh could never hope to render themſelves formidable: that if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of France, and a war ſhould afterwards happen with the emperor, of which there was great probability, at once would be loſt the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty: that at leaſt, it would thereby be out of her power to have land and ſea forces ſufficient to balance the emperor's power. In ſhort, if France came to be divided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diverſions, as ſhe had always done in favour of France. To theſe conſiderations, another of greater weight was added, namely, that a league with the emperor to conquer France was not the ſame thing, as one with the regent in defence of that kingdom: that in the firſt, the emperor's ſole aim would be, to make the Engliſh forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his conqueſts elſewhere: but at the ſame time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the king's increaſe of power: that this was the uſual policy of princes, when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves: that it could be the leſs doubted that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the king only as his inſtrument to promote his deſigns in Italy; but if the king joined with France, the two allies having the ſame view, would, as is uſual in defenſive leagues, act unanimouſly: that on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, France not being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the invaſion of that kingdom: in a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her diſtreſs, and free her captive king: that by ſo doing, he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make the king of France a friend, who probably would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the king and council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now begun to take. The only buſineſs was to ſeek a pretence to break with the emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which princes are very attentive. When they wage unjuſt wars, they would perſuade the world that they are founded upon juſtice and equity, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition, and avarice. The war Henry was meditating againſt the emperor was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident. It ſeldom happens that policy and equity agree; and Henry, like moſt princes, had rather be counted a great politician than an honeſt man. However, the reſolution being taken to ſupport France, Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and ſir Robert Wingfield, were ſent into Spain, to demand of the emperor ſeveral things, which it was known he would not grant. Firſt, That as the war was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the king of England ſhould partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia. That therefore, purſuant to their alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, that if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, ſhould prepare to invade France from Spain, whilſt the Engliſh acted in Picardy, and that the war ſhould not ceaſe till the king of England had acquired all that belonged to him: that the emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the king of England in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his marriage with the heireſs of England, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the treaty of Windſor, the two alllies ſhould mutually deliver all uſurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having therefore framed his anſwer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the emperor. They were briefly theſe: that the governeſs of the Low Countries, inſtead of providing for the war her quota of forces, had privately treated with France: that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce in ſeveral articles [a]: that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him: that in the terms on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently, and in general only mentioned Henry's right as a thing of little moment: that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary, to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom [b], it was neceſſary that all chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace; but this peace could not be effected, whilſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alleged in vindication of the king's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealouſy with which the emperor's power inſpired England and the reſt of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France. He contented himſelf with ordering his embaſſadors in Spain to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, though he expected little from that interceſſion. Mean while he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would ſend embaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty advantageous to the king her ſon and both kingdoms. The regent immediately appointed

[a] They had not only inſolently treated divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great ſums into their country. Inſtead of the Flemings, Rapin hath, by miſtake, Florentines. See Herbert, p. 65.

[b] They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into Italy and Germany. Herbert.

Jean Joachim de Paſſau, lord of Vaux, the ſame that had begun the negotiation with cardinal Wolſey, and Jean Brinon, preſident of Roan. Their commiſſion was dated at Lyons, June the 9th.

Whilſt the treaty between France and England was negotiating at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of money to cardinal Wolſey's care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the parliament. But Wolſey was too haughty to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal or conteſt with the houſe of commons, as it had once before happened. So, reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier means and more agreeable to his temper, he granted commiſſions in the king's name [c], to levy throughout the kingdom the ſixth part of of every layman's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's [d]. Theſe commiſſions were no ſooner publiſhed, but the nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raiſing money was univerſally deemed a manifeſt breach of magna charta, and an incroachment of ſo great conſequence, that there was like to have been a general rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately iſſued out a proclamation, diſavowing theſe commiſſions which had been publiſhed in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his people by force, nor demand any thing by way of benevolence, as practiſed in the reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an artifice to extort, under another name, what the people refuſed to give by force. For, the benevolence demanded by the king was almoſt equal to what was at firſt required by way of authority. The Londoners being taxed firſt, the magiſtrates excuſed themſelves, as benevolences were aboliſhed by Richard III. The cardinal exclaimed againſt it as if it had been the moſt extravagant aſſertion in the world. He told them Richard III. was a tyrant and uſurper, and therefore laws made in his reign could not limit the ſovereign's power. But as this argument had no great effect, he ſent for the chief of the common council of the city one by one, to intimidate them, deſiring at any rate to compaſs his ends without being obliged to call a parliament. But whilſt he was thus employed, there was an inſurrection near London [e], which probably would have drawn in the whole kingdom, if a timely ſtop had not been put it. The ſpeedy courſe that was taken to diſperſe the ſeditious, ſucceeded as the court could wiſh. They who had taken up arms ſeeing themſelves not yet ſufficiently ſupported, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and ſome of the ringleaders were impriſoned. The king finding how the nation ſtood affected, thought proper to ſatisfy them, by ſhewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his miniſter. Wherefore he declared in full council, that his intention was not to puniſh any perſon for the commotion. The cardinal perceiving the king threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himſelf as well as he could, without accuſing the king, alleging he had the judges opinion for what he had done. If ſuch an excuſe were admitted, it would be no longer neceſſary for a king of England to apply to the parliament for money. The judges being appointed by the king, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his ſide. But though there have been judges ſo hardy as to decide points of this conſequence, as in the reigns of Richard II. Charles I. James II. very few eſcaped the puniſhment due to their preſumption. The parliament never intended that the privileges of the nation ſhould depend upon the deciſion of the judges. The council finding the king was not inclined to ſupport what the cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the cardinal himſelf, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any perſon, upon thoſe that had given the king wrong information, and to releaſe the priſoners after a ſevere reprimand. Purſuant to this reſolution, the priſoners being brought before the council, the cardinal ſharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinouſneſs of their offence, and adding, that the king was pleaſed to grant them his pardon, provided they would find ſureties for their good behaviour for the future. But the priſoners replying, they could find none, the cardinal and duke of Norfolk ſaid, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were diſcharged.

When the king had diſcovered that he approved not all the cardinal's actions, people ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppreſſed the nation, and more eſpecially the clergy, in a ſtrange manner. The inſtrument of his oppreſſions was John Allen [f] his chaplain, who kept no meaſures, well knowing his maſter's protection would not fail him on ſuch an occaſion. Mean while, how great ſoever the cardinal's power was, a private perſon ventured to commence a ſuit againſt Allen, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly, that at laſt the affair came to the king's knowledge, who was informed at the ſame time of ſeveral other complaints of the people. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in England ſo mild a government as his, being ignorant of the ill uſe Wolſey made of his authority. This information threw him into ſo terrible a rage, that the cardinal was like to have been entirely diſgraced. It was not without the utmoſt ſubmiſſion that he appeaſed the king's anger, ſhewing him withal his laſt will, wherein he had made him his heir. This he did to intimate, that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increaſe the inheritance the king was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the king's ſentiments concerning him, than his letter to the cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inſerted by lord Herbert in his hiſtory, is as follows:

"AS touching the matter of Wilton [g], ſeeing it is in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid and troubled: I marvel not that it over ſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the election was but conditional. Wherefore, my lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been beningly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you cauſed me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houſes to the building of your college, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the world, and the occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for ſurely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill-gotten is beſtowed upon the college, but that the college is the cloak for covering all miſchiefe. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken of him, which I ſo entirely love. Wherefore, methought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own letter, which a little methinketh toucheth conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of the exempts for having of their old viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take money? And if they were ill, it were a ſinful act. Howbeit, your legacy herein might, paradventure, apud homines, be a cloak, but not apud Deum. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed him who ſo entirely loveth you, I not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if conſcience will not bear it) but from all other things which would tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, te laudant angeli atque archangeli, te laudat omnis ſpiritus: and thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remaineth at this hour, no ſpark of diſpleaſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving ſovereign and friend,

HENRY R.

This letter ſhews the king was informed of ſeveral of the cardinal's miſdemeanors. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his heart the heinouſneſs of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great zeal for the founding of his college. Had he not been thus prepoſſeſſed in his

[c] To the moſt conſiderable perſons in each country. Hall, fol. 138.

[d] The cardinal pretended, that this money was to be applied towards carrying war into France. See Hall, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of perſons that were worth fifty pounds, three ſhillings and four pence; of ſuch as were worth twenty pounds, two ſhillings and eight pence; and of thoſe that had from under twenty pounds to twenty ſhillings, twelve pence in the pound. Hall, fol. 138.

[e] In Suffolk, where the weavers and other artificers aſſembled out of Lanham, Sudbury, Hadley, &c. to the number of about four thouſand. Hall, fol. 141.

[f] John Allen doctor of law, the ſame that was judge of the cardinal's court, was made archbiſhop of Dublin in 1528, and barbarouſly murdered by Thomas Fitzgerald, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Kildare, 1534. Antiq. Oxf. This Allen, who is ſaid by Hall to have been a man of more learning than virtue or good conſcience, was commiſſioned by the cardinal, in conſequence of his legatine power, to viſit all religious houſes; and accordingly he rid from one religious houſe to another, with a great train, in a kind of perpetual progreſs or viſitation, and did the cardinal no little ſervice. Hall, fol. 148. Herbert, p. 67.

[g] This matter of Wilton was this: the cardinal had elected a perſon prioreſs of the nunnery there, for whom the king had ſome way previouſly expreſſed his diſlike. The prioreſs of the nunnery of Wilton was a baroneſs by her title, as were alſo thoſe of Shaftſbury, Berkin, and St. Mary's, in Wincheſter, which were the only ones that were ſo in England. See Fiddes's Lif. Wolſ. p. 398.

And

favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very dangerous to ſpeak directly againſt a favourite, to whom the king ſtill ſhewed ſo great kindneſs. Mean while, the cardinal finding by this inſtance, what his enemies would be capable of doing againſt him, if they had the king's ear, was very careful to remove from court all he ſuſpected. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the king's love and eſteem by all ſorts of condeſcenſions. He had now built at Hampton Court a ſtately palace, which outſhone in beauty all the king's houſes. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a jealouſy in the king, he made him a preſent of it[h], as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He meant to inſinuate by this preſent, that he heaped up riches purely for his ſake, which ſucceeded accordingly. The king had the ſame confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people ſeemed to have altered a little. This year he obtained the king's letters patents for founding the college at Oxford.

About the ſame time, the king created Henry Fitz-Roy his natural ſon, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and high admiral of England, though he was but ſix years old[i]. As he had no legitimate ſon, he was extremely fond of this baſtard, whom he had by the lady Elizabeth Blunt[k].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the cardinal was employed in treating with the French embaſſadors. The beginning of June the regent had ſent general full powers to her two embaſſadors. But in the courſe of the negotiation they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular powers, to ſettle the ſums due from the king of France to the king of England, and which, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, were to be put into one, according to Henry's intention. Theſe new powers were diſpatched the 16th of Auguſt. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, the French embaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the king of England's pleaſure. Their aim being to diſengage him from the emperor, and unite him with the king their maſter, there was no diſputing upon the terms. But it muſt be confeſſed that, on this occaſion, Henry behaved with uncommon generoſity. Though he might have demanded towns, and even provinces, in return for the friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with Francis I. and for the charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himſelf with ſecuring, by new treaties, the ſums that were juſtly due to him. Theſe treaties being ready, were ſigned at Moore, a houſe of the king's[l], on the 30th of Auguſt.

The firſt contained a defenſive league between France and England, againſt all powers ſpiritual or temporal, that ſhould invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included by name in the league[m], but with the limitation, that this article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors ſince the league concluded at London, October the 1ſt, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of Milan, was excluded. Moreover, Henry engaged to uſe his beſt endeavours to procure the liberty of Francis.

The ſecond treaty concerning the payment of the ſums due to Henry from the king of France, namely, 1. by a treaty of the 7th of Auguſt 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of January 1518, for the reſtitution of Tournay, five hundred thouſand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the ſame date, twenty-three thouſand livres Tournois. 4. By another of November the 13th, 1520, four hundred ſixty-two thouſand crowns. For all theſe ſums the regent bound herſelf in the king her ſon's name, to pay Henry two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty-five pence Tournois each, which being reduced to crowns de ſoleil, of thirty-eight pence, amounted to the ſum of eighteen hundred and ninety-four thouſand, ſeven hundred, thirty-ſix crowns, and thirty-two pence Tournois[n]. This ſum was to be paid at ſeveral times, viz. forty-ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-eight crowns, within forty days after the date of the treaty; the like ſum on the firſt of November next, and the ſame every ſix months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, conſequently the whole ſum was to be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the ſame treaty, that if Henry died before he had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and ſucceſſors. But in caſe he out-lived the payment of the whole, he ſhould receive during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns to ceaſe at his death.

To ſecure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to ſwear to it ſolemnly before the Engliſh embaſſadors, and Francis I. was to ratify and ſwear to it immediately after his return into France. Moreover, Henry had for ſecurity, the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendome and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, Brienne, the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Brezé, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouſe, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims[o].

It muſt be obſerved, that in the ſum of two millions of crowns due to Henry, there was no deduction of what he had received from Francis I. from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage Henry made, which was not very great, conſidering how little punctual the king of France was in his payments.

By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's ſiſter, queen dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry at ſeveral payments, namely, five thouſand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like ſum every ſix months till the whole was diſcharged. Moreover, ſhe promiſed to let her enjoy her dowry for the future.

There was alſo a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of Scotland ſhould be reckoned in the number of the allies of France, but on condition the Scots committed no act of hoſtility againſt England after the 25th of December next.

Laſtly, by a fifth treaty it was agreed, that the court of France ſhould conſent, neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of Albany ſhould return into Scotland during the minority of James V.

All theſe ſeveral treaties, which properly were only different articles of one and the ſame treaty, were ratified and ſworn by the regent of France[p], and confirmed by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux. The lords and cities that were to be ſecurities, gave their bonds. Finally, Francis I. himſelf ſent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of December.

But after having done the king's affairs, the cardinal forgot not himſelf. There is in the collection of the public acts, the regent's bond of the 18th of November, to pay the cardinal the arrears of the penſion granted him in lieu of the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay, being four years and a half, amounting to the ſum of twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three crowns of gold de ſoliel[q]. Moreover, ſhe declared, that for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, there was due to the cardinal a hundred thouſand crowns of gold: theſe two ſums making together one hundred and twenty-one thouſand eight hundred and ninety-eight crowns de ſoleil, were to be paid in ſeven years, by half-yearly equal payments.

The defenſive league between France and England being thus concluded and ſigned, the regent began to be a little more at eaſe, and better able to diſpute upon the terms of

[h] And the king, in exchange, permitted him to live in his palace at Richmond; at which, it ſeems, the people were highly offended. See Hall, fol. 144.

[i] He was born in the prior's houſe at Blackmore, in Eſſex, and firſt made knight of the garter, then earl of Nottingham, and the ſame day duke of Richmond and Somerſet, on the 18th of June. He was conſtituted likewiſe lieutenant general beyond the Trent, and warden general of the marches of Scotland. After which he was bred up with Henry, earl of Surrey, at Windſor, from whence they went both together to ſtudy at Paris. Their friendſhip was endeared by the duke's marrying Mary, the earl's ſiſter, daughter to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, by whom he had no iſſue. He was very perſonable and of great expectation, and for abilities of mind and body, one of the rareſt of his time. But he departed this life in the 17th year of his age, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk. Herbert. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 305. On the ſame 18th day of June, was Henry Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, created marquis of Exeter, Henry Brandon, ſon of the duke of Suffolk, earl of Lincoln, ſir Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, ſir Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, ſir Robert Ratclif, lord Fitzwalter, viſcount Fitzwalter, and ſir Thomas Bulleyn, viſcount Rochford. Hall, fol. 148.

[k] Daughter of ſir John Blunt, widow of ſir Gilbert Talboys, who was thought, for her rare endowments of nature and ornaments of education, to be the beauty and maſter-piece of her time. Ibid.

[l] In Hertfordſhire.

[m] Their common allies were the pope, Venice, the kings of Hungary and Portugal, and the duke of Ferrara; and thoſe named by France in particular, the kings of Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Lorrain, Gueldres; Switzers; the marquis of Saluzzo, the marquis of Montferrat, and his mother: thoſe named by king Henry, were the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, the king of Denmark, the queen dowager of France, Margaret, archduchеſs of Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the dukes of Urbino, Cleves, and Juliers, the houſe of Medicis, the Florentines, and the Hanſe towns. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 51.

[n] —Decies octies centum millium coronarum auri de ſole, & nonaginta quatuor millium coronarum auri de ſole, ſeptingentarum triginta ſex coronarum auri de ſole, & triginta duorum ſolidorum turonenſium. Ibid. p. 59.

[o] All theſe lords and cities were to ſend a bond, with their ſeal annexed, within two months, under the obligation and forfeiture of all their goods. Ibid. p. 65.

[p] In October, ſir William Fitzwilliams, treaſurer of the houſhold, and Dr. Taylor, were ſent into France, to ſee the queen regent ſwear to the obſervance of theſe treaties. Hall, fol. 145.

[q] Crowns ſol, or de ſoliel, were golden coins, of old worth thirty-eight pence Tournois.

Monſieur

the king her ſon's liberty. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be ſeen, they altered their meaſures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his embaſſadors, who were ſtill in England[r], and Henry did the ſame with reſpect to his in Spain. Shortly after, Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by virtue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the concluſion of the foremen-tioned treaty.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly diſſatisfied; but the earl of Lenox, though likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an embaſſy to England, at the had whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland for new inſtructions. Mean while, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots[s].

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I. ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chooſing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his priſoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantage he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that, the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis ſubmitted were theſe, beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage [t].

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full ſovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d'Albert to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Phillibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or in caſe of non-performance to return priſoner into Spain.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour [u]. At the time the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it; but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do, but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoners, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? When Charles V. ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot on his own dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe

[r] Monſieur de Prat, his embaſſador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingſh. p. 891.

[s] This year the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raiſed up his head, which was ſtuck faſt in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlaſco Nennez, having in 1513, firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, and Hernando de Magellanes, paſſed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Franceſco Picarro, a Spaniard, reſiding at Panama, firſt attempted the diſcovery of the South-ſea coaſt, and at laſt came to Peru, which he ranſacked.—Hernando de Magelanes aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ſhips returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and ſo firſt compaſſed the globe; Juan Sebaſtian de Cano, a Biſcainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

[t] And ſome other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 311.

[u] At the concluſion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did ſwear by the ſacrament and the holy evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any ſhould break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a farce; for before Francis ſigned the treaty, he made a formal, though private, proteſtation againſt it, in the preſence of a few truſty witneſſes and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

Before

make the emperor's embaſſadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and withal to ſhew a regard for France, by avoiding to expreſs any joy at her misfortune.

Some days after, the council was aſſembled to conſider what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether the opportunity ſhould be embraced to make conqueſts upon France, in proſecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve France entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if, on this occaſion, England had ſtrictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of Picardy, France in her preſent condition would have been irrecoverably loſt. For, inſtead of being able to withſtand the arms of theſe two powerful enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the emperor without the king of England's aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that France could not be ruined without rendering the emperor too powerful: that he was already in poſſeſſion of Spain, and had alſo an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece, Iſabella, as it was publicly reported: that his late victory in Milan gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in Italy, that probably the pope and the Venetians would not be able to make head againſt him: that he poſſeſſed almoſt all the Low Countries with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity which was become as hereditary in his family: that if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces bordering upon Spain and Italy, the moſt the king could expect was, to ſhare France with him: but it was to be feared, that afterwards the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any ſtate in Europe capable of ſupporting the weakeſt: that therefore, ſuppoſing the king had in France all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandizing himſelf in that kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied till he had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their conqueſts: that what had paſſed between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, in reſpect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for ſuch partitions long to ſubſiſt: that upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of England to make a vigorous effort to ſupport France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria: that the happineſs and glory of England conſiſted in the equality between the king of France and the emperor, ſince thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herſelf courted by both ſides: that there was no other way to cauſe trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the Engliſh could never hope to render themſelves formidable: that if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of France, and a war ſhould afterwards happen with the emperor, of which there was great probability, at once would be loſt the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty: that at leaſt, it would thereby be out of her power to have land and ſea forces ſufficient to balance the emperor's power. In ſhort, if France came to be divided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diverſions, as ſhe had always done in favour of France. To theſe conſiderations, another of greater weight was added, namely, that a league with the emperor to conquer France was not the ſame thing, as one with the regent in defence of that kingdom: that in the firſt, the emperor's ſole aim would be, to make the Engliſh forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his conqueſts elſewhere: but at the ſame time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the king's increaſe of power: that this was the uſual policy of princes, when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves: that it could be the leſs doubted that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the king only as his inſtrument to promote his deſigns in Italy; but if the king joined with France, the two allies having the ſame view, would, as is uſual in defenſive leagues, act unanimouſly: that on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, France not being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the invaſion of that kingdom: in a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her diſtreſs, and free her captive king: that by ſo doing, he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make the king of France a friend, who probably would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the king and council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now begun to take. The only buſineſs was to ſeek a pretence to break with the emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which princes are very attentive. When they wage unjuſt wars, they would perſuade the world that they are founded upon juſtice and equity, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition, and avarice. The war Henry was meditating againſt the emperor was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident. It ſeldom happens that policy and equity agree; and Henry, like moſt princes, had rather be counted a great politician than an honeſt man. However, the reſolution being taken to ſupport France, Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and ſir Robert Wingfield, were ſent into Spain, to demand of the emperor ſeveral things, which it was known he would not grant. Firſt, That as the war was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the king of England ſhould partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia. That therefore, purſuant to their alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, that if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, ſhould prepare to invade France from Spain, whilſt the Engliſh acted in Picardy, and that the war ſhould not ceaſe till the king of England had acquired all that belonged to him: that the emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the king of England in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his marriage with the heireſs of England, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the treaty of Windſor, the two allies ſhould mutually deliver all uſurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having therefore framed his anſwer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the emperor. They were briefly theſe: that the governeſs of the Low Countries, inſtead of providing for the war her quota of forces, had privately treated with France: that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce in ſeveral articles [a]: that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him: that in the terms on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently, and in general only mentioned Henry's right as a thing of little moment: that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary, to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom [b], it was neceſſary that all chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace; but this peace could not be effected, whilſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alleged in vindication of the king's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealouſy with which the emperor's power inſpired England and the reſt of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France. He contented himſelf with ordering his embaſſadors in Spain to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, though he expected little from that interceſſion. Mean while he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would ſend embaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty advantageous to the king her ſon and both kingdoms. The regent immediately appointed

[a] They had not only inſolently treated divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great ſums into their country. Inſtead of the Flemings, Rapin hath, by miſtake, Florentines. See Herbert, p. 65.

[b] They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into Italy and Germany. Herbert.

Duplicate

the king her ſon's liberty. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be ſeen, they altered their meaſures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his embaſſadors, who were ſtill in England[r], and Henry did the ſame with reſpect to his in Spain. Shortly after, Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by virtue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the concluſion of the foremen-tioned treaty.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly diſſatisfied; but the earl of Lenox, though likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an embaſſy to England, at the had whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland for new inſtructions. Mean while, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots[s].

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I. ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chooſing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his priſoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantage he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that, the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis ſubmitted were theſe, beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage [t].

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full ſovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d'Albert to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Phillibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or in caſe of non-performance to return priſoner into Spain.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour [u]. At the time the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it; but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do, but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoners, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? When Charles V. ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot on his own dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe

[r] Monſieur de Prat, his embaſſador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingſh. p. 891.

[s] This year the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raiſed up his head, which was ſtuck faſt in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlaſco Nennez, having in 1513, firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, and Hernando de Magellanes, paſſed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Franceſco Picarro, a Spaniard, reſiding at Panama, firſt attempted the diſcovery of the South-ſea coaſt, and at laſt came to Peru, which he ranſacked.—Hernando de Magelanes aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ſhips returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and ſo firſt compaſſed the globe; Juan Sebaſtian de Cano, a Biſcainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

[t] And ſome other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 311.

[u] At the concluſion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did ſwear by the ſacrament and the holy evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any ſhould break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a farce; for before Francis ſigned the treaty, he made a formal, though private, proteſtation againſt it, in the preſence of a few truſty witneſſes and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

Before

make the emperor's embaſſadors believe, it was on account of the victory, and withal to ſhew a regard for France, by avoiding to expreſs any joy at her misfortune.

Some days after, the council was aſſembled to conſider what was to be done at this juncture. The queſtion was, whether the opportunity ſhould be embraced to make conqueſts upon France, in proſecuting the king's title to that kingdom, or whether it was more expedient to aſſiſt and preſerve France entire, and oppoſe the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria. As to the firſt point, it is certain, if, on this occaſion, England had ſtrictly united with the emperor, and made vigorous efforts on the ſide of Picardy, France in her preſent condition would have been irrecoverably loſt. For, inſtead of being able to withſtand the arms of theſe two powerful enemies, it was not poſſible for her to reſiſt the emperor without the king of England's aſſiſtance. But on the other hand, it was conſidered, that France could not be ruined without rendering the emperor too powerful: that he was already in poſſeſſion of Spain, and had alſo an eye upon Portugal, by marrying his niece, Iſabella, as it was publicly reported: that his late victory in Milan gave him ſuch a ſuperiority in Italy, that probably the pope and the Venetians would not be able to make head againſt him: that he poſſeſſed almoſt all the Low Countries with large and rich provinces in Germany; not to reckon the imperial dignity which was become as hereditary in his family: that if by a powerful diverſion, an opportunity was given him to conquer the French provinces bordering upon Spain and Italy, the moſt the king could expect was, to ſhare France with him: but it was to be feared, that afterwards the emperor would become his enemy, and the more formidable, as there would be no proportion between their forces, nor any ſtate in Europe capable of ſupporting the weakeſt: that therefore, ſuppoſing the king had in France all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, in aggrandizing himſelf in that kingdom, he would only be involved for the future in an unequal war with the emperor, who very probably would never be ſatisfied till he had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their conqueſts: that what had paſſed between Lewis XII. and Ferdinand, in reſpect of the kingdom of Naples, was a clear evidence how difficult it is for ſuch partitions long to ſubſiſt: that upon all theſe accounts, it was more for the intereſt of England to make a vigorous effort to ſupport France, and enable her to be always a balance to the power of the houſe of Auſtria: that the happineſs and glory of England conſiſted in the equality between the king of France and the emperor, ſince thereby England was always in condition to remain arbiter of Europe, and make herſelf courted by both ſides: that there was no other way to cauſe trade to flouriſh, wherein conſiſted all her ſtrength, and without which the Engliſh could never hope to render themſelves formidable: that if, on the contrary, it was reſolved to compleat the deſtruction of France, and a war ſhould afterwards happen with the emperor, of which there was great probability, at once would be loſt the trade with France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, and Germany, which would quickly reduce England to extreme poverty: that at leaſt, it would thereby be out of her power to have land and ſea forces ſufficient to balance the emperor's power. In ſhort, if France came to be divided between the emperor and the king, Scotland would certainly join in alliance with the emperor, and continue to annoy England by frequent diverſions, as ſhe had always done in favour of France. To theſe conſiderations, another of greater weight was added, namely, that a league with the emperor to conquer France was not the ſame thing, as one with the regent in defence of that kingdom: that in the firſt, the emperor's ſole aim would be, to make the Engliſh forces ſerve to enable him to puſh his conqueſts elſewhere: but at the ſame time he would oppoſe directly or indirectly the king's increaſe of power: that this was the uſual policy of princes, when they joined with thoſe weaker than themſelves: that it could be the leſs doubted that the emperor would follow this maxim, as even before the battle of Pavia, he had ſhewn, that he conſidered the king only as his inſtrument to promote his deſigns in Italy; but if the king joined with France, the two allies having the ſame view, would, as is uſual in defenſive leagues, act unanimouſly: that on the other hand, in the preſent juncture, France not being able to ſupport herſelf without the aſſiſtance of England, would readily accept what terms ſhould be impoſed upon her, which was an advantage more real and certain than any to be expected from the invaſion of that kingdom: in a word, nothing could be more glorious for the kingdom, than to relieve France in her diſtreſs, and free her captive king: that by ſo doing, he would truly acquire the title of arbiter and deliverer of Europe, and make the king of France a friend, who probably would eternally remember ſuch a favour.

Theſe were the reaſons that induced the king and council to take part with France. They were perfectly agreeable to the king's and the cardinal's inclinations, and to the meaſures they had now begun to take. The only buſineſs was to ſeek a pretence to break with the emperor, by throwing upon him the blame of the rupture. This is a thing to which princes are very attentive. When they wage unjuſt wars, they would perſuade the world that they are founded upon juſtice and equity, without any motive of envy, jealouſy, ambition, and avarice. The war Henry was meditating againſt the emperor was, as we have ſeen, wholly founded upon policy. And that would have been ſufficient to juſtify it. But he choſe rather to ground it upon the pretended injuries received from the emperor. The reaſon of this conduct is evident. It ſeldom happens that policy and equity agree; and Henry, like moſt princes, had rather be counted a great politician than an honeſt man. However, the reſolution being taken to ſupport France, Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and ſir Robert Wingfield, were ſent into Spain, to demand of the emperor ſeveral things, which it was known he would not grant. Firſt, That as the war was made at a common charge, it was reaſonable the king of England ſhould partake of the fruits of the victory of Pavia. That therefore, purſuant to their alliance, it ſhould be ſtipulated in the treaty with the captive king, that Henry ſhould be reſtored to what belonged to him in France. Secondly, that if this could not be obtained by fair means, the emperor, according to the treaty, ſhould prepare to invade France from Spain, whilſt the Engliſh acted in Picardy, and that the war ſhould not ceaſe till the king of England had acquired all that belonged to him: that the emperor ought to be the readier to aſſiſt the king of England in obtaining his deſires, becauſe by his marriage with the heireſs of England, all theſe acquiſitions would finally devolve to him. Thirdly, That as it was ſaid in the treaty of Windſor, the two allies ſhould mutually deliver all uſurpers upon each other's right, Henry required, purſuant to that article, that the king of France ſhould be delivered to him the ſame day princeſs Mary was conſigned to the emperor.

Theſe demands were for the moſt part of ſuch a nature, that the emperor eaſily perceived, Henry only ſought a pretence to break with him. Indeed, he could not receive the princeſs Mary, ſince he was determined to marry Iſabella of Portugal, and much leſs would he deliver the captive king, and ſo part with the advantage he expected from his victory. Having therefore framed his anſwer in general terms, denoting his unwillingneſs to grant what was demanded, he afforded Henry the pretence he was ſeeking to join with the regent of France. When this reſolution was divulged, the court of England took care to publiſh the reaſons of the rupture with the emperor. They were briefly theſe: that the governeſs of the Low Countries, inſtead of providing for the war her quota of forces, had privately treated with France: that the Flemings had broken the treaty of commerce in ſeveral articles [a]: that the emperor had not paid the king the ſums due to him: that in the terms on which he had offered to releaſe the king of France, he had very negligently, and in general only mentioned Henry's right as a thing of little moment: that he was now treating of his marriage with the princeſs of Portugal, in contempt of the princeſs Mary, to whom he was contracted. Laſtly, That the Turks being about to invade Chriſtendom [b], it was neceſſary that all chriſtian princes ſhould join their forces againſt them, which could not be done without a general peace; but this peace could not be effected, whilſt the emperor remained in arms to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of other princes. Theſe are the reaſons alleged in vindication of the king's conduct. But the true reaſon was the juſt jealouſy with which the emperor's power inſpired England and the reſt of Europe. However, Henry did not think proper to proclaim war againſt the emperor, being unwilling by ſo raſh a ſtep, to prejudice his intended treaty with France. He contented himſelf with ordering his embaſſadors in Spain to intercede in his name, in behalf of the captive king, though he expected little from that interceſſion. Mean while he acquainted the regent of France, that if ſhe would ſend embaſſadors to treat with him, there might follow a treaty advantageous to the king her ſon and both kingdoms. The regent immediately appointed

[a] They had not only inſolently treated divers of our merchants, but, contrary to a remonſtrance made in that behalf, had raiſed the value of our coin, and thereby ſecretly derived great ſums into their country. Inſtead of the Flemings, Rapin hath, by miſtake, Florentines. See Herbert, p. 65.

[b] They had now taken Belgrade and Rhodes, and thereby opened ſeveral ways into Italy and Germany. Herbert.

Jean Joachim de Paſſau, lord of Vaux, the ſame that had begun the negotiation with cardinal Wolſey, and Jean Brinon, preſident of Roan. Their commiſſion was dated at Lyons, June the 9th.

Whilſt the treaty between France and England was negotiating at London, Henry, knowing how it would end, committed the raiſing of money to cardinal Wolſey's care. The moſt natural way was to apply to the parliament. But Wolſey was too haughty to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal or conteſt with the houſe of commons, as it had once before happened. So, reſolving to uſe a ſpeedier means and more agreeable to his temper, he granted commiſſions in the king's name [c], to levy throughout the kingdom the ſixth part of of every layman's goods, and the fourth of the clergy's [d]. Theſe commiſſions were no ſooner publiſhed, but the nation was in a great fermentation. This method of raiſing money was univerſally deemed a manifeſt breach of magna charta, and an incroachment of ſo great conſequence, that there was like to have been a general rebellion. The king being informed of it, immediately iſſued out a proclamation, diſavowing theſe commiſſions which had been publiſhed in his name, and declaring he would exact nothing of his people by force, nor demand any thing by way of benevolence, as practiſed in the reign of Edward IV. But it was quickly perceived, this was only an artifice to extort, under another name, what the people refuſed to give by force. For, the benevolence demanded by the king was almoſt equal to what was at firſt required by way of authority. The Londoners being taxed firſt, the magiſtrates excuſed themſelves, as benevolences were aboliſhed by Richard III. The cardinal exclaimed againſt it as if it had been the moſt extravagant aſſertion in the world. He told them Richard III. was a tyrant and uſurper, and therefore laws made in his reign could not limit the ſovereign's power. But as this argument had no great effect, he ſent for the chief of the common council of the city one by one, to intimidate them, deſiring at any rate to compaſs his ends without being obliged to call a parliament. But whilſt he was thus employed, there was an inſurrection near London [e], which probably would have drawn in the whole kingdom, if a timely ſtop had not been put it. The ſpeedy courſe that was taken to diſperſe the ſeditious, ſucceeded as the court could wiſh. They who had taken up arms ſeeing themſelves not yet ſufficiently ſupported, ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and ſome of the ringleaders were impriſoned. The king finding how the nation ſtood affected, thought proper to ſatisfy them, by ſhewing he was not concerned in the violent proceedings of his miniſter. Wherefore he declared in full council, that his intention was not to puniſh any perſon for the commotion. The cardinal perceiving the king threw all the blame upon him, vindicated himſelf as well as he could, without accuſing the king, alleging he had the judges opinion for what he had done. If ſuch an excuſe were admitted, it would be no longer neceſſary for a king of England to apply to the parliament for money. The judges being appointed by the king, it would not be difficult for him to have their opinion on his ſide. But though there have been judges ſo hardy as to decide points of this conſequence, as in the reigns of Richard II. Charles I. James II. very few eſcaped the puniſhment due to their preſumption. The parliament never intended that the privileges of the nation ſhould depend upon the deciſion of the judges. The council finding the king was not inclined to ſupport what the cardinal had done, and on the other hand, not daring to come upon the cardinal himſelf, thought fit to throw all the fault, without naming any perſon, upon thoſe that had given the king wrong information, and to releaſe the priſoners after a ſevere reprimand. Purſuant to this reſolution, the priſoners being brought before the council, the cardinal ſharply rebuked them, aggravating the heinouſneſs of their offence, and adding, that the king was pleaſed to grant them his pardon, provided they would find ſureties for their good behaviour for the future. But the priſoners replying, they could find none, the cardinal and duke of Norfolk ſaid, they would be bound for them; whereupon they were diſcharged.

When the king had diſcovered that he approved not all the cardinal's actions, people ventured more boldly to complain of his conduct. The truth is, he oppreſſed the nation, and more eſpecially the clergy, in a ſtrange manner. The inſtrument of his oppreſſions was John Allen [f] his chaplain, who kept no meaſures, well knowing his maſter's protection would not fail him on ſuch an occaſion. Mean while, how great ſoever the cardinal's power was, a private perſon ventured to commence a ſuit againſt Allen, and proſecuted him ſo vigorouſly, that at laſt the affair came to the king's knowledge, who was informed at the ſame time of ſeveral other complaints of the people. He had hitherto fancied, there had never been in England ſo mild a government as his, being ignorant of the ill uſe Wolſey made of his authority. This information threw him into ſo terrible a rage, that the cardinal was like to have been entirely diſgraced. It was not without the utmoſt ſubmiſſion that he appeaſed the king's anger, ſhewing him withal his laſt will, wherein he had made him his heir. This he did to intimate, that he was labouring for him, and that the outrages he committed were only to increaſe the inheritance the king was one day to enjoy. Nothing can more fully expreſs the king's ſentiments concerning him, than his letter to the cardinal after having pardoned him. A fragment whereof inſerted by lord Herbert in his hiſtory, is as follows:

"AS touching the matter of Wilton [g], ſeeing it is in no other ſtrain than you write of, and you being alſo ſo ſuddenly (with the falling ſick of your ſervants) afraid and troubled: I marvel not that it over ſlipped you as it did. But it is no great matter, ſtanding the caſe as it doth; for it is yet in my hand, as I perceive by your letter, and your default was not ſo great, ſeeing the election was but conditional. Wherefore, my lord, ſeeing the humbleneſs of your ſubmiſſion, and though the caſe were much more heinous, I can be content for to remit it, being right glad that, according to mine intent, my monitions and warnings have been benignly and lovingly accepted on your behalf, promiſing you, that the very affection I bear you cauſed me thus to do. As touching the help of religious houſes to the building of your college, I would it were more, ſo it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it ſhould ſo appear to all the world, and the occaſion of all their mumbling might be ſecluded and put away; for ſurely there is great murmuring of it throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They ſay not that all that is ill-gotten is beſtowed upon the college, but that the college is the cloak for covering all miſchiefe. This grieveth me, I aſſure you, to hear it ſpoken of him, which I ſo entirely love. Wherefore, methought I could do no leſs, than thus friendly to admoniſh you. One thing more I perceive by your own letter, which a little methinketh toucheth conſcience, and that is, that you have received money of the exempts for having of their old viſitors. Surely, this can hardly be with good conſcience. For, and they were good, why ſhould you take money? And if they were ill, it were a ſinful act. Howbeit, your legacy herein might, paradventure, apud homines, be a cloak, but not apud Deum. Wherefore, you, thus moniſhed him who ſo entirely loveth you, I not, will deſiſt, not only from this, (if conſcience will not bear it) but from all other things which would tangle the ſame; and, in ſo doing, we will ſing, te laudant angeli atque archangeli, te laudat omnis ſpiritus: and thus an end I make of this, though rude, yet loving letter, deſiring you as benevolently to take it, as I do mean it, for I enſure you, (and I pray you think it ſo) that there remaineth at this hour, no ſpark of diſpleaſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare you well, and be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving ſovereign and friend,

HENRY R.

This letter ſhews the king was informed of ſeveral of the cardinal's miſdemeanors. But he did not yet thoroughly know him, his affection for him combating in his heart the heinouſneſs of his proceedings, and making him believe, that his faults were the pure effects of his great zeal for the founding of his college. Had he not been thus prepoſſeſſed in his

[c] To the moſt conſiderable perſons in each country. Hall, fol. 138.

[d] The cardinal pretended, that this money was to be applied towards carrying war into France. See Hall, fol. 137, 138. He demanded of perſons that were worth fifty pounds, three ſhillings and four pence; of ſuch as were worth twenty pounds, two ſhillings and eight pence; and of thoſe that had from under twenty pounds to twenty ſhillings, twelve pence in the pound. Hall, fol. 138.

[e] In Suffolk, where the weavers and other artificers aſſembled out of Lanham, Sudbury, Hadley, &c. to the number of about four thouſand. Hall, fol. 141.

[f] John Allen doctor of law, the ſame that was judge of the cardinal's court, was made archbiſhop of Dublin in 1528, and barbarouſly murdered by Thomas Fitzgerald, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Kildare, 1534. Antiq. Oxf. This Allen, who is ſaid by Hall to have been a man of more learning than virtue or good conſcience, was commiſſioned by the cardinal, in conſequence of his legatine power, to viſit all religious houſes; and accordingly he rid from one religious houſe to another, with a great train, in a kind of perpetual progreſs or viſitation, and did the cardinal no little ſervice. Hall, fol. 148. Herbert, p. 67.

[g] This matter of Wilton was this: the cardinal had elected a perſon prioreſs of the nunnery there, for whom the king had ſome way previouſly expreſſed his diſlike. The prioreſs of the nunnery of Wilton was a baroneſs by her title, as were alſo thoſe of Shaftſbury, Berkin, and St. Mary's, in Wincheſter, which were the only ones that were ſo in England. See Fiddes's Lif. Wolſ. p. 398.

And

favour, he might have been more fully informed. But it was very dangerous to ſpeak directly againſt a favourite, to whom the king ſtill ſhewed ſo great kindneſs. Mean while, the cardinal finding by this inſtance, what his enemies would be capable of doing againſt him, if they had the king's ear, was very careful to remove from court all he ſuſpected. At the ſame time, he ſtrove to preſerve the king's love and eſteem by all ſorts of condeſcenſions. He had now built at Hampton Court a ſtately palace, which outſhone in beauty all the king's houſes. But what had lately happened convincing him it might breed a jealouſy in the king, he made him a preſent of it[h], as if from the very firſt he had intended to build it for him. He meant to inſinuate by this preſent, that he heaped up riches purely for his ſake, which ſucceeded accordingly. The king had the ſame confidence in him as before, which the murmurs of the people ſeemed to have altered a little. This year he obtained the king's letters patents for founding the college at Oxford.

About the ſame time, the king created Henry Fitz-Roy his natural ſon, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, and high admiral of England, though he was but ſix years old[i]. As he had no legitimate ſon, he was extremely fond of this baſtard, whom he had by the lady Elizabeth Blunt[k].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the cardinal was employed in treating with the French embaſſadors. The beginning of June the regent had ſent general full powers to her two embaſſadors. But in the courſe of the negotiation they found they ſhould have occaſion for more particular powers, to ſettle the ſums due from the king of France to the king of England, and which, conſiſting of ſeveral articles, were to be put into one, according to Henry's intention. Theſe new powers were diſpatched the 16th of Auguſt. Upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion, the French embaſſadors had properly nothing to do but to comply with the king of England's pleaſure. Their aim being to diſengage him from the emperor, and unite him with the king their maſter, there was no diſputing upon the terms. But it muſt be confeſſed that, on this occaſion, Henry behaved with uncommon generoſity. Though he might have demanded towns, and even provinces, in return for the friendſhip he was pleaſed to contract with Francis I. and for the charges he was going to be engaged in, he contented himſelf with ſecuring, by new treaties, the ſums that were juſtly due to him. Theſe treaties being ready, were ſigned at Moore, a houſe of the king's[l], on the 30th of Auguſt.

The firſt contained a defenſive league between France and England, againſt all powers ſpiritual or temporal, that ſhould invade either of the two kingdoms. The allies of the two kings were included by name in the league[m], but with the limitation, that this article was not to be underſtood of thoſe who had uſurped any thing upon either of the two principal contractors ſince the league concluded at London, October the 1ſt, 1518. Hence the emperor, who had lately conquered the duchy of Milan, was excluded. Moreover, Henry engaged to uſe his beſt endeavours to procure the liberty of Francis.

The ſecond treaty concerning the payment of the ſums due to Henry from the king of France, namely, 1. by a treaty of the 7th of Auguſt 1515, one million of crowns of gold. 2. By another of the 12th of January 1518, for the reſtitution of Tournay, five hundred thouſand crowns of gold. 3. By another of the ſame date, twenty-three thouſand livres Tournois. 4. By another of November the 13th, 1520, four hundred ſixty-two thouſand crowns. For all theſe ſums the regent bound herſelf in the king her ſon's name, to pay Henry two millions of crowns of gold, of thirty-five pence Tournois each, which being reduced to crowns de ſoleil, of thirty-eight pence, amounted to the ſum of eighteen hundred and ninety-four thouſand, ſeven hundred, thirty-ſix crowns, and thirty-two pence Tournois[n]. This ſum was to be paid at ſeveral times, viz. forty-ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty-eight crowns, within forty days after the date of the treaty; the like ſum on the firſt of November next, and the ſame every ſix months till the whole was paid. This made in all forty payments, conſequently the whole ſum was to be paid in twenty years.

It was farther agreed by the ſame treaty, that if Henry died before he had received the two millions, the arrears were to be paid to his heirs and ſucceſſors. But in caſe he out-lived the payment of the whole, he ſhould receive during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns to ceaſe at his death.

To ſecure the performance of the treaty, the regent was to ſwear to it ſolemnly before the Engliſh embaſſadors, and Francis I. was to ratify and ſwear to it immediately after his return into France. Moreover, Henry had for ſecurity, the cardinal of Bourbon, the dukes of Vendome and Longueville, the earls of St. Paul, Maulevrier, Brienne, the lords of Montmorency, Lautrec, and Brezé, the cities of Paris, Lyons, Orleans, Toulouſe, Amiens, Bourdeaux, Tours, and Rheims[o].

It muſt be obſerved, that in the ſum of two millions of crowns due to Henry, there was no deduction of what he had received from Francis I. from the year 1515, to their rupture. This was all the advantage Henry made, which was not very great, conſidering how little punctual the king of France was in his payments.

By a third treaty, the regent engaged to pay to Mary, Henry's ſiſter, queen dowager of France, all the arrears of her dowry at ſeveral payments, namely, five thouſand crowns within forty days after the date of the treaty, and a like ſum every ſix months till the whole was diſcharged. Moreover, ſhe promiſed to let her enjoy her dowry for the future.

There was alſo a fourth treaty, which ran, that the king of Scotland ſhould be reckoned in the number of the allies of France, but on condition the Scots committed no act of hoſtility againſt England after the 25th of December next.

Laſtly, by a fifth treaty it was agreed, that the court of France ſhould conſent, neither directly nor indirectly, that the duke of Albany ſhould return into Scotland during the minority of James V.

All theſe ſeveral treaties, which properly were only different articles of one and the ſame treaty, were ratified and ſworn by the regent of France[p], and confirmed by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, and Bourdeaux. The lords and cities that were to be ſecurities, gave their bonds. Finally, Francis I. himſelf ſent a ratification under his own hand, and dated the 27th of December.

But after having done the king's affairs, the cardinal forgot not himſelf. There is in the collection of the public acts, the regent's bond of the 18th of November, to pay the cardinal the arrears of the penſion granted him in lieu of the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay, being four years and a half, amounting to the ſum of twenty-nine thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-three crowns of gold de ſoliel[q]. Moreover, ſhe declared, that for ſeveral other weighty reaſons, there was due to the cardinal a hundred thouſand crowns of gold: theſe two ſums making together one hundred and twenty-one thouſand eight hundred and ninety-eight crowns de ſoleil, were to be paid in ſeven years, by half-yearly equal payments.

The defenſive league between France and England being thus concluded and ſigned, the regent began to be a little more at eaſe, and better able to diſpute upon the terms of

[h] And the king, in exchange, permitted him to live in his palace at Richmond; at which, it ſeems, the people were highly offended. See Hall, fol. 144.

[i] He was born in the prior's houſe at Blackmore, in Eſſex, and firſt made knight of the garter, then earl of Nottingham, and the ſame day duke of Richmond and Somerſet, on the 18th of June. He was conſtituted likewiſe lieutenant general beyond the Trent, and warden general of the marches of Scotland. After which he was bred up with Henry, earl of Surrey, at Windſor, from whence they went both together to ſtudy at Paris. Their friendſhip was endeared by the duke's marrying Mary, the earl's ſiſter, daughter to Thomas, duke of Norfolk, by whom he had no iſſue. He was very perſonable and of great expectation, and for abilities of mind and body, one of the rareſt of his time. But he departed this life in the 17th year of his age, and was buried at Thetford, in Norfolk. Herbert. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 305. On the ſame 18th day of June, was Henry Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, created marquis of Exeter, Henry Brandon, ſon of the duke of Suffolk, earl of Lincoln, ſir Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, ſir Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, ſir Robert Ratclif, lord Fitzwalter, viſcount Fitzwalter, and ſir Thomas Bulleyn, viſcount Rochford. Hall, fol. 148.

[k] Daughter of ſir John Blunt, widow of ſir Gilbert Talboys, who was thought, for her rare endowments of nature and ornaments of education, to be the beauty and maſter-piece of her time. Ibid.

[l] In Hertfordſhire.

[m] Their common allies were the pope, Venice, the kings of Hungary and Portugal, and the duke of Ferrara; and thoſe named by France in particular, the kings of Scotland and Navarre; the dukes of Savoy, Lorrain, Gueldres; Switzers; the marquis of Saluzzo, the marquis of Montſerrat, and his mother: thoſe named by king Henry, were the emperor, and his brother Ferdinand, the king of Denmark, the queen dowager of France, Margaret, archduchеſs of Auſtria, the biſhop of Liege, the dukes of Urbino, Cleves, and Juliers, the houſe of Medicis, the Florentines, and the Hanſe towns. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 51.

[n] —Decies octies centum millium coronarum auri de ſole, & nonaginta quatuor millium coronarum auri de ſole, ſeptingentarum triginta ſex coronarum auri de ſole, & triginta duorum ſolidorum turonenſium. Ibid. p. 59.

[o] All theſe lords and cities were to ſend a bond, with their ſeal annexed, within two months, under the obligation and forfeiture of all their goods. Ibid. p. 65.

[p] In October, ſir William Fitzwilliams, treaſurer of the houſhold, and Dr. Taylor, were ſent into France, to ſee the queen regent ſwear to the obſervance of theſe treaties. Hall, fol. 145.

[q] Crowns ſol, or de ſoliel, were golden coins, of old worth thirty-eight pence Tournois.

Monſieur

the king her ſon's liberty. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be ſeen, they altered their meaſures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his embaſſadors, who were ſtill in England[r], and Henry did the ſame with reſpect to his in Spain. Shortly after, Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by virtue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the concluſion of the foremen-tioned treaty.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly diſſatisfied; but the earl of Lenox, though likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an embaſſy to England, at the had whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland for new inſtructions. Mean while, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots[s].

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I. ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chooſing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his priſoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantage he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that, the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis ſubmitted were theſe, beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage[t].

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full ſovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d'Albert to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Phillibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or in caſe of non-performance to return priſoner into Spain.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour[u]. At the time the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it; but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do, but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoners, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? When Charles V. ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot on his own dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe

[r] Monſieur de Prat, his embaſſador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingſh. p. 891.

[s] This year the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raiſed up his head, which was ſtuck faſt in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlaſco Nennez, having in 1513, firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, and Hernando de Magellanes, paſſed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Franceſco Picarro, a Spaniard, reſiding at Panama, firſt attempted the diſcovery of the South-ſea coaſt, and at laſt came to Peru, which he ranſacked.—Hernando de Magelanes aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ſhips returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and ſo firſt compaſſed the globe; Juan Sebaſtian de Cano, a Biſcainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

[t] And ſome other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 311.

[u] At the concluſion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did ſwear by the ſacrament and the holy evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any ſhould break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a farce; for before Francis ſigned the treaty, he made a formal, though private, proteſtation againſt it, in the preſence of a few truſty witneſſes and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

Before

came [h]. Probably this treaty was to be made public, in order to induce the emperor to deſiſt from his claim to Burgundy, and be ſatisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the ſecond treaty it was agreed :

That in caſe the emperor rejected their propoſals, or deferred his anſwer, all commerce ſhould be forbidden with his ſubjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects;

That the two kings ſhould make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horſe [i] ſhould be furniſhed by the king of France.

That they ſhould equip a fleet with fifteen thouſand men, whereof the king of France ſhould find ten thouſand.

That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or ſtate ſhould join with the emperor, they ſhould be declared enemies to both the kings.

That the pope and Venetians ſhould be deemed included in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

That the king of France ſhould endeavour to perſuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark, to make war upon the emperor.

That the two kings ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to proſecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in caſe he had not already made and alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother, Ferdinand, employed in thoſe parts.

That the league ſhould be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their aſſiſting the emperor.

The ſubſtance of the third treaty was :

1. That this treaty ſhould not derogate from that of Moore, which remained in force.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry, and their reſpective ſubjects.

3. That neither of them ſhould give aid or advice to any perſon whatever that ſhould attack the dominions of the other.

4. Henry renounced for himſelf and ſucceſſors all right and title to the kingdom of France [k], and, in general, whatever Francis now poſſeſſed.

5. In conſideration whereof, Francis bound himſelf and ſucceſſors to pay to Henry's ſucceſſors an annual penſion for ever of fifty thouſand crowns, at two payments; namely, on the 1ſt of May, and the 1ſt of November, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence on the firſt of thoſe two days which ſhould happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after Henry's deceaſe of the two millions, ſtipulated by the treaty of Moore.

6. Moreover Francis bound himſelf to give yearly to Henry fifteen thouſand crowns worth of ſalt of Bruage [l], beſides the forementioned fifty thouſand crowns.

7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king cannot bind his ſucceſſors, the two kings ſhould cauſe the treaty to be confirmed by the ſtates of their realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

8. That the treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the archbiſhops, biſhops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of juſtice in England.

The news of the ſacking of Rome and the pope's captivity, arriving ſhortly after the concluſion of theſe treaties, the two kings thought fit to alter the article of the ſecond, concerning their carrying war into the Low Countries, and to agree to act only in Italy. But as the Engliſh troops could not be tranſported into Italy without great difficulties and loſs of time, they agreed that the king of France ſhould undertake the war alone for a certain ſum [m], which Henry was to pay him monthly till the end of October. The laſt treaty was ſigned the 29th of May, about three weeks after the taking of Rome.

In conſequence of the firſt of the three treaties of April the 30th, Henry ſent ſir Francis Pointz into Spain to demand of the emperor, that as by their former treaties the war with France was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hoſtages received from the French king. Pointz was accompanied with Clarenceux king at arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his office when there ſhould be occaſion. The emperor eaſily perceived the king of England ſought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his intereſt to prolong the time, he told the embaſſador he would ſend his anſwer to the king his maſter by an expreſs.

While the embaſſador was on his way to Spain, Francis and Henry, hearing what had paſſed in Italy, thought proper that cardinal Wolſey ſhould go and confer with Francis at Amiens, in order to concert meaſures agreeable to the ſituation of affairs. Shortly after, Francis ſent Lautrec with the forces deſigned for Italy [n].

Cardinal Wolſey departing from court the 3d of July, arrived at Calais the 11th [o], from whence he went to Abbeville and ſtayed till Francis came to Amiens. He was received at his entrance into the French territories with the ſame reſpect as would have been paid to the king of England. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, Francis's letters patents, empowering the cardinal, his deareſt and great friend, to releaſe the priſoners wherever he came, what crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except high treaſon, rapes, coining, ſacrilege, and the like, and to grant them a pardon by his letters patents.

Whilſt the cardinal was at Abbeville he received a memorial from the emperor, containing his anſwer to the king of France's offers to the viceroy of Naples. He had, as was obſerved, rejected theſe offers at firſt with diſdain, and refuſed to hear them mentioned. But the ſituation of his affairs being altered by the league between France and England, he believed it would be better to end all difference by a peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the war alone againſt ſo many powerful enemies. It was therefore, in order to procure a peace, that he ſent this anſwer to the cardinal, wherewith he imagined the king of France and Henry would be ſatisfied.

As this memorial is very proper to illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not doubtleſs be unacceptable to inſert the ſubſtance thereof.

" The emperor began with proteſting, that by what he offered in his memorial, he meant not to derogate from the treaty of Madrid, but in the points only which were contrary to it. He added, that as to the hoſtages, the king of France was not ignorant of the reaſon of their being in Spain, and had it in his power to recover them. Then he ſet forth the offers made by Francis to the viceroy of Naples, containing the four following articles :

The king of FRANCE's offers to the emperor.

" I. That he would execute the treaty of Madrid, provided Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of Milan.

" II. That he would give the emperor in lieu of Burgundy two millions of gold payable, namely, a good ſum in hand, when queen Leonora ſhould be delivered to him, and the reſt at a day to be appointed, and then his ſons ſhould be reſtored; unleſs the emperor had rather have the whole ſum at once, and deliver at the ſame time the queen and the two hoſtages.

" III. That he would pay the king of England what was due from the emperor.

" IV. He demanded that the emperor ſhould increaſe queen Leonora's dowry in proportion to the ſum he was to receive, ſince he could do it without any charge to himſelf.

[h] Hall ſays, the people were very much againſt this match, becauſe the princeſs Mary being king Henry's preſumptive heir, if he died without ſons, ſhe ſucceeded of courſe to the throne, and, on account of her marriage, it was feared ſhe would be too much under the influence of France, fol. 155.

[i] Twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. See Herbert, p. 81.

[k] —Jus, titulam, & verum dominium in regno Franciæ.—Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 220.

[l] A town in Santonge, famous for its ſaltpits, about eight leagues from Rochel. The ſalt in this diſtrict brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum.

[m] Thirty thouſand ducats, or thirty-two thouſand two hundred and twenty-two crowns de ſoleil, to be deducted out of what Francis owed him. Herbert. p. 83. Guicciard, l. 18.

[n] He ſet out June 30, with eight hundred lances. Guicciard. l. 18.

[o] He was met at Boulogne by monſieur de Byron, with a thouſand horſe, and after by John, cardinal of Lorrain, and the chancellor of Alencon, who accompanied him firſt to Montreuil, and then to Abbeville. He was attended by Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, the late Sandes, the king's chamberlain, Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, ſir Henry Guildford, ſir Thomas More, with many knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred horſe. Hall, fol. 160. Stow, p. 531. Herbert, p. 83. He brought with with him thirty thouſand crowns. Guiccia. l. 18. Hall ſays it was two hundred and forty thouſand pounds. fol. 161. Hollingſh. p. 897.

the king her ſon's liberty. Beſides, ſhe had reaſon to hope, the king of England's declaration would help to determine the pope and Venetians, whoſe fears alone hindered them from forming a league againſt the emperor. And indeed, it will hereafter be ſeen, they altered their meaſures upon hearing what the king of England had done. Mean while, the emperor receiving advice of the treaty of Moore, recalled his embaſſadors, who were ſtill in England[r], and Henry did the ſame with reſpect to his in Spain. Shortly after, Charles concluded his marriage with Iſabella of Portugal, by virtue of a diſpenſation brought him by cardinal Salviati, who delivered it to him after the concluſion of the foremen-tioned treaty.

Whilſt the affairs of Europe took a new turn, by the effects of the battle of Pavia, and the French king's captivity, there was no other alteration in thoſe of Scotland, except that the earl of Angus, who was to hold the adminiſtration but four months, did not think fit to reſign when his time was expired. Whereupon the earl of Argyle withdrew greatly diſſatisfied; but the earl of Lenox, though likewiſe diſpleaſed, ſtill remained at court. Mean while, the queen, and the earl of Arran, who had been diſpoſſeſſed, were not unmindful of their affairs. The earl of Lenox's diſcontent giving them room to hold intelligence with him, they perſuaded him to inſtill into the king a deſire to be freed from the earl of Angus. But as there was occaſion for great precaution to deceive that lord's vigilance, it was not till the next year that the king found an opportunity to attempt the execution of his deſign.

In the beginning of the year, the court of Scotland had ſent an embaſſy to England, at the had whereof was the earl of Caſſils, to treat of the king's marriage with the princeſs Mary. But as ſeveral difficulties occurred, the truce which was to expire the 26th of January, was prolonged to the 23d of March, to give the earl of Caſſils time to take a journey to Scotland for new inſtructions. Mean while, it was not poſſible to conclude any thing, becauſe, in all appearance, Henry had no intention to give his only daughter and heir to the king of Scotland. Indeed, it does not appear what advantage could be reaped by the marriage. Beſides, as he then intended to join with France, it was no longer his intereſt to manage the Scots[s].

Before the treaty of Moore was concluded, the emperor had a great advantage in his negotiations at Rome and Madrid. By reſtoring Sforza to Milan, he was almoſt ſure the pope and Venetians would abandon France, and by deſiſting from his demand of the duchy of Burgundy, he could be certain Francis would readily reſign Milan, and not trouble himſelf much with the concerns of Italy. But he could not reſolve to do either, and that made the negotiations ſo tedious. After the treaty of Moore was ſigned, the ſtate of his affairs was changed. The pope was grown more courageous, and finding himſelf deceived by the emperor, who in a ſecond ratification of their treaty, left the reſtoration of Sforza in a ſtate of uncertainty, plainly told him, that without the reſtitution of the Milaneſe, there was no peace to be expected. The emperor had alſo reaſon to fear, that Francis I. ſeeing himſelf like to be ſo well ſupported, would be ſtill more incompliant with reſpect to Burgundy. So, perceiving there was no way to prevent a league which was going to unite ſo many princes againſt him, he was in great perplexity. There was a neceſſity of ſpeedily reſolving either to maintain, without any ally, the impending war, or to make peace with France. Both were equally perplexing. In chooſing war, he knew not where to find money, and in making with his priſoner a forced peace, he could not expect to reap from his victory the advantage he propoſed. Happily for him, Francis, tired of his captivity, freed him from this perplexity, by offering to reſign the duchy of Burgundy, which had hitherto been the main obſtacle to a peace. After that, the emperor readily and ſeriouſly treated with him, whereas before he had only amuſed him. Shortly after, they concluded together the famous treaty of Madrid. The chief articles to which Francis ſubmitted were theſe, beſides many others which it would be needleſs to recite.

That the king of France ſhould marry queen Leonora, the emperor's ſiſter, and have with her two hundred thouſand crowns of gold.

That Francis ſhould be releaſed on the 10th of March, and the ſame day ſhould deliver to the emperor his two ſons in hoſtage[t].

That he ſhould reſign to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy in full ſovereignty.

That he ſhould deſiſt from the homage the emperor owed him for Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould renounce all claim to Naples, Milan, Aſti, Tournay, Liſle, and Heſdin, &c.

That he ſhould perſuade Henry d'Albert to reſign the kingdom of Navarre to the emperor, or at leaſt ſhould give him no aſſiſtance.

That, within forty days, he ſhould reſtore the duke of Bourbon and all his party to their eſtates.

That he ſhould reſtore Phillibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and Michael Antonio de Saluzzo, to their principalities.

That he ſhould give no ſort of aſſiſtance to the duke of Guelders, and after that prince's death, ſhould uſe his beſt endeavours to cauſe his towns to fall into the emperor's hands.

That he ſhould pay the king of England five hundred thouſand crowns which the emperor owed him.

That when the emperor went to Italy to receive the imperial crown, he ſhould lend him twelve gallies, four large ſhips, and a land army, or two hundred thouſand crowns inſtead of the army.

Laſtly, he promiſed upon the word and honour of a prince, to execute all theſe articles, or in caſe of non-performance to return priſoner into Spain.

If Francis had not been ſo haſty to offer the duchy of Burgundy, he would probably have ſaved himſelf many troubles, and avoided reproaches which much concerned his honour[u]. At the time the treaty of Madrid was concluded, Charles was under very great perplexities. Beſides thoſe already mentioned, he knew that the princes and Hans-Towns of Germany, that had embraced Luther's doctrine, began to take meaſures to ſecure themſelves from the calamities they were daily threatened with. To this was added, the dread of a Turkiſh invaſion in Hungary, which greatly concerned the emperor, by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Auſtria. So, in all likelihood, if Francis had not been ſo haſty, the emperor would have rather deſiſted from Burgundy than been expoſed to ſo many enemies at once. theſe were the real motives that obliged him to haſten the concluſion of the treaty of Madrid, contrary to the inſtances and oppoſition of many of his counſellors, who repreſented to him, that he would be infallibly diſappointed. His chancellor even refuſed to ſign it; but as he believed he had ſtrong reaſons to run that hazard, he abſolutely concluded, in a belief that it was the ſole means to prevent the league againſt him. Whatever happened, he hoped to come off by reſtoring Sforza to Milan, which however he did not intend to do, but at the laſt extremity. Mean while, by reſolving to inſiſt upon that article, he rendered all his meaſures ineffectual; he loſt his priſoners, without obtaining Burgundy, or preventing the league; in ſhort, after ſuſtaining many attacks, he was, as will be ſeen, forced to part with the duchy of Milan. But where is the prince, let his abilities be ever ſo great, that can foreſee all the conſequences of his own policy? When Charles V. ſigned the treaty of Madrid, he thought it very advantageous. Indeed Francis would have dearly purchaſed his liberty, if, when he ſigned the treaty, he had really intended to keep it. But it is too manifeſt, that when he gave his word, he deſigned to break it, ſince he had no ſooner ſet foot on his own dominions, but he refuſed to ratify the treaty. This was ſo little expected by the emperor, that immediately after the concluſion of the peace, he wrote to the pope, that though he had promiſed to reſtore Sforza to Milan, it was however on condition that Sforza cleared himſelf of the crime of felony and treaſon laid to his charge. Adding, that ſince the princes of Italy wiſhed, he would not give the duchy of Milan to the archduke Ferdinand, his brother, he would preſent it to the duke of Bourbon, in caſe

[r] Monſieur de Prat, his embaſſador, departed out of England April 9. Hall, fol. 139. Hollingſh. p. 891.

[s] This year the king following his hawk, and leaping over a ditch with a pole, fell in upon his head, and had not one Edmund Moody, a footman, jumped in, and raiſed up his head, which was ſtuck faſt in the clay, he had been drowned. Hall, fol. 139. Stow, p. 523.—Vlaſco Nennez, having in 1513, firſt diſcovered the South-ſea, and Hernando de Magellanes, paſſed in 1520, through the Straits in South America, that bear his name; this year 1525, Franceſco Picarro, a Spaniard, reſiding at Panama, firſt attempted the diſcovery of the South-ſea coaſt, and at laſt came to Peru, which he ranſacked.—Hernando de Magelanes aforementioned, dying in the voyage, his companions went on to Borneo, and the Moluccas, whence one of the ſhips returned to Spain, by the Cape of Good Hope, and ſo firſt compaſſed the globe; Juan Sebaſtian de Cano, a Biſcainer, being pilot. Herbert, p. 70.

[t] And ſome other lords, among whom was the duke of Albany. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 311.

[u] At the concluſion of this treaty, Francis coming to the altar, and putting his right hand upon the bible, did ſwear by the ſacrament and the holy evangeliſts, not to break this capitulation all the days of his life, nor to give counſel or favour that any ſhould break it. Herbert, p. 74. But it ſeems all this was a farce; for before Francis ſigned the treaty, he made a formal, though private, proteſtation againſt it, in the pretence of a few truſty witneſſes and notaries. See P. Daniel, tom. VII. p. 614.

Before

came [h]. Probably this treaty was to be made public, in order to induce the emperor to deſiſt from his claim to Burgundy, and be ſatisfied with the offered equivalent.

By the ſecond treaty it was agreed :

That in caſe the emperor rejected their propoſals, or deferred his anſwer, all commerce ſhould be forbidden with his ſubjects by the two kings, allowing them however forty days to withdraw their effects ;

That the two kings ſhould make war upon the emperor in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms, and that two thirds of the foot and all the horſe [i] ſhould be furniſhed by the king of France.

That they ſhould equip a fleet with fifteen thouſand men, whereof the king of France ſhould find ten thouſand.

That if the king of Portugal or any other prince or ſtate ſhould join with the emperor, they ſhould be declared enemies to both the kings.

That the pope and Venetians ſhould be deemed included in the league, provided they continued the war in Italy.

That the king of France ſhould endeavour to perſuade the king of Navarre, the duke of Gueldres, and Robert de la Mark, to make war upon the emperor.

That the two kings ſhould uſe their joint endeavours to encourage John de Zapol to proſecute his right to the crown of Hungary, in caſe he had not already made and alliance with the Turk, in order to keep the emperor's brother, Ferdinand, employed in thoſe parts.

That the league ſhould be notified to the princes of Germany, and the two kings endeavour to prevent their aſſiſting the emperor.

The ſubſtance of the third treaty was :

1. That this treaty ſhould not derogate from that of Moore, which remained in force.

2. That there ſhould be perpetual peace between Francis and Henry, and their reſpective ſubjects.

3. That neither of them ſhould give aid or advice to any perſon whatever that ſhould attack the dominions of the other.

4. Henry renounced for himſelf and ſucceſſors all right and title to the kingdom of France [k], and, in general, whatever Francis now poſſeſſed.

5. In conſideration whereof, Francis bound himſelf and ſucceſſors to pay to Henry's ſucceſſors an annual penſion for ever of fifty thouſand crowns, at two payments ; namely, on the 1ſt of May, and the 1ſt of November, and that the payment of the penſion ſhould commence on the firſt of thoſe two days which ſhould happen after Henry's death, without deduction of what ſhould remain to be paid after Henry's deceaſe of the two millions, ſtipulated by the treaty of Moore.

6. Moreover Francis bound himſelf to give yearly to Henry fifteen thouſand crowns worth of ſalt of Bruage [l], beſides the forementioned fifty thouſand crowns.

7. That, to prevent the objection which might hereafter be made, that a king cannot bind his ſucceſſors, the two kings ſhould cauſe the treaty to be confirmed by the ſtates of their realms, and held as a perpetual and inviolable law.

8. That the treaty ſhould be approved and confirmed by the archbiſhops, biſhops, princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other great men of the two kingdoms, whoſe names were inſerted in this article, under forfeiture of all their goods ; and by the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Roan, Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of juſtice in England.

The news of the ſacking of Rome and the pope's captivity, arriving ſhortly after the concluſion of theſe treaties, the two kings thought fit to alter the article of the ſecond, concerning their carrying war into the Low Countries, and to agree to act only in Italy. But as the Engliſh troops could not be tranſported into Italy without great difficulties and loſs of time, they agreed that the king of France ſhould undertake the war alone for a certain ſum [m], which Henry was to pay him monthly till the end of October. The laſt treaty was ſigned the 29th of May, about three weeks after the taking of Rome.

In conſequence of the firſt of the three treaties of April the 30th, Henry ſent ſir Francis Pointz into Spain to demand of the emperor, that as by their former treaties the war with France was carried on at a common charge, he would give him half the booty taken at Pavia, and one of the two hoſtages received from the French king. Pointz was accompanied with Clarenceux king at arms, but incognito, that he might be ready to do his office when there ſhould be occaſion. The emperor eaſily perceived the king of England ſought only a pretence of quarrel. But as it was his intereſt to prolong the time, he told the embaſſador he would ſend his anſwer to the king his maſter by an expreſs.

While the embaſſador was on his way to Spain, Francis and Henry, hearing what had paſſed in Italy, thought proper that cardinal Wolſey ſhould go and confer with Francis at Amiens, in order to concert meaſures agreeable to the ſituation of affairs. Shortly after, Francis ſent Lautrec with the forces deſigned for Italy [n].

Cardinal Wolſey departing from court the 3d of July, arrived at Calais the 11th [o], from whence he went to Abbeville and ſtayed till Francis came to Amiens. He was received at his entrance into the French territories with the ſame reſpect as would have been paid to the king of England. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, Francis's letters patents, empowering the cardinal, his deareſt and great friend, to releaſe the priſoners wherever he came, what crimes ſoever they were guilty of, except high treaſon, rapes, coining, ſacrilege, and the like, and to grant them a pardon by his letters patents.

Whilſt the cardinal was at Abbeville he received a memorial from the emperor, containing his anſwer to the king of France's offers to the viceroy of Naples. He had, as was obſerved, rejected theſe offers at firſt with diſdain, and refuſed to hear them mentioned. But the ſituation of his affairs being altered by the league between France and England, he believed it would be better to end all difference by a peace, than run the hazard of maintaining the war alone againſt ſo many powerful enemies. It was therefore, in order to procure a peace, that he ſent this anſwer to the cardinal, wherewith he imagined the king of France and Henry would be ſatisfied.

As this memorial is very proper to illuſtrate the hiſtory of thoſe times, it will not doubtleſs be unacceptable to inſert the ſubſtance thereof.

" The emperor began with proteſting, that by what he offered in his memorial, he meant not to derogate from the treaty of Madrid, but in the points only which were contrary to it. He added, that as to the hoſtages, the king of France was not ignorant of the reaſon of their being in Spain, and had it in his power to recover them. Then he ſet forth the offers made by Francis to the viceroy of Naples, containing the four following articles :

The king of FRANCE's offers to the emperor.

" I. That he would execute the treaty of Madrid, provided Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of Milan.

" II. That he would give the emperor in lieu of Burgundy two millions of gold payable, namely, a good ſum in hand, when queen Leonora ſhould be delivered to him, and the reſt at a day to be appointed, and then his ſons ſhould be reſtored ; unleſs the emperor had rather have the whole ſum at once, and deliver at the ſame time the queen and the two hoſtages.

" III. That he would pay the king of England what was due from the emperor.

" IV. He demanded that the emperor ſhould increaſe queen Leonora's dowry in proportion to the ſum he was to receive, ſince he could do it without any charge to himſelf.

[h] Hall ſays, the people were very much againſt this match, becauſe the princeſs Mary being king Henry's preſumptive heir, if he died without ſons, ſhe ſucceeded of courſe to the throne, and, on account of her marriage, it was feared ſhe would be too much under the influence of France, fol. 155.

[i] Twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred men at arms. See Herbert, p. 81.

[k] —Jus, titulam, & verum dominium in regno Franciæ.—Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 220.

[l] A town in Santonge, famous for its ſaltpits, about eight leagues from Rochel. The ſalt in this diſtrict brings in the king of France fourteen millions of livres per annum.

[m] Thirty thouſand ducats, or thirty-two thouſand two hundred and twenty-two crowns de ſoleil, to be deducted out of what Francis owed him. Herbert. p. 83. Guicciard, l. 18.

[n] He ſet out June 30, with eight hundred lances. Guicciard. l. 18.

[o] He was met at Boulogne by monſieur de Byron, with a thouſand horſe, and after by John, cardinal of Lorrain, and the chancellor of Alencon, who accompanied him firſt to Montreuil, and then to Abbeville. He was attended by Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of London, the late Sandes, the king's chamberlain, Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, ſir Henry Guildford, ſir Thomas More, with many knights and others, to the number of twelve hundred horſe. Hall, fol. 160. Stow, p. 531. Herbert, p. 83. He brought with with him thirty thouſand crowns. Guiccia. l. 18. Hall ſays it was two hundred and forty thouſand pounds. fol. 161. Hollingſh. p. 897.

The EMPEROR's Anſwer.

The emperor replied to theſe four articles by the eight following declarations:

"I. That what ſhall be agreed upon ſhould not be prejudicial to the treaty of Madrid, except in ſuch things as ſhould be altered by mutual conſent.

"II. That the emperor's right to Burgundy ſhould remain entire, as before the treaty of Madrid.

"III. That all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, except ſuch as were mentioned in theſe offers, ſhould remain entire.

"IV. The emperor in his fourth declaration ſaid, that he hoped the king of England and the lord cardinal would cauſe the ſum of two millions of gold, offered by the king of France, to be augmented. However, if that could not be, it ſhould be underſtood, that this ſum was over and above what the emperor owed the king of England, as well for money lent, as for the indemnity he had undertaken to diſcharge, which ſums the king of France had taken upon himſelf in the treaty of Madrid; beſides, likewiſe, the reſtitution of the late Mr. de Bourbon's eſtate, it being reaſonable that his heirs ſhould partake of the benefit of the treaty. Item, That the king of France ſhould punctually perform all the reſt of the articles concluded on his part in the treaty of Madrid before his ſons left Spain; the emperor not being able, after what had paſſed, to take any ſecurity if the hoſtages remained not in his power till the treaty was fully executed.

"V. That purſuant to the treaty of Madrid, what ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould be ratified by the ſtates general of France, and approved by the parliaments. Or, if that could not be done by the ſtates general, it ſhould at leaſt be ratified by the ſtates of each province.

"VI. The emperor declared, That he could not ſend the queen his ſiſter to France till every thing was accompliſhed, and then the queen and the hoſtages ſhould be ſent together.

"VII. That as for duke Sforza, the emperor would appoint impartial judges to decide his affair, as if he was found guilty of no crime for which he deſerved to be deprived of his duchy, he ſhould be reſtored. But if he was condemned, the ſtate of Milan ſhould remain in the emperor's diſpoſal, according to juſtice and equity.

"VIII. That the king of England ſhould be guarantee of the future treaty, and, by his letters patents, engage to aſſiſt, at his own charge, with a certain number of troops, him of the two parties that ſhould keep the treaty, againſt him that ſhould not obſerve it.

"Beſides theſe eight conditions, which the emperor called declarations, he demanded moreover in his memorial, that the king of France ſhould ſatisfy him for the expences of the leagues he had made with him, and of which he was the ſole author, empowering the king of England to ſettle the ſum.

"Finally, he ſaid, That he did not queſtion the king of England, who perfectly knew what had paſſed between the two parties, would not cauſe the king of France's offers to be encreaſed, and that the lord legate, whom the emperor always looked upon as his good friend, would alſo endeavour the ſame to the utmoſt of his power: that however, he was ſo inclined to peace, that if the king of England deſired he ſhould make any farther conceſſions than what were contained in the eight foregoing declarations, he would do more for his ſake than for any prince in the world. That he ſhould be very glad all the potentates of Europe knew how much he valued his friendſhip, and aſcribed to him the whole glory of procuring the peace. This memorial was dated at Valladolid the ——— of July 1527.

If this anſwer of the emperor be cloſely examined, it will be manifeſt that he ſimply and abſolutely accepted of the French king's offers, under terms denoting, it was he that gave rather than received law, and that by his declarations he only obviated all poſſible cavils. As to what he farther demanded, it was under ſuch reſtrictions, that he ſeemed willing to ſtand to the king of England's determination, which at ſuch a juncture was the ſame as departing from his demands. There was but one ſingle point concerning which he could not reſolve to ſubmit; namely, the duke of Milan's affair. But this was a point newly propoſed by the king of France, and which had no relation to the treaty of Madrid, where nothing like it was to be found. However, it is plain, if that had been the only obſtacle to a peace, he would alſo have granted it, ſince he reſerved a way to come off with honour, namely, by cauſing Sforza to be declared innocent, in the manner he had himſelf propoſed to the pope. Perhaps Francis would have accepted the peace on the terms offered in the memorial, if the emperor had come to that reſolution at firſt. But ſince he had made theſe offers to the viceroy of Naples, the face of affairs was very much altered, as he had entirely gained Henry to his intereſt, and as after the taking of Rome it was to be feared the emperor would become maſter of all Italy. Mean while, the emperor's offers, which were in effect the ſame Francis had made to the viceroy of Naples, were either to be accepted or rejected. But as it was not Henry's buſineſs to return an anſwer, ſince the affair did not directly concern him, he only ſent the memorial to the king of France, who no longer deſiring to make peace, diſengaged himſelf in this manner: He demanded in the firſt place, that Sforza ſhould be reſtored without condition. Secondly, that his ſons ſhould be delivered before he recalled his forces from Italy, where Lautrec was now arrived, offering to depoſit three hundred thouſand ducats in the hands of the king of England for ſecurity of his word. There could not be a plainer evidence of his little deſire to execute the treaty of Madrid, though the ſame terms only were demanded as were offered by himſelf preſently after his deliverance. He meant, after having withdrawn his hoſtages, to have the execution of the treaty in his own power, under colour of offering to depoſit, for ſecurity, three hundred thouſand ducats in the hands of a prince devoted to him, and who by a private treaty was engaged to make his intereſt his own. The emperor, unwilling to be thus inſnared, offered on his part to depoſit the ſame ſum in the hands of the king of England for pledge that the hoſtages ſhould be reſtored. But his offer being rejected, the affair ſtopped there, and war was only thought of. Mean while, the emperor deſiring to let all the world ſee it was not his fault that a peace was not concluded, gave the embaſſadors of England, of the pope, and of the Venetians, the ſame anſwer he had ſent to cardinal Wolſey. They all ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and ſaid their maſters would doubtleſs accept a peace on theſe terms, and ſend orders to conclude it. But they knew not that the kings of France and England had altered their minds and taken new reſolutions.

If Francis and cardinal Wolſey were to confer together at Abbeville, it was not to ſeek means to make peace, but rather to take meaſures, on ſuppoſition that a war with the emperor was infallible. Francis being come to Abbeville the 1ſt of Auguſt, the cardinal waited on him, and, after conferring together, they concluded on the 18th three treaties, which properly were only ſupplements, explanations, and reſtrictions, of the three foregoing ones.

By the firſt it was agreed:

I. That, as he had left it to the king of France's choice to marry the princeſs Mary, or leave her for the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, the duke ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs when they ſhould both be of age. That then, and not before, ſhould be ſettled the marriage articles concerning the dowry, the education of the duke of Orleans in England, and the like. Moreover, that, whether the marriage ſhould be conſummated, or the two kings think fit to diſpoſe of their children otherwiſe, their friendſhip ſhould remain inviolable, the marriage being only to be conſidered as a ſupplement to the treaties of the 30th of April, and not as part of thoſe treaties.

II. That the treaty concluded at Moore ſhould remain in full force.

III. That the project of the interview of the two kings ſhould be laid aſide, on account of the ſeaſon and circumſtances of affairs.

IV. As by the treaty of the 29th of May, it was agreed that the king of England ſhould contribute a certain ſum for the war of Italy; it was concluded by this, that in caſe the emperor accepted the offers the two kings ſhould make him by their embaſſadors, the contribution ſhould ceaſe without any prejudice to the treaty of peace: But if he rejected them, the treaty of league, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould ſubſiſt, on condition that, during this campaign, the king of England ſhould be deemed to have diſcharged his part of the treaty, by his contribution for the war with Italy.

V. That the king of England ſhould form no demands upon the king of France on pretence of his charges for the war of Italy.

VI. That to prevent all diſputes, without examining the number of troops which the king of France maintained in Italy, the king of England ſhould pay for the month of June laſt

laſt twenty thouſand crowns, for the month of July laſt thirty thouſand crowns, and thirty-two thouſand two hundred and twenty two for each of the three following months. On condition, however, that if in theſe three laſt months, the Engliſh commiſſaries found in the army of Italy, a leſs number of troops than what the king of France was to maintain, the contribution ſhould be leſſened in proportion. Moreover, if a peace was made during theſe three laſt months, the contribution ſhould ceaſe the day the peace was concluded.

By the ſecond treaty, which concerned only trade, Francis promiſed to give the Engliſh merchants ſuch privileges as ſhould be agreed upon hereafter.

By a third treaty the two kings were bound,

Firſt, not to conſent to the calling of a general council during the pope's captivity.

Secondly To receive no bull brief or mandate from the pope [p] till he was releaſed.

Thirdly, That till the pope ſhould reſume the government of the church, whatever ſhould be determined in England by the cardinal legate, aſſiſted by the principal members of the clergy [q], and in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, ſhould be punctually executed.

Theſe treaties being concluded, Francis I. ratified them, and ſwore to the obſervance before he left Abbeville [r]. Cardinal Wolſey did the ſame thing in his maſter's name, by virtue of his full powers and title of vicar general, which he had received on this occaſion. After that he returned into England to give the king an account of the ſucceſs of his negotiations [s].

Henry being reſolved to proclaim war againſt the emperor, but willing to conceal the real motives, demanded of him by his embaſſadors, four things, which he knew could not then be performed. The firſt was, That he ſhould pay what was borrowed of him, or of his father king Henry VII. The ſecond, that he ſhould pay him the five hundred thouſand crowns to which he was obliged, in caſe he married not the princeſs Mary, to whom he was affianced. The third, that according to the tenor of their treaty, he ſhould ſatisfy him for his penſion from the king of France, whereof there was now due four years and four months. The fourth, that he ſhould releaſe the pope, and ſatisfy him for all the damages cauſed by his troops. The emperor anſwered the embaſſadors, firſt, that he had never denied his debt to the king of England; but was ſurprized he ſhould at this juncture inſiſt ſo much upon payment: that at leaſt, when the money was required, the obligations ſhould be offered to be reſtored. Secondly, that he would write to the king their maſter to acquaint him, why he did not think himſelf liable to the penalty of five hundred thouſand crowns, for not conſummating the marriage. In the third place, that orders were ſent into Italy to ſet the pope free. He ſaid nothing concerning making ſatisfaction for the penſion, becauſe probably he conſidered it as included in the article of the debts to which he owned himſelf bound, as indeed nothing was more reaſonable.

The emperor's replies were not capable of ſatisfying Henry, who only ſought an occaſion of quarrel. On the other hand, Francis having called together the chief men, that is to ſay properly, perſons devoted to him, declared to them all the ſteps he had made towards a peace with the emperor; and it may be eaſily gueſſed, he was not very careful to explain what the emperor might allege againſt him. Having repreſented the matter as he pleaſed, he ſaid he was ready to return into captivity, if it was judged that he was obliged in honour or conſcience. The aſſembly unanimouſly replied, that his perſon belonged to the realm, and it was no in his power to diſpoſe of it according to his pleaſure: that moreover, he could not alienate the provinces of the crown, but if the emperor would accept of a ranſom for the two princes in hoſtage, they offered the king two millions of gold to redeem them. A man muſt have voluntarily ſhut his eyes, not to ſee what was the deſign of this farce, entirely managed by the court. Mean while the king believing, after this deciſion, that he might with a ſafe conſcience go to war with the emperor, thought only of means to recover his ſons by force of arms. He ſtill hoped, however, the dread of a war would induce the emperor to mitigate the treaty of Madrid. This was not now with reſpect to Burgundy, ſince he could not be ignorant that the emperor had accepted the offered equivalent. But he hoped by means of the war, to procure a new treaty, which ſhould annul that of Madrid. Thus many princes play with their words and oaths, and ſeek to blind themſelves, or at leaſt, the public, whilſt none about them dare to tell them the truth. The emperor kept his word no better with regard to the duchy of Milan; and Henry VIII. ſcrupled not to break his league with the emperor, as he had before violated that with Francis. Princes never want excuſes when they have a mind to break a treaty. But the public is not always impoſed upon, though frequently they appear ſo to be. Probably, the ſovereign themſelves are not ſo blind, but they ſee the irregularity of their conduct, though countenanced by the diſſimulation of the public, they affect a great ſecurity. But the time comes at laſt, when poſterity, leſs prepoſſeſſed, does juſtice to all the world, and calls things by their proper name.

Francis, willing to preſerve the friendſhip newly contracted with Henry, ſent him the order of St. Michael [t], by Anne de Montmorency [u], one of the knights. This lord had power to diſpenſe with Henry's oath, in whole or in part, as the new knight ſhould think fit, or even to be contented with his bare word. Henry was pleaſed to ſwear to obſerve all the ſtatutes of the order of St. Michael, which were not contrary to thoſe of the garter, or any other order he had already received. Then he ſent the order of the garter to Francis, by Arthur [Plantegenet] viſcount Liſle, natural ſon of Edward IVth [w], and Francis took the uſual oath of the order, with the ſame reſtrictions. The French embaſſador, who arrived in England about the end of October, was received with ſuch magnificence, that du Bellai, who accompanied him, aſſures us, he had never ſeen the like. The Engliſh embaſſador was received in the ſame manner in France, there having ever been between Francis and Henry an emulation, which frequently threw them into needleſs expences. But it was moſt inconvenient for Francis, by reaſon of his continual wars with the emperor, wherein Henry was no farther engaged than he pleaſed: nay, he paid the very contribution for the war of Italy, by way of deduction for the ſums owed him by Francis [x], as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts. Thus Francis was forced to diſburſe all the money employed in that war, of which I muſt now relate the ſequel.

Clement VII. was ſtill confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo, till he could pay the ſums exacted upon him. As he had but little money, he could only pay part of what he had promiſed, and therefore his captivity was longer than he expected at firſt; they, in whoſe cuſtody he was, not being willing to truſt to his word. The emperor had not advice of the ſacking of Rome, and the pope's impriſonment, ſooner than the beginning of June, and it was above a month before he came to any reſolution. As he did not queſtion this affair would make great noiſe in the world, he was willing to ſee, before he determined what to do, how the kings of France and England would take it, in order to proceed accordingly. The 2d of Auguſt, he wrote to Henry to excuſe himſelf concerning the outrages committed by his troops at Rome, and the violence exerciſed upon the pope's perſon, wherein he proteſted he was not concerned. At the ſame time he aſked his advice about what was to be done on the occa-

[p] Any way prejudicial to either of the two kings, their kingdoms, or to the cardinal of York's legatine juriſdiction. Rymer, tom, XIV. p. 213, 214.

[q] —Accitie de mandato & auctoritate prædicti—Angliæ regis in regno Angliæ, prelatis, circa ſtatum & adminiſtrationem rerum eccleſiaſticarum in Anglia, &c. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 214. Called together by the king's authority, and his conſent firſt obtained to what ſhould be determined. And here (ſays lord Herbert) began the reliſh our king took of governing the church. p. 85.

[r] They were ratified at Amiens, Auguſt 18. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 216, 218.

[s] About the end of September. Francis not only richly preſented him, but conducted him through the town, and upon his way about a mile, being accompanied with the titular king of Navarre, the pope's legate, and his prime nobility. At his coming to Calais, he ordered the mart to be kept in that town, inſtead of Antwerp, &c. Hall, fol. 159, Herbert, p. 85.—— About this time, Wolſey diſpached Gambara to the pope, to deſire him to make him his vicar general in England, France, and Germany, during his captivity. Guicciard. l. 18.

[t] The military order of St. Michael, was inſtituted by Lewis XII. in 1469, The knights wear a gold collar of Shellwork, one within another, laid on a gold chain, whereon hangs a medal of St. Michael the archangel, the ancient protector of France.

[u] Anne de Montmorency, grand maitre, arrived the 20th of October, with ſix hundred horſe at London, and after audience had been given, they were on November 10, entertained by our king at Greenwich, with a ſumptuous feaſt, and with a comedy, in which his daughter the princeſs Mary acted a part. Herbert, p. 85.

[w] He was accompanied by Dr. John Taylor, maſter of the rolls, and archdeacon of Buckingham, ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſley, garter king at arms, Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 232.

[x] Which ſums amounted to ſixty-four thouſand five hundred and forty-four crowns. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 234.

ſion, as if he ſtill deemed him his good friend and ally. But it was only to gain time till he received Francis's anſwer to the memorial ſent to cardinal Wolſey. On the other hand, the pope, though narrowly watched, had found means to write to Henry [y], and cauſe the thirteen cardinals, who were confined with him, to do the ſame, deſiring his protection, and entreating him to uſe his beſt endeavours to free them from their unhappy condition. Henry, upon receipt of theſe letters, ſent orders to his embaſſadors in Spain to demand of the emperor the pope's and cardinal's liberty: to which the emperor anſwered, in general terms, that he would do what lay in his power for the king of England's ſatisfaction. Mean while he was thinking of conveying the pope into Spain, in expectation of making a better bargain with him than if he left him in Italy. Of this cardinal Wolſey informed Henry, by a letter from Abbeville of the 29th of July.

It is certain Henry's inſtances in the pope's behalf greatly embarraſſed the emperor. He found that Francis and Henry would not fail to join their counſels and forces againſt him, under colour of labouring for the pope, and this union could not but break all his meaſures with reſpect to his affairs in Italy. He believed, therefore, that before all things he ſhould try to divide them, by ſowing jealouſies and ſuſpicions between them. One of his expedients to ſucceed, was to propoſe to the cardinal a marriage between the duke of Richmond, natural ſon of Henry, and Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal, with whom he offered in dower the duchy of Milan. The cardinal acquainted the king with it by a letter of the 31ſt of July, telling him withal, that the offer was not much to be relied on, but however, it was proper to ſeem to liſten to it, becauſe it was neceſſary ſtill to preſerve ſome correſpondence with the emperor. This related without doubt to the affair of the divorce which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. For, by a letter of the 1ſt of Auguſt, the cardinal informed the king it was reported in Spain, he intended to divorce the queen, but that it was requiſite to ſend orders to his embaſſadors at Madrid to ſtifle the rumour as much as poſſible. That to this end, they might ſay, it had no other foundation than the biſhop of Tarbe's ſcruples concerning the princeſs Mary's marriage with the duke of Orleans, as if there was room to queſtion the princeſs's legitimacy. The emperor alſo uſed another means to divide Francis and Henry, by trying to gain cardinal Wolſey by advantageous offers [z]. But for once he could not ſucceed; whether Wolſey was now too far engaged with Francis, or was bent to be revenged on the emperor, who had twice deceived him, or whether the buſineſs of the divorce was now reſolved, in which caſe it was not poſſible for him to promiſe to eſpouſe the emperor's intereſts.

When Francis heard of the ſacking of Rome, he perceived it was time to lay aſide artifice, and neceſſary to ſend a powerful aid into Italy, otherwiſe the Venetians would infallibly conclude a peace with the emperor. Indeed it was not likely they could, or would bear alone the burden of the war. Wherefore his firſt care was to make a new treaty with them [a], to bring each into the field ten thouſand men, and levy ten thouſand Switzers at a common charge. The Venetians deſired nothing more than to be ſupported by France; becauſe they juſtly dreaded that the army which had ſacked Rome would be employed againſt them. Indeed, if the duke of Bourbon had been alive, or the viceroy of Naples able to influence the army, the Venetians would undoubtedly have been attacked, being the only enemies the emperor had in Italy. But happily for them, the Imperial troops being wholly intent upon the plunder of Rome, without thinking of any other undertaking, the plague which broke out among them ſwept away two thirds of the ſoldiers. In ſhort, the diſtemper deſtroying them by heaps, they left Rome, and diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring country. After which, having ſacked Terni and Narni, and extorted money from Spoleto, the Germans parted from the Spaniards, and returned to Rome. Thus diſcord ariſing in the army, which ill obeyed the prince of Orange, though they had choſen him for general, they projected nothing to improve their victory for the emperor's advantage. On the contrary, by their negligence, they gave Francis time to ſend troops into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, who was declared general of the league he had newly concluded with the Venetians. As for the duke of Urbino, he continued in the Milaneſe with part of the Venetian army.

Lautrec arrived in Piedmont in July, with part of the army he was to command. The marquis of Saluzzo was ordered to join him with his Italians, and the Switzers were to come preſently after. Whilſt he was employed in conqueſts of little moment, waiting the junction of all his forces, Andrea Doria, who had quitted the pope's ſervice, and commanded the French gallies, to which he had joined eight others of his own, found means to reduce the city of Genoa under Francis's dominion. This was a good opening of a campaign, which ſeemed to promiſe an advantageous ſucceſs in the reſt of the war, eſpecially as Lautrec, after aſſembling his whole army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, became maſter of Vigevano, Alexandria, and Pavia. Sforza and the Venetians earneſtly preſſed him to beſiege Milan, but he ſhewed them poſitive orders to march to Naples. The king of France took care not to employ his army to conquer the duchy of Milan, which by the treaty of league was to be reſtored to Sforza, after which the Venetians would give themſelves but little trouble to accompliſh his attempt upon Naples. Beſides, he ſtill hoped, that by conſenting the emperor ſhould keep Milan, he might recover his ſons, whereas in reſtoring Sforza he ſhould deprive himſelf of that means. Lautrec therefore began his march to the kingdom of Naples, but with ſuch ſlowneſs and affected delays, that it was evident he had private orders not to make too much haſte. And, indeed, it was at the time that Francis expected the emperor's final anſwer to the offers made him by his and Henry's embaſſadors. Lautrec long halted at Parma and Placentia, which had opened their gates to him. Mean while, the duke of Ferrara joined with France, as well on account of Lautrec's march, who might have eaſily ravaged his country, as of Francis's offer to give in marriage to his ſon Hercules, Renée of France, ſecond daughter of Lewis XII. The duke of Mantua preſently after followed his example.

Mean while, the emperor ſeeing the ill effects of the pope's captivity, had diſpatched the general of the order of St. Francis to the viceroy of Naples, with orders to releaſe the pope. The general, finding the viceroy ſeized with a diſtemper, whereof he died in a few days, delivered the orders to Hugo de Moncada to be executed. The emperor had given general inſtructions that the pope ſhould be bound to pay the arrears due to the army, and give ſecurity, after having his liberty, to forſake the league. But as it was not eaſy for the pope to find pledges, or the money neceſſary to pay the army, the negotiation was prolonged. Mean while he continually ſolicited Lautrec, by private meſſengers, to approach Rome, in order to facilitate his deliverance. But Lautrec had poſitive orders which hindered him from making haſte; and yet his march, though ſlow, was of good ſervice to the pope. Moncada ſeeing the kingdom of Naples was going to be invaded, and that it was not poſſible to lead thither the imperial army which was at Rome, without giving them money, concluded at laſt [b] a treaty with the pope to this effect:

I. That the pope ſhould not oppoſe the emperor in the affairs of Naples or Milan.

II. That he ſhould grant the emperor a cruſade in Spain, and a tenth in the reſt of his dominions.

III. That the emperor ſhould keep Civita Vecchia, Oſtia, Citta Caſtellana, and the caſtle of Furli.

IV. That the pope ſhould pay down to the German troops ſixty thouſand ducats, and thirty-five thouſand to the Spaniards.

V. That in a fortnight after he ſhould pay them another certain ſum, and within three months all the reſt that was due to the emperor, amounting to above three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats.

VI. That till the two firſt payments were made, the pope ſhould be conducted to ſome ſafe place out of Rome, and give hoſtages.

The treaty being ſigned, and the cardinals of Ceſis and Orſino delivered in hoſtage, it was agreed, that on the 10th of December the pope ſhould be taken out of the caſtle of St. Angelo, and conducted to a place appointed. But as he was afraid of a longer confinement, becauſe he was unable to perform the treaty, he eſcaped in diſguiſe the night before, and ſhut himſelf up in Orvieto.

When Lautrec heard that the pope was at liberty, he

[y] On September 24. By Gregory de Caſſali, the Engliſh agent at Rome, who was now returning to England, Herbert, p. 81, 83. Burnet, vol. III. p. 24.

[z] He offered him large ſums beſides his penſion. But becauſe Charles had refuſed Wolſey the archbiſhopric of Toledo, the richeſt in Spain, to which the cardinal vehemently aſpired, he proved inexorable. Pol. Virg. l. 27. Herbert, p. 85.

[a] On May 15. Guicciardi. l. 18.

[b] On October 31. Ibid.

reſtored to him the city of Parma, and marched to Bologna, where he ſtaid three weeks, expecting freſh orders from the king. Some days after, he received a letter from Clement VII. acknowleging himſelf indebted to him for his liberty; intimating withal, that, having been forced to grant the imperialiſts whatever they required, he did not think himſelf obliged to perform his engagements.

It was whilſt the pope was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, that Henry's divorce was ſet on foot: a momentous affair, if ever there was one, as well in itſelf as on account of the parties concerned, and chiefly for its effects. It was not yet thirty years ſince Lewis XII. put away his wife, without any difficulty or much noiſe in the world. Henry VIII. had a mind to attempt the ſame thing, and though ſupported with much more plauſible reaſons, he met with inſuperable obſtacles, not to be ſurmounted without an extraordinary method, which gave occaſion to the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England. This effect diſtinguiſhed Henry VIIIth's divorce from ſo many others, which are but ſlightly mentioned by hiſtorians. The writers upon this ſubject, being either catholics or proteſtants, have conſidered it variouſly. The catholics have drawn arguments from thence againſt the reformation in England, and repreſented Henry's divorce as the next and immediate cauſe of the change of religion; whereas the proteſtants affirm, it was only the occaſion. Three Engliſh authors eſpecially, have written the hiſtory of this divorce, beſides many others of the ſame nation, or foreigners who have ſpoke of it in their works. Sanderus, or rather Sanders, author of the Origin and Progreſs of the Engliſh Schiſm, makes it his buſineſs to defame Henry VIII. and ſhews, that the reformation in England, which he terms ſchiſm, entirely ſprung from Henry's paſſion for Anne Bullen. He fancied by that to give a mortal wound to the reformation, and cauſe the world to think that a ſuperſtructure, raiſed on ſuch a foundation, could not be the work of God. The lord Herbert, in his hiſtory of Henry VIII. contents himſelf with a bare recital of the events of this reign, whereof the divorce is one of the principal, without many reaſonings, leaving his readers to make inferences from the facts he relates. Doctor Burnet, intending to write the hiſtory of the reformation of England, made it his chief aim, in ſpeaking of Henry's divorce, to ſhew, that though it occaſioned the reformation, it was only by accident. For this reaſon he has endeavoured to refute the palpable falſehoods aſſerted by Sanders in his hiſtory. He has ſucceeded ſo well, that no ſincere man can for the future acknowlege Sanders for a writer worthy of credit.

The ſequel of my hiſtory obliges me to ſpeak of this famous divorce. I ſhould be inclined to refer the reader to the forementioned excellent hiſtory of the reformation of England, known to all the world, and to which it is difficult to make any additions, but it would not be reaſonable to oblige the readers to remember what they have read in that hiſtory, or to peruſe it again. Wherefore I ſhall chooſe, in purſuing the thread of my hiſtory, to relate this event, which is as the hinge whereon do turn numberleſs other things, which that illuſtrious author had occaſion only to mention, but which I muſt more fully explain, becauſe our ends are different. His aim in ſpeaking of Henry VIIIth's affairs with the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, was to illuſtrate the hiſtory of the reformation, and mine is not to meddle with the affairs of religion, any farther than they relate to the other events of this reign.

Henry had been married eighteen years to Catherine of Arragon, and by her had three children, whereof one was living when he formed the deſign to put her away. He alleged, as the principal reaſon, his ſcruples for marrying his brother's widow. But, as it is pretended, theſe ſcruples troubled him not till he was in love with Anne Bullen, one of the queen's maids of honour, it is inferred, that his doubts concerning the validity of his marriage, ſprung from this new paſſion, and without that would never have exiſted [c]. Accordingly, ſome labour to ſhew his divorce had no other foundation than his love for that lady. Others again endeavour to prove, that his love and his ſcruples were independent of each other. For my part, I ſhould think it needleſs to accuſe or juſtify Henry, with regard to the concerns of religion, if there was not ſome neceſſity to illuſtrate this matter with reſpect to the hiſtory. By illuſtrating, I mean, ſhewing the impoſſibility of giving a certain judgment about it. But before all things, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the perſon, who, as it is pretended, was the prime cauſe of the king's divorce, and of all the conſequences thereof.

Anne Bullen [d] was of a good, though a noble family. Sir Thomas Bullen, her father, married a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk [e], and by her had Anne, born according to Camden in 1507, about two year's before Henry VIIIth's acceſſion to the throne. Thomas Bullen, her father, was twice embaſſador to France, firſt in 1515, and again in 1527. He was made viſcount Rochford in 1525, and afterwards earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond [f]. Anne, his daughter, being but ſeven years old, was carried into France in 1514, when Mary the king's ſiſter, went and conſummated her marriage at Abbeville, with Lewis XII. That queen being re-married ſhortly after to the duke of Suffolk, and returning into England, Anne Bullen was left in France. It is pretended, ſhe then entered into the ſervice of Francis Iſt's queen, though ſhe was but eight years of age, but it is not ſaid in what quality. It is certain, a girl of her age was not capable of doing much ſervice. So it may be preſumed, her beauty, genteelneſs, or the livelineſs of her wit, made queen Claude deſirous to keep her about her. Camden affirms, ſhe retained her in her ſervice to the day of her death, which happened in July 1524, and ſays not that Anne ever took a journey into England all that time. But du Tillet, and du Pleix, French authors, pretend, ſhe came over in 1522. The lord Herbert ſays the ſame thing; but, without citing any particular author, contents himſelf with ſaying, it appears in hiſtory. Camden affirms, Anne remained in France, not only till queen Claude's death, but that, after ſhe had loſt her miſtreſs, ſhe was taken into ſervice by the ducheſs of Alençon, Francis's ſiſter. However, he does not ſay when ſhe quitted it. Others affirm, ſir Thomas Bullen brought his daughter to England when he returned from his embaſſy. His embaſſy of 1515, cannot here be meant, ſince it is unanimouſly agreed, that Anne was in queen Claude's ſervice after queen Mary's departure, and continued ſeveral years in the court of France. It muſt therefore be his embaſſy of 1527. But it is likely Bullen was not ſent to France till September 1527; ſince his ſole commiſſion was to ſee the treaty of the 30th of April, of the ſame year, ſworn to, which Francis had not ratified ſooner than the 18th of Auguſt, as appears in the collection of the public acts [g]. But, as before his departure the affair of the divorce was already commenced, it may be affirmed the king's love for his daughter was later than his reſolution concerning the divorce, if it be true that Anne returned to England with her father about the end of the year 1527. Indeed it may be objected, that two French authors aſſert, that Anne went over to England in 1522, and that it was then the king fell in love with her. But it may be replied, firſt, that it is very ſtrange theſe two hiſtorians, who wrote long after the fact, ſhould meet with memoirs of the journey of a maid of honour, and the more, as they cite nothing to ſupport their teſtimony. Secondly, ſuppoſing it were ſo, they do not ſay Anne ſtayed in England. Conſequently they deſtroy not Camden's teſtimony, who affirms, Anne ſerved queen Claude till 1524, and afterwards the ducheſs of Alençon. But if it be true that Anne took a journey into England in 1522, and the king then fell in love with her, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſhe returned to France, becauſe the rupture between the two crowns happening that year, it is not likely that in time of war an Engliſh woman ſhould go and ſerve a queen of France. Beſides, if the king was then in love, would he have ſuffered Anne to depart the kingdom? Camden, therefore, or the two French authors, muſt have been miſtaken. This is a difficulty not to be eaſily ſolved.

But there is a fact which paſſes for certain, namely, that Anne Bullen, being twenty years old, was taken into queen Catherine's ſervice as maid of honour. Now this muſt have been in 1527, ſince ſhe was born 1507. Accordingly, this is the time to which the beginning of the king's love may moſt properly be fixed. But ſtill this is only a conjecture, which, were it well grounded, would be a ſufficient proof that the king's divorce was not an effect of his paſſion; ſince it was reſolved before the end of the year 1526. My aim in this enquiry, is to ſhew that the time of Anne Bullen's return into England is very uncertain, and the beginning of the king's affection no leſs ſo. How then can it be ſo boldly affirmed, as it is by ſome, that love for Anne Bullen inſpired

[c] It was at firſt reported, that king Henry was to marry Margaret, ducheſs dowager of Alençon, and that Thomas Bullen, viſcount Rochford, had brought over her picture with him, when he returned from his embaſſy to France. Hollingſhead, p. 897. Pol. Virg. l. 27.

[d] Here true name was Anne Boleyn, as it is always written in the public acts. The Engliſh write Bolen, or Bullen, and the French Boulen. Rapin.

[e] Elizabeth Howard.

[f] His mother was Margaret, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Thomas Boteler, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond. His father was ſir William, and his grandfather ſir Geoffrey Boleyn, or Bulleyn, lord mayor of London in 1458, who married Anne, eldeſt daughter and co-heir of Thomas, lord Hoo and Haſtings. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 306. Camden.

[g] Sir Thomas Buleyn was accompanied to Paris by ſir Anthony Brown. Hall, fol. 157.

the king with the thoughts of annulling his marriage with Catherine? We must see now, whether it be easier to discover the time when Henry resolved to sue for his divorce.

When Henry VII. concluded his son's marriage with Catherine, prince Arthur's widow, archbishop Warham told him plainly, it was contrary to the law of God, which the pope could not dispense with. The king, without doubt, was touched with this remonstrance. The very day the prince, his son, entered into his 14th year, he caused him to make, against his marriage, a secret protestation, though before trusty witnesses, declaring he was constrained to give his consent. After that, the king, on his death bed, strictly charged the prince not to consummate his marriage with Catherine. Notwithstanding all this, Henry VIII. being come to the crown, espoused the princess, contrary to Warham's opinion, to which he preferred that of the bishop of Winchester. He had by her three children [h], two sons and a daughter, of whom the sons died soon after their birth. He afterwards affirmed, that he considered the untimely death of his two sons as God's curse on his marriage, especially when he saw the queen had done breeding. It happened afterwards, that Charles V. who was affianced to the princess Mary, refused to marry her, upon the council of Spain's questioning the princess's legitimacy. After that, when a marriage was treating between Mary and king Francis, or the duke of Orleans, the bishop of Tarbe, the French embassador, made the same objection, maintaining, that the princess could not be deemed born in wedlock, notwithstanding Julius II.'s dispensation.

All these things were more than sufficient to raise scruples in the king's mind concerning his marriage. But though in an assembly of lords, which he afterwards called, to inform them of his reasons for a divorce, he affirmed, the bishop of Tarbe's objection inspired him with the first thoughts of inquiring into the matter; it appears, however, that his scruples began sooner. For in a letter [i] afterwards to Grynæs, he told him, he had abstained from the queen ever since the year 1524.

But supposing it could be discovered at what time Henry begun, either by himself, or by the suggestion of others, to be troubled with these scruples, it would signify nothing with respect to his resolution concerning the divorce, which in all appearance was taken much later. Polydore Virgil says, Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, laboured to persuade him of the necessity of the divorce by cardinal Wolsey's order, but mentions not the time. All the historians affirm, the king had recourse himself to Thomas Aquina's works to clear his doubts, and caused the bishops to be consulted upon that subject. But none of them say at what time this was done. It is well known, secretary Knight was dispatched to Rome about this affair in July 1527, but then the rumour of the king's meditating a divorce had already reached the court of Spain, as appears in the cardinal's letter to the king from Abbeville [k]. It is also very probable, that before he engaged in this affair, Henry had considered of it some time before. It is scarce to be supposed a resolution of this nature can be taken lightly, or when taken, immediately executed, without thoroughly weighing the difficulties, or waiting a favourable juncture. Henry said himself, that the bishop of Tarbe raised in him the thought of annulling his marriage. But if it be true, as some affirm, that the bishop spoke only as directed by cardinal Wolsey, it may be presumed the project of the divorce was formed some time before, and this embassador made to speak, only to have an excuse to commence the affair. This is what seems to me extremely probable. Indeed it is not likely the embassador, after thus questioning Mary's legitimacy, would have concluded the marriage of the king, his master, or of the duke of Orleans, with that princess, had he not acted in concert with the court of England. These then are my thoughts, which I submit to the reader's judgment.

Ever since Francis was freed from his captivity, he had never ceased to press Henry to join with him in an offensive league against the emperor. But Henry had constantly excused himself, without even suffering him to entertain the least hopes in that respect. However, lord Herbert says, that about the end of the year 1526, Henry, of his own accord, sent an embassador to France, to propose the league, so eagerly desired by Francis, and to offer him his daughter Mary in marriage. This proceeding gives occasion to believe he had now resolved upon the divorce, and foreseeing how much the emperor would oppose it, intended so to embarras him as to oblige him to court his friendship. Upon this supposition it may naturally be conjectured, that he proposed the marriage of his daughter with the king of France, only to convince the emperor that he really designed to be strictly united with France. But at the same time, it is very likely he informed Francis of the obstacle which would occur in the execution of his pretended project, namely, the divorce of the princess's mother, which he was meditating. This conjecture is confirmed by the coldness wherewith these two monarchs treated of the marriage. In the first place, Henry left it to the king of France's choice, to have Mary himself, or to leave her to his second son, as if this alternative were the same thing. In the next place, when Francis declared he would leave Mary to the duke of Orleans, the treating more fully concerning the marriage was deferred to another time. In the third place, in the treaty Francis and the cardinal concluded at Abbeville, they took care to insert this clause: "that though the marriage should not be effected, the treaty however should subsist." In fine, though Knight was at Rome, or on his way thither, when the treaty of Abbeville was concluded, it does not appear Francis ever complained to Henry, that he had offered him a princess whom he was labouring to bastardize by prosecuting his divorce with the queen her mother. On the contrary, he assisted him to the utmost of his power to obtain his desires. But he must have looked upon the offer as an affront, had they not understood one another. If this conjecture has any foundation, it may be inferred, that the resolution concerning the divorce was taken at least about the end of the year 1526, though the execution was deferred till the middle of the next year. But in that case, it would therefore be true, that the king had resolved upon the divorce before his passion for Anne Bullen, who, in all appearance, returned not into England sooner than October 1527.

From what has been said it may be gathered, that to affirm with any probability that Henry's passion for Anne Bullen was the cause of his divorce with Catherine, these queries must be decided in favour of that opinion. At what time did Anne Bullen return into England? When did the king's love for her first begin? When was it that he came to a resolution concerning his divorce? But upon all these questions, conjectures only, as I have observed, can properly be formed. Thus much is certain, that between the resolution about the divorce, and the beginning of the king's love, there was no great distance of time. Here we must stop. But it is going too far to ground upon this nearness, as a certain fact, that Henry undertook the prosecution of his divorce with Catherine, on purpose to marry Anne Bullen. I say, moreover, that though there was no difficulty about the times, and they exactly corresponded, yet as to what passed in the king's breast, it would be only conjecture.

I have enlarged a little on this point, because the illustrious author of the history of the reformation seems to leave it in the dark. Besides, I thought it requisite to curb the overconfident, by informing the readers of what is true, and what doubtful in the matter. We see it in many histories, and hear it every day positively affirmed, as if there was no difficulty, that Henry's love for Anne Bullen was the sole cause of his divorce with Catherine of Arragon, though, as I have shewn, it can only be said by conjecture, and the conjecture itself does not countenance that notion. Not that Henry VIII. is to be considered as a prince incapable of being misled by his passion, even to the sacrificing Catherine of Arragon to Anne Bullen. Why should he have been more scrupulous with respect to Catherine, than he was with regard to Anne herself? whom he made no difficulty to sacrifice to a third wife, as will hereafter be seen. He was a prince of an impetuous temper, who could bear no opposition to his will. The flatteries of his subjects, and the extravagant praises continually bestowed on him by the sovereigns who stood in need of him, had possessed him with such a conceit of his own merit, that he imagined his actions ought to have been the standard of good sense, reason, and justice. When therefore it is said, his love for Anne Bullen caused him eagerly to push the affair of his divorce, of which otherwise the difficulties would perhaps have discouraged him, nothing is affirmed repugnant to his character. Only care must be taken, not to assert for an undoubted truth, what is but a bare conjecture.

However this be, without dwelling longer upon the king's secret motives, and endeavouring to discover his thoughts, which lie hid from human eyes, let us content ourselves with what he published himself. In the first place, he said,

[h] She had besides, several miscarriages. Burnet, tom. I. p. 36.
[i] Dated September 10, 1531. Idem. p. 38.
[k] Dated August 1, 1527. See Herbert, p. 84.

This

he was troubled in conſcience for his marriage with Catherine; and indeed he had but too much reaſon. The wonder is, that he had not theſe ſcruples more early. He had married his brother's widow, and found it forbidden by the law of Moſes. It is true, he had the pope's diſpenſation. But he could not be ignorant that many learned divines were of opinion, that the pope could not diſpenſe with the laws of God. This was ſufficient to give him very juſt ſcruples. As ſoon as theſe doubts had poſſeſſed him, he was willing to clear them, and found in Thomas Aquinas what he had perhaps inattentively read many times: firſt, that the levitical laws are moral and eternal: ſecondly, that the pope cannot diſpenſe with the laws of God, becauſe to diſpenſe with a law, one muſt be ſuperior [or equal] to the law-giver. This deciſion of a divine, for whom he had a great eſteem, confirming his ſcruples, he deſired archbiſhop Warham, who had formerly declared againſt the marriage, to conſult the biſhops of England upon the occaſion. Some affirm, that Longland his confeſſor cheriſhed his doubts, by the private orders of cardinal Wolſey, which is not improbable. The queen was aunt of the emperor, with whom Wolſey had reaſon to be diſpleaſed. Beſides, the favourite loved not the queen herſelf, becauſe ſhe could not help ſhewing how much ſhe was offended, that a biſhop, a cardinal, a legate of the holy ſee, ſhould lead ſo ſcandalous a life. However this be, ſoon after the archbiſhop preſented to the king a writing, under the hands and ſeals of all the biſhops, wherein they condemned his marriage, as contrary to common decency, and the law of God. Only Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſing to ſet his hand, it is ſaid the archbiſhop made another write his name unknown to him [l]. But the biſhops were not the only perſons of this opinion. Since Luther's works began to appear, many people in England were put out of their former high conceit of the papal power. As therefore the validity of the king's marriage was wholly founded on Julius II.'s diſpenſation, is was publicly diſputed whether the diſpenſation could authoriſe a marriage ſo notoriouſly repugnant to the law of God: nay, many, who were otherwiſe ſtrongly attached to the court of Rome, could not reliſh the doctrine of the pope's diſpenſing with the divine laws. All theſe things conſpired either to breed or confirm the king's ſcruples.

But it was not only ſcruples of conſcience that Henry alleged to juſtify his deſign. He pretended, that though he were regardleſs of his ſalvation, or able to overcome his ſcruples, the good of his people required the prevention of an inconvenience which was eaſily to be foreſeen. He had but one daughter, and very likely ſhould have no more children, if his marriage were not annulled. If therefore, after his deceaſe, the validity of his marriage with Catherine ſhould come to be queſtioned, he foreſaw England would again be involved, on account of the ſucceſſion, in troubles from whence it was but juſt freed. Mary his daughter, the king of Scotland his nephew, the queen dowager of France, could equally pretend to the crown, upon very plauſible reaſons. Mary could allege the pope's diſpenſation againſt ſuch as ſhould charge her with her being born of an unlawful marriage. The king of Scotland, who was next heir after her, could maintain the diſpenſation was not valid. The queen dowager, the king's ſiſter, could allege, that the firſt was illegitimate, and the ſecond a foreigner. Theſe ſeveral claims might eaſily kindle a civil war in England, where it was but too viſible that each would find adherents, not to mention the foreign ſuccours they might be ſupported with. Henry therefore imagined there was but one way to prevent this danger, namely, by annulling his marriage, and taking another wife, by whom with God's bleſſing he might have ſons. He to whom the ſecrets of all hearts are open, can only know for certain, whether this thought was inſtilled into him by the danger he foreſaw, by his averſion to the queen, or by his love for Anne Bullen. But however this may be, independently of the ſeveral motives aſcribed to him, it is certain, there was great danger of the kingdom's being one day expoſed to a civil war, if the king remained till death in his preſent ſtate, and he ſaw no other way to come out of it than by annulling his marriage. It is true, he foreſaw great oppoſition from the emperor the queen's nephew, who was then very powerful. But on the other hand, as that monarch had himſelf ſhewn on this occaſion ſcruples, which hindered him from eſpouſing Mary, Henry hoped he would not obſtinately maintain what he had himſelf queſtioned. Beſides, the juncture ſeemed very favourable for his purpoſe. The pope, who was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, ſeemed to have no other reſource to be reſtored to his former ſtate, than the aſſiſtance of France and England; and Henry did not queſtion that Francis, who ſtood in need of him, would promote his proceedings to the utmoſt of his power. As to the reſt, he never doubted the pope's authority, reckoning that Clement VII. could revoke a diſpenſation granted by Julius II. Nay, cardinal Wolſey warranted the ſucceſs of the affair; whether he had already gained the pope, or imagined that Clement in his preſent circumſtances could deny the king nothing. So it was reſolved the ſuit ſhould be moved in the court of Rome, or cauſe the marriage to be annulled.

The beſt reaſon that could be alleged was, That Julius's diſpenſation was contrary to the divine law, and that alone ought to have been ſufficient. But it would have been imprudent to begin with diſputing the prerogative of the Roman pontiffs, when a favour was to be aſked of the court of Rome. Recourſe therefore was to be had to another expedient, which was to find nullities in Julius's bull, and to ſhew it was procured by falſe ſurmiſes and untrue ſuggeſtions, which rendered the bull revocable, even according to the rules of the court of the Rota [m]. And this was not very difficult. The bull was grounded upon Henry's and Catherine's requeſt, ſetting forth, that the marriage was neceſſary to preſerve peace between England and Spain. And here were found two reaſons for revoking the bull. The firſt, that Henry being then but twelve years old, could not be deemed to have any political views; whence it was inferred that the requeſt was not his own. The ſecond, that the ſuggeſtion was falſe; ſince as matters then ſtood between Spain and England, the marriage was not at all neceſſary for the preſervation of peace between the two crowns, and conſequently Julius II. had been ſurpriſed. Another nullity was found, as the bull having no other foundation than the maintenance of peace and union between Henry VII. and the king and queen of Spain, this reaſon ceaſed when the marriage was conſummated, ſince Henry VII. and Iſabella were now dead. In fine, it was alleged that Henry VIII. having proteſted againſt his marriage before conſummation, thereby renounced the liberty granted him by the bull, and therefore another bull was neceſſary to render the marriage valid. But all theſe reaſons were produced only to afford the pope a pretence to revoke Julius's diſpenſation. For, if the repugnancy of the diſpenſation to the divine law was not the real foundation of ſuing for the divorce, nothing would have been more eaſy for the pope, than to quiet the king's conſcience, by confirming whatever had been done by a new bull.

Mean while, as the pope's compliance was not doubted in his preſent circumſtances, the king ſent doctor Knight ſecretary of ſtate to Rome, to deſire him to ſign four inſtruments drawn in England. The firſt was a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, to try and decide the affair with ſome Engliſh biſhops. The ſecond was a bull decretal, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine void, becauſe Arthur's with the ſame princeſs was conſummated. By the third, the pope granted the king a diſpenſation to marry another wife. By the fourth, he promiſed never to repeal any of the three foregoing acts.

Knight departed from England in July, about the time the cardinal began his journey to confer with the king of France [n]. But as the pope was priſoner, and guarded by a Spaniſh captain, it was impoſſible for Knight to have an audience. He found means however to convey to him a memorial [o], containing the ſum of his commiſſion, to which the pope returned a favourable anſwer. He made believe he would grant whatever the king deſired, though the emperor had already required him, by the general of the Franciſcans, not to do any thing in that affair, without communicating it to his miniſters. By the way, this ſhews Henry had reſolved long before to ſue for his divorce; ſince the emperor had time to hear of it, and ſend to the pope. As it was not practicable for Knight to treat with the pope in perſon, the matter was carried no farther at that time. At length the news of the pope's going to be releaſed, reaching England, cardinal Wolſey wrote to ſir Gregory Caſſali [p], the king's ordinary embaſſador at Rome, to order him to join with Knight, and preſs the pope to grant the king's requeſt. This letter was worded in very ſtrong terms, and ſhewed the cardinal's deſire that the divorce ſhould be effected. It was dated the 5th of Decem-

[l] This particular is not very certain. See Burnet's Ref. tom. III. p. 38. It was ſigned on July 1, by Warham, Tunſtal, Fiſher, and the biſhops of Carliſle, Ely, St. Aſaph, Lincoln, and Bath.

[m] It is a maxim in law, that if the pope be ſurpriſed in any thing, and bulls be procured upon falſe ſuggeſtions and untrue ſurmiſes, they may be annulled afterwards. Burnet, tom. I. p. 40.

[n] Knight had orders to adviſe with the cardinal by the way. Herbert, p. 99.

[o] By corrupting ſome of his guards. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

[p] The family of the Caſſali being three brothers, were entertained by the king as his agents in Italy, both at Rome, Venice, and other places. Burnet, tom. I. p. 45.

The

ber 1527, the cardinal not yet knowing that the pope had made his escape the 9th of the same month [q].

Clement VII. being retired to Orvieto, Knight went [r] and talked with him about the affair. The pope owned he had received his memorial, and promised again to do all that lay in his power for the king's satisfaction, but prayed him not to be too hasty. His circumstances then were such, that he did not yet know whether he should want the king of England, or whether the emperor would agree with him. Wherefore he desired to gain time, in order to proceed as should best suit with his interest. But for that reason, and because the king's orders were urgent and positive, Knight would not delay his negotiation. He earnestly pressed the pope, who promised at last to sign the instruments, on condition no use should be made of them till the Germans and Spaniards were departed out of Italy. Knight willingly accepted of the condition, imagining, when the instruments, ready signed, were in the king's hands, he would use them when he pleased. But the pope was not easily to be deceived. Whilst he feigned to have no other view than to satisfy the king, he was only contriving to gain time, being ready to sacrifice him if he found it for his advantage. He used therefore all his art to prolong the affair, by means unsuspected by the king. To that end he told Knight, that before the instruments were executed he should be glad to talk with the cardinal Sanctorum quatuor.

The pope having thus engaged himself, Knight and Cassali fancied they had no more to do than to prepossess in the king's favour the cardinal, whom the pope intended to consult. They were at no great pains to succeed, since, besides ten thousand ducats which they had in hand to reward such as should do them service, they were empowered to make what farther promises they should think fit in the king's name. The cardinal, examining the instruments sent from England, found very great faults, particularly in the legate's commission, and took upon him to draw one more perfect. Which done, Knight and Cassali waited on the pope and pressed him to sign. He did not absolutely refuse, but said, the emperor having required him not to act in that business without imparting it to him, it was necessary to find some expedient to excuse so hasty a proceeding: That therefore it would be proper to cause Lautrec to march towards Orvieto, and press him, in his master's name, to give the king of England satisfaction. Lautrec being then at Bologna, to get him to march to Orvieto, there would have been occasion for orders from the court of France, which would have taken up much time. Wherefore Henry's agents rejected the expedient, their aim being to finish the affair before the emperor had notice thereof. At last the pope, finding himself extremely pressed, delivered to them the commission for cardinal Wolsey, with the bull of dispensation for the king [s], and promised to send into England the bull decretal to null the marriage [t]. But here the pope used an artifice, which the agents perhaps did not sufficiently consider. He dated these two instruments from the time he was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo. So, when the king had them in his power, he did not think fit to make use of them, lest it should be objected that the pope had granted them only with design to obtain his liberty by the assistance he expected from England. Besides, all acts executed by a prisoner may be deemed void, whereof the treaty of Madrid was a late instance. Thus, how urgent soever the king was to end the affair, he found, at the close of the year 1527, that he had yet made no progress.

[1528.] Clement VII. had time, during his captivity, seriously to reflect upon his past conduct; which had been very unsuccessful, because he had swerved from the maxims of his most able predecessors. He had preposterously engaged in a war with the emperor, whereas Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. after sowing dissention among the princes, left them for the most part to decide their quarrels, and then sided with the strongest, or, if they engaged in a war, it was commonly at other people's expence. But Clement VII. after draining his treasure in maintaining an army, had lost Florence, Parma, Reggio, Rome itself, with the best part of the ecclesiastical state, and seen himself captive and ransomed. This was sufficient to make him wiser, and take another course. As soon as the embassadors of France, England, and Venice, saw him secure at Orvieto, from the outrages of the imperialists, they pressed him to declare against the emperor. They thought, if he could not assist the league with temporal arms, he might at least by means of his spiritual, embroil the common enemy, whom he seemed to have no reason to regard. But he himself considered the affair in a different light. Having learned, by sad experience, that he had been the dupe of his allies, he resolved to be no longer guided by their interested councils. So, without discovering his thoughts, he only told them, that his joining in the league would only draw upon him fresh mischiefs, without procuring them any advantage: that besides, it was necessary, for the benefit of Christendom, there should be a mediator for procuring peace, and that was all he could do in the state he was reduced to. Nevertheless, he intimated to them that he might take other measures, if Lautrec approached, to oblige the emperor's troops to abandon Rome. This indeed was his sole aim, to free the ecclesiastical state from that foreign army, in order to be able to act more agreeably to his interest.

At last, Lautrec, departing from Bologna the 9th of January, took the road to Naples, having first sent the prince of Vaudemont and la Trimouille to the pope to press him to declare. But Clement found means to excuse himself without, however, a positive denial. He saw, as I may say, all Europe in motion, and was willing to wait the success of the war in order to take juster measures than before. So it was not possible by any means to bring him to a declaration. He only made believe, that if Francis and Henry would cause Ravenna and Cervia to be restored to him, he would join with them. This was an advantage he would willingly have reaped from their instances, without being debarred from finding some other evasion, to prevent his declaring after the recovery of these two places. Mean while, he was thinking how to treat secretly with the emperor, from whom he had greater expectations than from his allies. Indeed, his chief aim being to restore the house of the Medici to the government of Florence, he perceived that he could not accomplish it without the emperor's help, since the allies were concerned to support the Florentines, who were become parties in the league. But it would have been imprudent in him to declare for the emperor, when that monarch was weak in Italy, and so powerful an army was marching to invade the kingdom of Naples. It was therefore necessary for him to wait till the event of the war enabled him to resolve with safety. This was the true reason which obliged him to use many artifices to try to displease neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England. If, instead of unadvisedly engaging in a war, he had before taken this course, he might have sold his favours at any rate. At least, he would not have had the mortification to be a captive in Rome itself.

But though the pope refused to declare, the kings of France and England were not the less eager in the pursuit of their projects. On the 21st of January 1528, their embassadors in Spain demanded the emperor's leave to retire, and the next day Clarenceux and Guienne, heralds, one of England, the other of France, proclaimed war against him. This was done with great solemnity, the emperor being seated on his throne, and attended by all his grandees. He answered each in particular, but in a very different manner. Speaking to the English herald, he made use of civil and honourable terms, denoting, he was not at all pleased with having the king his master for an enemy. He complained however that Henry had used him ill in designing to give him in marriage a princess whom he proposed to bastardize, since he was suing to be divorced from the queen her mother. But he threw all the blame on the boundless ambition of cardinal Wolsey. He said the cardinal would have obliged him to employ his arms in Italy to make him pope, and thought himself injured, because he would not disturb the peace of Christendom for his sake. As for the sums of which Henry demanded payment, he denyed, he had ever refused to discharge the debt. But added, that the English embassadors, not having brought with them the original obligation, nor even a power to give him a discharge, Henry was in the wrong to complain. As to the indemnity he demanded, he knew the king of France had taken it upon him in the treaty of Madrid. As for the penalty of five hundred thousand crowns, in case he refused to marry the princess Mary, he replied, it was not his fault: that he had demanded her of the king her father by embassadors sent on purpose, and that Henry had refused to send her: that besides, before

[q] The letter is dated the 5th of December, and not the 25th, as Rapin says, by mistake; the original is yet extant in the Cotton. Libr. Vitel. B. IX. See Burnet's Collection, N. 3d. B. II. vol. I.

[r] About the end of December. Burnet, tom. I. p. 47.

[s] But he begged with many sighs and tears, that the king would not precipitate things, or expose him to be undone, by beginning any process upon the bull. Burnet, tom. I. p. 48.

[t] The cardinal Sanctorum quatuor got of the English embassadors four thousand crowns, for a reward for his good service. Ibid.

that time Henry had offered her to the king of Scotland: in ſhort, that he could not lawfully claim that ſum, before he had proved that he had himſelf performed all the articles of the treaty of Windſor. Such was the emperor's anſwer to the declaration of war made by Henry's herald. In his anſwer to the French herald, he ſpoke not with ſo much regard and caution. He plainly accuſed Francis of breach of faith, and charged the herald to put him in mind of the meſſage he ſent him by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux his embaſſador, "That it would be better for them to decide their quarrel by ſingle combat," but that he had not received any anſwer. Probaby, the embaſſador had not thought fit to deliver that meſſage to the king, ſince he ſeemed extremely ſurpriſed when he heard it from the herald's mouth. In a few days he ſent the ſame herald to the emperor, with a challenge under his own hand, wherein he gave him the lie in form, and required him to aſſure him the field to fight hand to hand. The challenge was dated March 28, 1528. The emperor ſent his anſwer by one of his heralds, who was charged to tell him, by word of mouth, very diſagreeable things. The herald coming to Paris could not obtain leave without great difficulty, to put on [u] his coat of arms when he entered the city. The king expected him on his throne, ſurrounded with a great number of princes and lords. But he had ſcarce begun to ſpeak, before the king interrupted him, and demanded, whether he had brought the ſecurity of the field, and that all the reſt was to no purpoſe. Thus ended the affair, which had now made great noiſe. The two monarchs gave public marks of their courage, by their mutual challenges, and yet there was no great labour required to prevent them from deciding their quarrel in a way ſo uncommon to great princes.

Hugo de Mendoſa, the emperor's embaſſador at London, hearing what had paſſed in Spain, would have retired. But cardinal Wolſey [w] ſent him word that Clarenceux had exceeded his inſtructions in proclaiming war againſt the emperor, and ſhould be puniſhed at his return. Whereupon the embaſſador ſent an expreſs to inform the emperor of what the cardinal had ſaid. Clarenceux, who was ſtill in Spain, ſurpriſed that he ſhould be made accountable for what he had expreſs orders, demanded and obtained an authentic copy of the embaſſador's letter [x]. Upon his arrival in England, he waited on the king [y], before he ſpoke with the cardinal, and ſhewed him the letter, with three others, written with the cardinal's own hand, whereby he gave him expreſs orders to declare war againſt the emperor. Henry, aſtoniſhed at his miniſter's preſumption, fell into a great paſſion with him before the whole court. Nay, he would perhaps have entirely diſgraced him, had he not been withheld by the conſideration of the affair of the divorce, wherein he could not proceed without him. He made him however undergo a terrible mortification, by cauſing the affair to be examined in the council. This inquiry would doubtleſs have been fatal to the miniſter, if the king had been pleaſed to purſue it; but he was contented with the cardinal's proteſtation, that he thought to have acted agreeably to his majeſty's intentions.

The emperor's anſwer to Clarenceux being made public in England, by the Spaniſh embaſſador's means, the cardinal was afraid it would cauſe ill effects among the people, conſidering the weakneſs of the motives alleged by the king for undertaking the war. For that reaſon he aſſembled in the Star Chamber [z] all the great lords then at court [a], to whom he made a ſpeech, aggravating as much as poſſible the injuries the king had received from the emperor, and his reaſons to demand ſatisfaction by arms. But let him ſay what he would, though every one outwardly applauded him, what the emperor ſaid to the herald, that the war was cauſed only by the cardinal's private diſcontent, made deeper impreſſion than all the argumeats the miniſter could allege [b]. The people openly exclaimed againſt a war which was going to ruin the kingdom, to gratify the favourite's paſſion. Nay, ſome went farther than murmurs. As the trade with the Low Countries was interrupted by the declaration of war, and the merchants would buy no more cloth which they could not vend, the clothiers roſe in arms [c]. Whereupon the cardinal ordered the merchants to buy the cloths as uſual, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to buy them himſelf, and ſell them to the foreigners. But they made a jeſt of this threat, and continued obſtinate, reſolving not to render themſelves liable to inevitable loſſes for his ſake. An embaſſy from the governeſs of the Low Countries [d] to the king, whilſt theſe things were in agitation, freed the cardinal from his embarraſment. The embaſſadors acquainting him, that if the king pleaſed to conſent to a truce with the Low Countries, for the mutual benefit of trade, the governeſs would readily agree to it; this overture being debated in council, it was reſolved, notwithſtanding the French embaſſador's oppoſition, to agree to a truce for eight months, which was ſigned the 8th of June.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the affairs of Italy were in ſuch a ſituation as gave Francis room to expect Lautrec's expedition in the kingdom of Naples would be crowned with ſucceſs, though afterwards it ended very unfortunately for him. Lautrec going from Bologna the 9th of January, arrived the 10th of February on the borders of Naples, and, marching into Abruzzo, became maſter of that province, and afterwards of part of Aulia. It was not without extreme difficulty that the prince of Orange obliged the Imperialiſts to quit Rome, where, for ten months, they had exerciſed all ſorts of rapine and violence. Though the Imperial army went not from Rome till the 17th of February, they got before Lautrec, who had taken a longer way in order to procure money, which he wanted exceedingly; the king of France, according to cuſtom, not having ſent him what he had promiſed. The Imperialiſts being poſted at Troya, he offered them battle, but as they thought proper to retire to Naples, purſued his march, and arrived in the beginning of May before that capital, which he beſieged in form according to his orders. Sixteen French gallies, commanded by Andrea Doria, eight more under the conduct of Philippino Doria, his nephew, with twenty-two from Venice, were to block up Naples by ſea, whilſt Lautrec, with thirty thouſand men, inveſted the city by land. But when he opened the ſiege he had only Philippino's eight gallies. Thoſe of Venice came very late, and Andrea Doria, who was diſpleaſed with the king of France, and had thoughts of entering into the emperor's ſervice, detained the ſixteen gallies at Genoa, under divers pretences. Mean while a ſea fight between Philippino and the Imperialiſts, wherein Moncada was ſlain, and the marquis del Vaſto taken priſoner, made Lautrec hope he ſhould reduce Naples by famine, though himſelf wanted all things in his camp. His hopes were encreaſed by the arrival of the two and twenty Venetian gallies, which joined thoſe of Philippino. The buſineſs now was to ſee who could bear famine longeſt, the beſiegers or the beſieged, who were equally in want of proviſions. But the French had, beſides ſcarcity, a very great diſadvantage, as the plague made terrible ravage among them, and continually diminiſhed their number. At length, Andrea Doria, having agreed with the emperor, recalled his nephew, Philippino, with his eight gallies. Shortly after, the Venetian gallies being obliged to go upon the coaſt of Colabria to provide themſelves with biſcuits, the beſieged took that opportunity to convey into the city abundance of proviſions, whilſt Lautrec remained in a very bad condition, without victuals or money, and with an army grievouſly afflicted with the plague. Moſt of his general officers were dead or ſick, and, to compleat the misfortune, he was himſelf ſeized with the peſtilence, which carried him off the 16th of Auguſt [e]. The marquis of Saluzzo, who took upon him the command of the ruined army, reſolving at laſt to raiſe the ſiege, with great difficulty retired to Averſa, where he was immediately beſieged, and in few days, forced to capitulate, ſurrendering himſelf with all the principal officers of his army, into the hands of the Imperialiſts. Thus, the fine army Lautrec had led before Naples, was entirely diſ-

[u] Or rather to wear it. He put it on as ſoon as he came into the French territories. Herbert, p. 94.

[w] Ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, &c. Hall, fol. 171.

[x] As the courier went through Bayonne, the letter was opened, and copied by the governor of that place, who ſhewed it to Clarenceux. Hall, fol. 173. Herbert, p. 90.

[y] At Hampton Court. Ibid.

[z] February 13. Hall, fol. 171.

[a] All juſtices of the peace and other honeſt perſonages. Ibid.

[b] Hall ſays that, after the concluſion of his ſpeech, ſome of the hearers knocked one another on the elbow, and ſaid, ſoftly, He lieth; others ſaid that evil will never ſay well; others ſaid, that the French crowns made him ſpeak evil of the emperor; but they that knew all ſaid, it was a ſhame to lie in ſuch an audience. The common people were very ſorry that a war ſhould happen with the emperor, becauſe out of his dominions they had lately been ſupplied with corn, when it was ſo dear in England, that it was ſold for 1l. 6s. 8d. a quarter. Hall, fol. 166, 172.

[c] Eſpecially in Suffolk. Hall, fol. 173.

[d] On May 29. Hall, fol. 174.

[e] Of the plague died alſo ſir Robert Jerningham, gentleman of the bedchamber both to king Henry and Francis, who had the command of two hundred horſe in the army, paid by our king. John Carew, his lieutenant, had his company, but he died of the ſame diſeaſe. Herb. p. 98. As the plague raged in Italy, ſo did the ſweating ſickneſs all this ſummer in England, whereof died ſir Francis Pointz, ſir William Compton, and William Carew, eſq. Hall, fol. 176.

perſed. Moreover, France had lately loſt Genoa, taken by Andrea Doria, in the emperor's name; after which, purſuant to his agreement with that monarch, he reſtored his country to liberty, and eſtabliſhed a government which ſtill ſubſiſts to this day. Thus the affairs of Italy, which in the beginning of the year had ſo promiſing an aſpect for Francis, were ſo entirely altered, that he had ſcarce any thing left in that country.

The knowledge of what paſſed in Italy this campaign, will be of no little ſervice to diſcover the motives of the pope's conduct in the affair of the divorce. Henry deemed the affair ended, when he heard the pope had left it to cardinal Wolſey's deciſion. But when, after many difficulties, he had obtained the commiſſion for the cardinal, with a bull decretal, declaring the marriage void, and a diſpenſation to marry again, he found however, there was yet nothing done. The commiſſion was dated from the caſtle of St. Angelo, whilſt the pope was a priſoner, which rendered it entirely null, and conſequently there was a neceſſity of renewing it. The decretal had no clauſe to hinder the pope from revoking it if he pleaſed. In fine, the diſpenſation was only conditional, in caſe the king's marriage with Catherine ſhould be declared void. Beſides, there were certain reſtrictions inſerted, leaving the pope at liberty to repeal it. For inſtance, he granted the diſpenſation, "as far as might be without offending God. Notwithſtanding any prohibitions of the divine law, or other conſtitutions and ordinances whatever to the contrary, as far as the authority apoſtolical reached [f]." Henry was not a little concerned to ſee that he could not uſe theſe bulls, without being liable to be moleſted. Nevertheleſs, in the belief, that all this was owing to inadvertency, he ordered ſir Gregory Caſſali, his embaſſador at Rome, to demand bulls leſs liable to diſpute. Baſſali ſpoke of it frequently to the pope, but could obtain no poſitive anſwer. Only the pope finding himſelf preſſed, told him as a ſecret, that he adviſed the king to proceed, and get his marriage annulled, by virtue of the commiſſion given the legate [g], but with as little noiſe as poſſible, and marry the woman deſired. He grounded this advice upon its being much eaſier to confirm a thing when done, than to permit him to do it. He charged Caſſali however, not to let the king know this ſuggeſtion came from him. Henry looked upon this advice as a ſnare laid for him by the pope. He conſidered, it was not poſſible to have ſuch a cauſe tried without noiſe, ſince it was neceſſary the queen ſhould be heard, otherwiſe the ſentence would be evidently void. In the next place, had he done what he was adviſed to, he would have been entirely at the pope's mercy, who according to the opinion of the canoniſts, might have refuſed to confirm the legate's ſentence, as well as the conſequent marriage. So, the affair being taken into conſideration, it was thought more proper to apply directly to the pope for new bulls. Purſuant to this reſolution, the king ſent [h] Stephen Gardiner, cardinal Wolſey's ſecretary, and Edward Fox [i], to manage the affair. Their inſtructions were to demand for the cardinal a new commiſſion, appointing him judge of the cauſe, with powers to null the king's marriage, if he thought proper, and yet to declare his daughter legitimate; to preſs the pope to give him a promiſe under his hand, not to revoke the legate's commiſſion; to demand a bull decretal to null the king's marriage, and a diſpenſation to eſpouſe another wife without any reſtriction. In ſhort, the envoys had orders to acquaint the pope, that the divorce was not adviſed by the cardinal, and to diſplay the extraordinary merit of the lady the king intended to eſpouſe. This was Anne Bullen, as may eaſily be gueſſed, ſince the king no longer concealed his love for her. It was very proper to tell the pope, that the cardinal was not author of the counſel which had induced the king to ſue for a divorce, ſince he was required for judge. And yet the letters he ſent by Gardiner and Fox, and which are in the hiſtory of the reformation, clearly ſhew he was infinitely deſirous the thing ſhould ſucceed. Finally, it appears, that the king was ſtill willing to have ſome condeſcenſion for the queen, and the emperor, her nephew, ſince he required that the legate ſhould have powers to declare Mary legitimate. Perhaps, too, this was an effect of the love he had for her.

When Gardiner and Fox came to Orvieto [k], Lautrec was marching to Naples. But his progreſs was yet ſo inconſiderable, that it was difficult to judge of the ſucceſs of his undertaking, eſpecially as the Imperialiſts were now departed from Rome in order to oppoſe his paſſage. Nay, it was likely there would be a battle, and as the event was doubtful, the pope took care not to incur the emperor's reſentment, in caſe his arms were victorious. So, to gain time, he ſent the king a letter in cypher, as if he meant to acquaint him with a ſecret, and yet it was not poſſible to diſcover his intention. The letter not being very welcome, the envoys had orders to inſiſt upon their demands. But at that time the face of affairs was a little altered. Lautrec had now made conqueſts in the kingdom of Naples, and the prince of Orange, unable to ſtop his march, was retired to the metropolis, which, probably, was going to be inveſted. It would therefore have been very imprudent to diſoblige Henry, when the king of France, his ally, was upon the point of becoming very powerful in Italy. So, Clement being greatly embarraſed in ſo nice a juncture, had recourſe to his uſual artifices to try to gain time. He feigned to deſire nothing ſo ardently as to ſatisfy Henry, though he was reſolved in his own mind to do nothing effectual in his favour. His aim was to become maſter of the affair of the divorce, and prolong it till the events of the war ſhould determine him to content either the emperor or the king. The intereſt of his houſe required that he ſhould manage the emperor, becauſe it was by his means that he hoped to reſtore the Medicis to Florence. That of his ſee was no leſs important. Henry demanded that he ſhould revoke a diſpenſation granted by a pope his predeceſſor, upon the ſuppoſition that this pope had not power to grant it; that is, properly ſpeaking, that he ſhould declare the Roman pontiffs had hitherto aſſumed a prerogative which belonged not to them. This was a very difficult ſtep to be taken, at a time when great part of Germany had thrown off the pope's dominion, and nothing was every where heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the exorbitant power they had uſurped. So, Clement's real deſign was to amuſe the king with hopes he would conſent to his divorce, till it was in his power to oppoſe it with ſafety. There is no occaſion to look for other myſteries in the pope's conduct, as will more plainly appear in the ſequel. As for the arguments and authorities alleged on both ſides, with reſpect to the main point in queſtion, from the holy ſcriptures, the fathers, and the canons, they were only ſo many amuſements which were extremely ſubſervient to the pope's deſigns, but made little or no impreſſion upon him.

Clement VII. being in this diſpoſition, ſcrupled not outwardly to grant the king whatever he required. On the 13th of April 1528, he ſigned a bull, appointing cardinal Wolſey judge of the cauſe, jointly with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate he ſhould think fit to chuſe, and gave him as ample powers as the king deſired. But, beſides the above mentioned inconveniences in the decretal and diſpenſation, the king's council found two in cardinal Wolſey's new commiſſion. The firſt was, that there was no clauſe to hinder the pope from revoking it. The ſecond, that to appoint for ſole judge of the cauſe a cardinal devoted to the king, and actually his prime miniſter, would be a manifeſt nullity. Theſe conſiderations obliged the king to deſire the pope that he would join another legate with cardinal Wolſey, and poſitively promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion. As, when this was demanded, Lautrec was now before Naples, and it was not doubted he would become maſter of the city, as well as of all the reſt of the kingdom, the pope granted whatever was deſired [l]. He appointed, therefore, by a bull, dated at Orvieto the 6th of June, Thomas Wolſey, cardinal of York, and Lorenzo Campegio, cardinal biſhop of Saliſbury, for his legates a latere, giving them the ſame powers he had granted to Wolſey alone, appointing them his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce, and committing to them his whole authority [m]. He gave likewiſe, the 13th of July, the promiſe, under his hand, deſired by the king. In a word, he delivered to Campegio a decretal, nulling the king's marriage, expreſſed in the very terms which had as it were been dictated to him. It ſeemed Henry could deſire nothing more.

[f] Lord Herbert gives not this bull as authentic, but as very probable. Rapin.

[g] Ut ſtatim committat cauſam, aliam uxorem ducat, litem ſequatur, mittatur pro legato, &c. Burnet's Collect. T. I. p. 26.

[h] They were ſent February 10. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

[i] Provoſt of King's College in Cambridge, and the king's almoner. Gardiner was looked upon as the ableſt canoniſt, and Fox as the beſt divine in England. Burnet, T. I. p. 52.

[k] March 20. Strype's Mem. vol. I. p. 90

[l] Dr. Fox returned to England in the beginning of May; but Gardiner went to Rome to Campegio. Strype's Mem. p. 103, 104.

[m] Campegio was perhaps named for legate in the month of April, as doctor Burnet ſays, but his commiſſion bears date the 6th of June. Rapin.

I

But all the artifices of the court of Rome were not yet known in England. The pope only intended to gain time, in order to ſee the iſſue of the Naples expedition. To that end, he always placed ſome interval between his favours to the king. Wolſey was made ſole judge in the affair of the divorce, the 13th of April; Campegio was, in a conſiſtory, declared his aſſociate, about the end of the ſame month; but the bull was not drawn till the 6th of June. His promiſe not to revoke the commiſſion was not ſigned before the 23d of July. In all appearance, the decretal was not drawn till Auguſt, nor did Campegio begin his journey till after Lautrec's death, or perhaps after raiſing the ſiege of Naples; that is, when the pope was no longer in dread of France, and it was more neceſſary than ever to manage the emperor. So, it may almoſt be affirmed, that when Campegio departed from Rome, the pope was reſolved not to grant the divorce. It was however requiſite he ſhould ſtill ſeem willing to ſatisfy Henry, in order not to be delivered to the emperor's mercy, with whom he was determined to agree, and nothing was more capable to procure him advantageous terms, than his ſeeming union with France and England. This was moſt certainly the ſecret of the pope's policy, and the real motive of all his artifices in this affair. In purſuance therefore of the reſolution he had taken, he gave the following inſtructions to his legate: Firſt, to prolong the affair as much as poſſible. Secondly, not to give ſentence upon the divorce, before the reception of his commands in writing. Thirdly, he expreſly enjoined him not to ſhew the bull to any perſon but the king and cardinal Wolſey, nor to part with it out of his hands, without his order, upon any pretence whatever.

Campegio, departing with theſe inſtructions, arrived not in England till October, ſix or ſeven months after he was appointed legate. Whilſt he was on the road, the emperor's miniſters at Rome raiſed a freſh obſtacle to the divorce, by the pretended diſcovery of a brief of Julius II.[n] confirming the bull of diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catherine. But there was this difference between the bull and the brief, that the pope in the bull ſaid, the marriage was perhaps conſummated; whereas in the brief, the word perhaps, was omitted. They inferred from thence, that Julius II. was not ſurpriſed, ſince he looked upon Catherin's firſt marriage as conſummated. But the brief, of which they only gave an authentic copy, without ſhewing the original to the king's miniſters, was, probably, propoſed ſolely to cauſe time to be loſt in examining it. For there were two reaſons, among many others, which manifeſtly proved it to be a forgery: The firſt was, that this brief, granted at Catherine's requeſt, ſuppoſed that princeſs's marriage with Arthur to have been conſummated, and yet ſhe had ſworn the contrary. And upon that her agents had grounded the validity of Julius's diſpenſation. The ſecond reaſon was ſtill more ſtrong, namely, that the brief was dated the 26th of December, 1503. Now, as in the date of the briefs, the court of Rome begins the year the 25th of December, being Chriſtmas-day, this date anſwered to the 26th of December 1502, of the common year, that is ten months before Julius II. was pope.

Campegio, being arrived in England, began his legateſhip with gravely exhorting the king to live in a good underſtanding with the queen, and deſiſt from a farther proſecution of the matter. This was taken very ill from a legate who was thought to be ſent into England to judge the cauſe in favour of the king. After that, he talked the quite contrary to the queen, endeavouring to perſuade her, that ſhe ought to comply with the king's deſire [o], and even intimated, it would be in vain to oppoſe it. But whether the queen was told beforehand what ſhe was to ſay, or naturally ſpoke her own thoughts, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was the king's wife, and would be ſo, till parted from him by the pope's ſentence [p]. Campegio not being able to prevail with the king or queen, affirmed he could not proceed without freſh orders, as if his whole commiſſion was only to make theſe exhortations. But it was ſix months before his inſtructions arrived. Mean while he kept the king in hopes of obtaining his deſires, and even inſinuated, that he was himſelf ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe. To amuſe him the better, he ſhewed him the bull he had brought with him, and gave the cardinal his colleague a ſight of it alſo. But when he was preſſed to ſhew it to ſome of the lords of the council, he replied, he had very poſitive orders to let no perſon ſee it but the king and Wolſey. Henry, ſurpriſed and angry at ſuch a proceeding, complained of it to the pope, who, inſtead of blaming his legate, anſwered, he had done very well to follow his orders: that the decretal was granted on condition it was ſhewn to none but the king and cardinal Wolſey, and on purpoſe to prevent Wolſey's ruin, which otherwiſe, he was told, would be infallible: that in fine, the bull was not to be publiſhed, unleſs the legates gave ſentence for the king [q].

Whilſt Campegio amuſed Henry in England, the pope was taking meaſures to conclude his treaty with the emperor, and ſeeking pretences to leave the kings of France and England, whom he no longer feared, ſince the Naples expedition had miſcarried. He complained, that theſe two monarchs had diſappointed him, in not cauſing Ravenna and Cervia to be reſtored to him according to their promiſe; thereby inſinuating, that it was not to be thought ſtrange he made no haſte to ſatisfy Henry, ſince that prince had neglected to do him juſtice by the Venetians [r]. He would fain have had it believed that the affair of the divorce was retarded ſolely on that account, and was very deſirous to have theſe two places in his power before he concluded with the emperor. But, what caution ſoever he uſed, his negotiation in Spain could not be ſo private but Francis and Henry had ſome intelligence of it. They complained to him, by their embaſſadors, but he conſtantly denied he intended to depart from his neutrality. Mean while, under colour of removing theſe groundleſs ſuſpicions, he diſpatched into England one Campana, to give the king freſh aſſurances of his good intentions; but withal ſent by him expreſs orders to cardinal Campegio, to burn the bull decretal, and defer the ſentence of the divorce as long as poſſible. Campegio immediately obeyed the firſt of theſe orders, and as for the ſecond, never ceaſed finding freſh pretences to retard the proceedings.

At laſt, Henry tired to ſee ſo many affected delays, and perceiving they came from the pope, ſent, about the end of the year, ſir Francis Brian and Peter Vannes [s] to Rome, to diſcover the true cauſe. They had likewiſe ſeveral other commiſſions: Firſt, to ſearch the pope's records for the pretended brief of Julius II. Secondly, to propoſe, as of themſelves, ſeveral expedients ſpeedily to end the affair of the divorce, and to conſult, under feigned names, the canoniſts of Rome, whether they were practicable. Thirdly, in caſe they ſaw the pope over-awed by the emperor's threats, they had orders to offer him a guard of two thouſand men. Laſtly, if this had no effect, they were to balance the emperor's menaces with others for the king. They found the pope in a real or pretended fright, at the Imperial miniſter's threats to have him depoſed for a baſtard. His anſwer therefore to the offer of two thouſand men for a guard, was, that it would not be capable of ſecuring him, but rather render him more ſuſpected. He took care not to put himſelf in the king's power when he was thinking to break entirely with him. The two envoys, ſeeing the pope inclined to the emperor's ſide, plainly told him at laſt, "That if he continued to deny the king, their maſter, the ſatisfaction he demanded, he might be aſſured England would be loſt to him: that the Engliſh were already but too much diſpoſed to withdraw their obedience to the holy ſee, and, upon the leaſt encouragement from the king, would openly publiſh what they kept concealed in their hearts: that the king, their maſter, and the king of France, were powerful, and very ſtrictly united, and therefore the pope would run a great hazard if he ſhould cauſeleſsly make theſe two monarchs his enemies: that though the Naples expedition had miſcarried, he could not be ſure it would be the ſame with thoſe that ſhould be hereafter undertaken; nay, it was eaſy to ſee, by the dangerous ſtate of the emperor's affairs, what might happen another time: that if, out of exceſſive condeſcenſion for the emperor, he dealt ſo unjuſtly by the king of England, as to refuſe him what even equity and the law of God required, he muſt likewiſe expect no favour or regard when affairs ſhould be altered: that he ought to conſider, the king of England had engaged in this war to free him from captivity, and if, inſtead of making a grateful return, he ſhould join with his enemy, all chriſtians would abhor his ingratitude." All this was not capable to divert the pope from his deſign, and yet he would ſtill be thought unreſolved. He replied, with a ſigh, that he

[n] It is neither in the records of England or Spain, but ſaid to be found among the papers of D. de Puebla, who was the Spaniſh embaſſador in England at the time of the concluſion of the match. Burnet, T. I. p. 57.

[o] He perſuaded her to renounce the world, and to enter into ſome religious life. Herbert, p. 103.

[p] Adding, ſhe would not admit ſuch partial judges as they were to give ſentence in her cauſe. Ibid.

[q] He wiſhed he had never ſent it, ſaying, he would gladly loſe a finger to recover it again; and expreſſed great grief for granting it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 59.

[r] The Venetians had taken Cervia and Ravenna from the pope, and France and England had promiſed to intercede and uſe their intereſt with the Venetians to reſtore them. Ibid.

[s] An Italian; and the king's ſecretary for the Latin tongue. Herbert, p. 103.

Theſe

was between the hammer and the anvil, and, which way ſoever he turned, ſaw nothing before him but dangers; and therefore he placed all his hopes in the protection of God, who would not forſake his church: that, as to the reſt, he had done for the king of England more than could be reaſonably expected, in committing the trial of his cauſe to two legates, who were both devoted to him: that, not content with this, he ſtill preſſed him to do more; to diſregard the cuſtomary rules of the church on the like occaſions, and publicly ſacrifice to him, the emperor, the archduke his brother, queen Catherine, the honour, dignity and intereſt of the holy ſee: that this was aſking too much, and the king ſhould at leaſt ſuffer the affair to be decided by the legates appointed for that purpoſe: that it was not his fault if matters were delayed, and in caſe it was owing to Campegio's negligence, he had acted contrary to his orders. This anſwer was a plain indication of the pope's thoughts. Accordingly, the envoys told the king, nothing was to be expected from the pope, and that the only way was to cauſe the legates to give a ſpeedy ſentence. The truth is, the pope was now reſolved to agree with the emperor; and if he ſhewed any farther regard for Henry, it was only to avoid an open rupture with him, for fear the emperor ſhould take advantage of it in the treaty they were concluding.

The expedients Brian and Vannes were commiſſioned to propoſe, were, 1. Whether, if the queen vowed religion, the king ſhould have liberty to marry again? 2. Or, if the king ſhould vow religion as well as the queen, whether the pope would diſpenſe with his vow, and allow him to take another wife whilſt the queen was alive? 3. Or whether the pope would grant him a diſpenſation to have two wives? But it does not appear how theſe points were decided. As for the brief produced by the Imperial miniſters, there was not the leaſt trace of any ſuch thing among the pope's records, of which the Engliſh envoys [t] had good certificates. In this manner paſſed the whole year 1528; at the cloſe whereof the king found himſelf no more advanced than at the beginning, except that he had ſtill ſome hope from Campegio, who all along pretended to be entirely in his intereſt. It may be affirmed, that Francis, in neglecting to aſſiſt Lautrec, was the cauſe of the turn which the affair of the divorce took, ſince he thereby gave occaſion to the pope to join with the emperor [u].

Whilſt the king was thinking of his divorce, cardinal Wolſey was very diligently employed in founding his colleges. As the pope made the king very uneaſy at his affected delays, he endeavoured to gratify him otherwiſe, in granting his favourite whatever he deſired for his foundations. Among the public acts of the year 1528, there are ten or twelve bulls, as well for the ſuppreſſion of ſeveral ſmall monaſteries [w], as for other things concerning the two colleges, the endowment whereof the cardinal ſo paſſionately deſired. Wherefore, knowing how fair an opportunity preſented to obtain private favour from the pope, he forgot not to improve it. Had he ſtayed a year longer, he would have run great riſk of leaving the work unfiniſhed.

I have for ſome time been ſilent concerning the affairs of Scotland, becauſe there has been no occaſion to ſpeak of them. But as their ſituation was changed during the courſe of this year, it is neceſſary briefly to relate what had paſſed in that country. The earl of Angus, George Douglas his brother, and their uncle Archibald, had ſtill the king's perſon in their power, and governed in his name. Queen Margaret however, who had cauſed her marriage with the earl of Angus to be annulled, and was married again to Henry Stewart, had ſtill a powerful party in Scotland. But as her party could not act openly without being liable to be deemed rebels, ſince the king was in the hands of the Douglaſſes, the queen made uſe of another expedient to accompliſh her deſigns. She perſuaded the king her ſon, by ſome perſons about him, to make his eſcape, and retire to Sterling. The contrivance ſucceeded according to her wiſh. James took this opportunity, and eſcaping from the earl of Angus, withdrew to Sterling, where it was publiſhed that the Douglaſſes ſhould be no longer acknowledged for regents, and withal were forbidden the court. This order was notified to the earl of Angus whilſt he was marching to recover the king's perſon. As he had but few troops, and was unable to enter Sterling by force, where ſeveral great men were come to the king's relief, he obeyed and retired.

Shortly after, the king called a parliament at Edinburgh the 3d of September, and came himſelf to hold it. The Douglaſſes, perceiving what was preparing againſt them, attempted to ſurpriſe Edinburgh, and become maſters of the king's perſon, with deſign to diſſolve the parliament. But being repulſed, they were forced to retire: Whreupon the parliament confiſcated their eſtates to the king. But they continued in arms, and made incurſions even to the gates of Edinburgh.

Henry, being informed of what paſſed in Scotland, and fearing the young king might ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced againſt him, thought it adviſeable to ſend embaſſadors to make peace, ſince a war with Scotland could not but be very inconvenient in his preſent circumſtances. But it was not poſſible to ſucceed. A truce only for five years was concluded at Berwick, and ſigned the 14th of December. It was agreed, by a ſeparate article, that the Douglaſſes might take refuge in England, on condition they delivered to their ſovereign the places they held in Scotland; and, in caſe they entered the kingdom, and committed any diſorders, Henry ſhould be reſponſible, as if done by his own ſubjects [x].

Since the pope had determined to agree with the emperor, his feeding the allies with hopes was only to obtain the better terms from that monarch. On the other hand, Francis, ſuſpecting the pope's intentions, perceived likewiſe that a peace only would procure him his ſons, and therefore continued a ſecret negotiation with the emperor. But at the ſame time, he made great promiſes to the Venetians, Florentines, duke of Milan, and the pope himſelf, to let the emperor ſee, in caſe he did not make haſte and conclude, it would perhaps be too late when he deſired it. About the ſame time the emperor had certain advice that the Turks were making great preparations to invade Hungary, and penetrate even into Germany. So, finding a diverſion in Italy might greatly embarras him at ſuch a juncture, he was the more inclined to peace. Theſe diſpoſitions in the principal parties could not in the end but produce the peace which was univerſally expected with impatience. Mean while the war was continued, though faintly, in the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan, where the French and Venetians had kept ſome places, but it was eaſy to ſee that nothing deciſive would happen.

In the mean time the pope was wholly intent upon his own private affairs. His aim was not only to be reſtored to Florence, but alſo to become maſter of Peruſa and Ferrara, and recover Ravenna and Cervia, taken by the Venetians during his captivity. Under colour of uſing his intereſt to procure a general peace, he had ſent a nuntio to Spain to conclude a private treaty with the emperor. During the negotiation the affair of the divorce was at a ſtand. Clement VII. was fully reſolved to ſatisfy the emperor, and by that Henry daily loſt the hopes of ſucceeding in his purſuit. Mean while a violent diſtemper, which ſeized the pope in the beginning of the year 1529, had like to have very much changed the face of affairs [y]. Cardinal Wolſey having notice of the pope's dangerous illneſs, had ſent an expreſs to Gardiner, to conjure him to neglect nothing that he thought capable of procuring him the papacy. Henry himſelf had wrote to ſeveral cardinals in his behalf, and the king of France, who was not yet ſecure of a peace, had given him all thoſe of his faction. It is pretended, Wolſey would have been ſure of more than a third of the votes in caſe the pope had died. Indeed that was not ſufficient to make him pope; but it was enough to hinder any other from being ſo. This affair was even carried ſo far, that the king had ordered his embaſſadors at Rome, that if, notwithſtanding the cardinals of Wolſey's faction, another perſon ſhould be deſigned, they ſhould ſo manage that theſe cardinals ſhould proteſt againſt the proceedings in the conclave, and then, withdrawing to ſome ſecure place, ſhould themſelves come to a new election. I do not know whether it would have been eaſy for the embaſſadors to obtain ſo abſolute a reſignation to the king's pleaſure. However, it is not ſtrange that Henry ſhould be ſo very deſirous of procuring the papacy for his miniſter and

[t] Theſe Engliſh envoys were the biſhop of Worceſter and Dr. Lee. They gave the emperor an overture of the divorce, and made ſeveral objections againſt the genuineneſs of Julius IInd's brief, which the reader may ſee in Herbert, p. 104, 105.

[u] About this time, ſome murmurs and ſeditious words being diſperſed among the common people on account of the divorce, king Henry proteſted publicly in an aſſembly of lords, judges, &c. at his palace at Bridewell, that nothing but deſire of giving ſatisfaction to his conſcience, and care of eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion to the crown in a right and undoubted line had firſt procured him to controvert this marriage; being for the reſt, as happy in the affection and virtues of his queen, at any prince living. To confirm which alſo, he cauſed Anne Bullen to depart the court. Herbert, p. 106.

[w] Thoſe of Romboro, Fylſton, Bromhil, Bliborow, and Montjoy. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 240.

[x] This year, on June 28, the king of France ratified the eight months truce concluded between France, England, and the Low Countries, from June 15 to January 1529. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 258, &c.

[y] His phyſicians ſuſpected that he was poiſoned. Burnet, T. I. p. 64.

May

favourite. But it is surprising that a prince who was called protector of the church, and defender of the faith, should not scruple purposely to endeavour to form a schism in the church, in order to gratify his passion. As for cardinal Wolsey, nothing in his conduct ought to be thought strange; since it is certain he was ready to sacrifice every thing to his ambition. The pope's recovery put an end to all these cabals, which, however, could not be so private but they came to his knowledge. This made him consider Wolsey as a dangerous rival, and capable of supplanting him if an opportunity offered, by using for pretence the defect in his birth.

When Clement VII. was fully recovered, the proceedings for the divorce continued upon the same foot as before. The pope gave hopes the affair should be decided in England for the king, by a sentence of the legates, which he would himself confirm to make it more authentic. His aim was to gain time, and prevent the appearance of any misunderstanding between him and the court of England, before he had concluded his treaty with the emperor, because it was a means to obtain better terms. To this end, and to hinder Henry from being impatient, he had put into Gardiner's hands a brief, promising not to revoke the powers given the legates. But, besides that the brief was expressed in ambiguous terms, he knew sentence would not be passed without his positive orders. This management, which the pope continued with many artifices, afforded the king some hopes of gaining him to his interest. To succeed the better, he prevailed with the king of France to send to the pope the bishop of Bayonne, with orders earnestly to sollicit the decision of the affair. He could have wished that the pope of his own accord would have granted a bull to annul his marriage, and dispense with his taking another wife, or at least have given the legates such a commission, as it should not be in their choice to judge otherwise than in his favour. The pope, pleased at his being so intent upon his own projects, still fed him with hopes of success. But withal he expressed great fear of what the emperor might do against him; and used that pretence to delay the favour he seemed to intend to grant. In every thing else he was always ready to content the king. The bishopric of Winchester being vacant by the death of Richard Fox, and Henry desiring him to bestow it on Wolsey, the bulls for that purpose were immediately dispatched. It is true, they were rated at fifteen thousand ducats; but Wolsey would give but six thousand, alleging, he did not want them, since the king had already granted him the temporalities of the bishopric. This shews in what spirit he thus heaped upon him the church preferments. But herein is nothing surprising, since the pope himself made no scruple to own in his bull that he conferred the bishopric on the cardinal to help him to bear the expence to which he he was obliged by his rank.

Whilst these things passed, the emperor hastened, as much as possible, the conclusion of his treaty with the pope; being resolved to grant whatever he required, rather than give him occasion to join with his enemies. Before the pope was assured of this agreement, policy required he should keep the emperor in fear that the affair of the divorce would be determined to the king of England's satisfaction. Consequently, it was his interest that the affair should remain undecided, to let the emperor see it depended on the success of the negotiation at Barcelona. But when he had just brought him to his own terms, he began insensibly to seek pretences to break his engagements with Henry. So the restitution of Revenna and Cervia was again moved, the pope feigning to believe that if Henry had desired it, he should have had these two cities before now, and from thence took occasion to be displeased. On the other hand, the emperor knowing the pope's intention, protested, [z] in queen Catherine's name, against whatever should be done in England in the affair of the divorce, declaring that she excepted against the two legates, as one was notoriously devoted to the king, and the other, bishop of Salisbury. The king's ministers used their utmost endeavours to persuade the pope to reject the protestation. But he replied, he could not, without shewing himself too partial to the king, since a protestation was no prejudice to the cause itself. That it would be a very strange thing to refuse a queen the right of protesting, which the meanest person could claim. All this, added to many other circumstances, and to certain advices that the pope was treating with the emperor, took from the English ministers all hopes of prevailing with him. Wherefore they wrote to the king that they were only amused, and if the process was not speedily decided in England, there was danger of its being brought to Rome. Whereupon, the king resolved to proceed before the legates, and not suffer himself to be any longer amused by deceitful promises. Mean while, when the instrument, whereby the pope had promised not to revoke the legate's commission, came to be examined, it was found to be worded in general or ambiguous terms, which left him at liberty to do what he pleased. So, to know whether he had acted with sincerity [a], when he signed that instrument, Gardiner was ordered to represent to him, that the paper on which it was written being wet, by the carelessness of the courier, and the words almost quite defaced, the king desired he would sign another. But Clement found some artifice to be excused. Wherefore the king, being satisfied there was nothing to be expected from the court of Rome, where the emperor's interest was too great, recalled Gardiner [b] and Brian, and sent Bennet to Rome, only to hinder, as much as lay in his power, the avocations of his cause. Bennet carried a letter from the two legates, directed to the pope and cardinals, wherein they said, That the principal point in the cause they were to judge, consisted in knowing whether Julius II. could grant a dispensation, or exceeded his power: that since the sole point was to decide concerning the authority of the head of the church, they conceived it to be beyond their commission, and therefore were of opinion the pope would do well to avocate the cause: that they doubted not the king would consent to it, provided he had some assurance it should be decided in his favour. It is hard to conceive what could induce cardinal Wolsey to sign such a letter, so directly contrary to the king's interest. For, though the legates seemed to suppose his consent, it was evident the reason of the avocation subsisted, whether the king consented or not. Consequently they afforded the pope a plausible pretence to avocate the cause, which the king dreaded of all things. Was Wolsey deceived by Campegio? or did he sacrifice his master's interest? It is difficult to believe either; and yet historians affirm, that one of the principal causes of his disgrace, was a letter he had written to the pope, which came to the king's knowledge by Bennet's means, and it might very well be this. Indeed he was inexcusable if he signed it without the king's approbation; and, on the other hand, it cannot be conceived that the king should be so blind as not to see the consequence of such advice.

Though Campegio came to England in October last year, it was now the end of May, and nothing done towards the trial of the cause which brought him thither. The king, having suffered himself to be amused by the pope, whose interest it was to gain time, had been ever in hopes of obtaining a bull to null the marriage, without being obliged to go through the usual forms of a process. But at length, his agents convincing him that his expectations were vain, he resolved to proceed before the legates. To that end, on the 31st of May, he granted them a licence to execute the pope's commission. They met the same day, and appointed assistants [c] to examine the papers and evidences. From the very first session, it appeared that Campegio intended to prolong the process, since, after the commission was read, he ordered the king and queen to be cited to appear the 18th of June. This was too long a term, if there had been any design to dispatch the affair, especially as the parties were in London, or in one of their palaces near the city. Though Wolsey was the senior cardinal, he let Campegio preside, to shew he intended to act without partiality. So, from the first day to the last, Campegio did all, without Wolsey's ever appearing to oppose the affected delays of his colleague between the sessions. I shall not enter any farther into the particulars of this famous process, which may be seen at large in the excellent history of the reformation of England, known to all the world, but content myself with relating in general the most remarkable circumstances.

In the second session, the queen's proctors [d] excepted against the two legates. But the exception not being deemed valid, she had a further day given her to the 21st [e]. On

[z] May 15. Burnet, tom. I. p. 67.

[a] Or rather, to obtain an enlargement of the commission, with fuller power to the legates: and when in was new drawn, they were to endeavour to get as many pregnant and material words added as possible. Idem. p. 68.

[b] He was thought the fittest person to manage the process in England, being esteemed the ablest canonist in the kingdom; and was so valued by the king, that he would not begin the process till he came. Burnet, ibid.

[c] John Longland, bishop of Lincoln; John Clarke, bishop of Bath and Wells; John Islip, abbot of Westminster; and doctor John Taylor, master of the rolls. Herbert, p. 108.

[d] William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Nicholas West, bishop of Ely; John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; and Henry Standish, of St. Asaph. Hall, fol. 181.

[e] On the 18th of June the citation being returned, duly executed, Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel, and Mr. John Bell, appeared as the king's proxies.

that day the king and queen appeared in perſon [f]. But the queen, without ſaying any thing to the legates, went and kneeled down before the king, and made a very moving ſpeech, concluding, with imploring his juſtice and pity; after which ſhe withdrew, and would never more appear, nor ſuffer any perſon to defend her cauſe [g]. As ſoon as ſhe was retired, the king declared he was very well pleaſed with the queen, and, in ſuing to be divorced from her, acted ſolely from a motive of religion and conſcience [h]. Adding, that his ſcruples concerning his marriage ſprung from thoſe of the biſhop of Tarbe, and were confirmed by the opinion of all the biſhops of England. The archbiſhop of Canterbury confirmed what the king ſaid, concerning the biſhops. But Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, denied he ever ſet his hand to the writing which was preſented to the king. Mean while, the queen was cited again for the 25th of June, but inſtead of appearing, ſhe ſent in her appeal to the pope in form, from whatever had been or ſhould be done hereafter. Nevertheleſs, ſhe was declared contumacious. The ſame day, the proceſs was reduced to twelve articles, upon which witneſſes were to be examined. The principal article was, prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine, which the queen had denied with an oath, and which notwithſtanding was proved by the teſtimony of ſeveral perſons, as far as a thing of that nature can be. Theſe proofs conſiſted in the age, health, and vigorous conſtitution of the prince, and in his diſcourſes the next morning after the nuptials: ſo that Arthur and Catherine muſt not have ſpoken the truth; the one out of vanity, or the other out of intereſt [i].

Whilſt the trial was proſecuting in England, the emperor's miniſters were earneſtly preſſing the pope to avocate the cauſe to Rome, and Henry's as vehemently ſolliciting the contrary. What is more, both ſides threatened to depoſe him, on account of his being a baſtard. The pope feigned to be terrified by theſe menaces; and this ſeeming fear to declare for either, afforded him a pretence to remain undetermined, till he received advice of the concluſion of his treaty with the emperor. At length, the agreeable news being come, he reſolved to avocate the cauſe before the publication of the treaty, leſt it ſhould be thought to be one of the ſecret articles. Weak precaution to efface or prevent ſuch a ſuſpicion.

The ſubſtance of the treaty which was ſigned at Barcelona the 29th of June, was, That the emperor ſhould reſtore the family of the Medici to Florence, on the ſame foot as formerly: that he ſhould cauſe Ravenna and Cervia to be delivered to the pope: that he ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of Modena and Reggio, ſaving the rights of the empire: that he ſhould aid him to become maſter of Ferrara: that Franceſco Sforza ſhould be reſtored to Milan, if innocent, but if guilty the emperor ſhould not diſpoſe of the duchy to any prince the pope ſhould diſlike: that the pope and emperor ſhould employ their temporal and ſpiritual arms againſt the heretics of Germany: that Alexander de Medici ſhould eſpouſe Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter: that the pope ſhould grant the emperor a fourth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in his dominions, to wage war with the Turks: that he ſhould abſolve all that were any way concerned in the taking and ſacking of Rome. What greater advantages could the pope have expected, ſuppoſing he had been victorious in the late war? But the emperor believed he could not purchaſe the pope's friendſhip too dear, who might ſtill have greatly embarraſed him, if he had joined with France, England, and the republic of Venice.

The pope, having concluded his treaty with the emperor, told the Engliſh ambaſſadors himſelf, on the 9th of July, his reſolution to avocate the cauſe to Rome. They uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſſuade him from it; repreſenting to him that the holy ſee was going irrecoverably to loſe England. But it was all to no purpoſe. By his late treaty with the emperor, the family of the Medici was to be reſtored to the government of Florence. This alone was ſufficient to outweigh in his mind all the dangers to which he expoſed the holy ſee; ſo great was his affection for a family from whence he was deſcended, though not born in Wedlock. So, the 15th of July he ſigned the bull of avocation. The next day he notified it to Caſſali, the king's embaſſador in ordinary, and to Bennet, who had been ſent to him laſt. He alleged, in excuſe of the avocation, ſeveral reaſons which might have been of ſome weight in the beginning of the proceſs, on ſuppoſition he had been entirely impartial, but which had loſt all their force after all his proceedings, and the concluſion of his treaty with the emperor. Three days after, he diſpatched a meſſenger, with the bull of avocation, into England, where proceedings were very dilatory by the artifices of cardinal Campegio, who preſided in the affair.

The queen, who was cited for the 25th of June, not appearing that day, ſhe had farther time given her to the 28th, and was ſummoned again to appear by the biſhop of Bath and Wells, though in vain. On the 28th, ſome depoſitions were read, after which the ſeſſion was adjourned to the 5th of July, when, by reaſon of certain holidays kept at Rome, the ſeſſion was deferred till the 12th. The court met again on the 12th, the 14th, the 17th, the 21ſt, and the 23d. As there was nothing more to do but to pronounce the ſentence, every one thought all would be ended the laſt ſeſſion; but people were ſtrangely ſurpriſed when cardinal Campegio was heard to adjourn the court to the 1ſt of October. He alleged for reaſon, that it was the time of the great vacation at Rome, and he was indiſpenſibly obliged to comply with that cuſtom [k].

Thus did that legate, who was in the pope's ſecrets, amuſe the king in the ſame manner as the pope had amuſed him at Rome near two years, ever ſince the affair was begun. Henry was as much enraged as ſurpriſed at the proceedings of the legate, but diſſembled both his ſurpriſe and reſentment. Shortly after, he plainly perceived to what all theſe affected delays tended, when he came to know that, notwithſtanding his engagement, the pope had avocated the cauſe. The bull of avocation being arrived [l], he would not ſuffer it to be notified to him, but intimated to the legates, that he was content they ſhould obey the pope's orders. It was not without reaſon that he would not have the bull notified to him. He was cited therein to appear at Rome within forty days, which he could not have done without acting contrary to the laws of the land, which prohibited to obey ſuch citations, and carry cauſes to a foreign court. Upon this foundation it was that he had always inſiſted that the proceſs ſhould be determined in the kingdom. Beſides that, cenſures were denounced againſt him in the bull, as againſt a private perſon, if he obeyed not the citation. Some time after, the pope made him a ſort of reparation, in revoking theſe cenſures by a brief [m], wherein he proteſted they were inſerted contrary to his intention. But as to the citation itſelf, he only prolonged the day to Chriſtmas.

The figure cardinal Wolſey made, during the pretended judgment of the proceſs, was very extraordinary. Of all mankind he was the proudeſt and moſt haughty; he was ſenior cardinal to his colleague, and yet gave place to him in every thing, and ſuffered him to act as he pleaſed, without ever oppoſing his opinion. If the affair had ſucceeded according to the king's deſire, his conduct would doubtleſs have been praiſed. But, as every thing turned againſt the

proxies. But the queen appeared in perſon, and excepted againſt the legates as incompetent judges, alleging the cauſe was already avocated by the pope, and deſired a competent time to prove it. The legates aſſigned her the 21ſt, and adjourned the court till then. Burnet, T. I. p. 72.

[g] Biſhop Burnet, from the original regiſter of the proceſs, ſays, the king was never in the court. Ref. T. III. p. 46. But the contrary is affirmed by the king himſelf, in a letter, dated June 23, to his embaſſadors at Rome, in theſe words: "Both me and the queen appeared in perſon." See Collect. to vol. I. p. 78. To reconcile this contradiction, the biſhop ſuppoſes that they were indeed together in the hall where the court ſat; but that it was before the cardinals ſat down, and had formed the court. Pref. to vol. II. p. 8.

[h] When the king and queen were called on, the king anſwered, Here; but the queen, riſing from her ſeat, kneeled down, and ſaid to the king, "She was a poor woman, and a ſtranger in his dominions, where ſhe could expect neither good counſel nor indifferent judges; ſhe had long been his wife, and deſired to know wherein ſhe had offended him: ſhe had been his wife 20 years and more, and had borne him ſeveral children, and ever ſtudied to pleaſe him, and proteſted he had found her a true maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own conſcience. If ſhe had done any thing amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put away with ſhame. Their parents were eſteemed very wiſe princes, and no doubt had good counſellors and learned men about them when the match was agreed; therefore ſhe would not ſubmit to the court; nor durſt her lawyers, who were his ſubjects, and aſſigned by him, ſpeak freely for her; ſo ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe had heard from Spain." That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making the king a low reverence, went out of court. Her counſel were the biſhops of Rocheſter and St. Aſaph, and Dr. Ridley. Burnet, vol. I. p. 73.

[i] He cleared likewiſe cardinal Wolſey from being the firſt mover of the matter, as had been ſuſpected. Ibid.

[k] Particularly Robert, viſcount Fitzwalter, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and ſir Anthony Willoughby, depoſed, that they heard prince Arthur ſay publicly, "I have been this night in the midſt of Spain." The king's counſel, it ſeems, inſiſting moſtly on the conſummation of the marriage, it led them to ſay many things that were indecent; of which the biſhop of Rocheſter complained, and ſaid, they were things deteſtable to be heard; but cardinal Wolſey checked him, and there paſſed ſome ſharp words between them. Lord Herbert has given the ſubſtance of all the depoſitions, p. 115. Compl. Hiſt. The place appointed for hearing and determining the cauſe, was a great hall in Black Friars, in London, commonly called the parliament chamber. Ibid.

[l] He pretended, that they ſat there as a part of the conſiſtory of Rome, and therefore muſt follow the rules of that court, which from that time till October was in a vacation, and heard no cauſes. Burnet. tom. I. p. 77.

[m] On Auguſt 4. Idem, p. 78.

[n] Dated Auguſt 29. Rymer's Feed. tom. XIV. p. 347.

King

king, it was not poſſible for the cardinal to avoid the ſuſpicion of betraying his maſter's intereſts, or at leaſt of ſerving him very ill. Henry himſelf thought ſo, though he did not preſently ſhew it[n]. On the other hand, Anne Bullen, who had always believed the cardinal in her intereſt, was extremely ſurpriſed when ſhe was informed of what had paſſed. The king had removed her from court[o], whilſt the legates were employed in the judgment of the proceſs; but ſhe was ſent for the moment the bull of avocation was arrived. It is pretended, ſhe did not a little contribute to confirm the king's ſuſpicions of the cardinal. She was perſuaded, if Wolſey had pleaſed, the affair would have taken another turn, but that he had altered his reſolution. Whether her opinion was well grounded, or the vexation to ſee herſelf ſtill ſo remote from her hopes exaſperated her againſt the cardinal, ſhe looked upon him as an enemy deſerving her whole vengeance. So, finding the king diſpoſed to give ear to whatever was ſaid againſt his miniſter, ſhe neglected nothing that could help to ruin him. In this, ſhe was aſſiſted by ſeveral perſons of the higheſt rank, who had no reaſon to love that proud prelate.

It is eaſy to gueſs Henry's concern to ſee himſelf on a ſudden ſo remote from his aim. The pope had joined in league with the emperor, which was properly his party. Francis I. from whom he had expected a powerful aid in caſe of need, had juſt concluded at Cambray a treaty with the emperor, whereby he engaged not to aſſiſt that prince's enemies. In a word, queen Catherine remained obſtinate not to accept any expedient that might debar her from being his wife. On the other hand, Henry's love for Anne Bullen, which he had pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of gratifying by a lawful marriage, helped not a little to increaſe his concern. He did not know which way to get rid of the queen, who by her obſtinacy had very much leſſened that eſteem and affection he had always had for her[p]. With a mind full of theſe troubleſome thoughts, and uncertain what to determine, he reſolved to take a progreſs into ſome of his counties, to try to diſpel his melancholy.

During his journey, he lodged one night at Waltham, where Edward Fox, and ſecretary Gardiner, happened to lye at a gentleman's houſe[q], who had two ſons committed to Thomas Cranmer's care. Cranmer was a doctor in divinity, who, having been profeſſor at Cambridge[r], had loſt his place upon being married. He had travelled into Germany, where he had read Luther's works, and embraced his doctrine, but with more moderation than was uſually ſeen in the firſt diſciples of that reformer. Whilſt they were at ſupper, Cranmer being at table with Fox and Gardiner, the converſation ran upon the affair of the divorce, and as the maſter of the houſe had informed the two courtiers of Cranmer's merit and capacity, they deſired him to give his opinion upon that ſubject. Cranmer at firſt modeſtly declined it, but they preſſed him ſo much that he could not excuſe himſelf. So, after ſtating the queſtion, he ſaid, he ſaw no better way to extricate the king out of his difficulties than to procure in writing the opinions of all the univerſities in Europe, and of the firſt eminent divines and civilians[s]. That one of theſe two things would follow: either the univerſities and the learned would judge Julius the ſecond's diſpenſation ſufficient, or deemed invalid. That in the firſt caſe, the king's conſcience would have reaſon to be eaſy; and in the ſecond, the pope would never venture to paſs ſentence contrary to the opinion of all the learned and able men in Chriſtendom. Fox and Gardiner, reliſhing this advice, imparted it to the king, who immediately taking the author's meaning, cried out in a tranſport of joy, That he had got the right ſow by the ear; an expreſſion, which in its coarſeneſs ſhewed how much the king was pleaſed with the expedient. At the ſame time he ſent for Cranmer, who explained more at large what he had but juſt hinted at table, ſo gained his eſteem, that from that moment he was ordered to follow the court. This is the ſame doctor who will quickly be ſeen to make a conſiderable figure in England, and lay the firſt foundations of the reformation in that kingdom.

The king being returned from his progreſs, cardinal Campegio, whoſe commiſſion was revoked, took his audience of leave as having no further buſineſs in England. Henry had ſo much command of himſelf, as to take no notice of his proceedings, and looked pleaſantly upon him. But, juſt as the cardinal was going to embark, the cuſtom-houſe officers ſearched all his baggage. under colour of looking for contraband goods[t]. Probably, the king hoped to find the decretal bull, which he had ſeen in his hands, not knowing it was burnt[u]. Campegio loudly complained of the inſult, and wrote to the king to demand ſatisfaction, as for an affront done to the legate of the holy ſee. Henry, coldly anſwered[w], that his cuſtomers had done their duty, in executing orders long ſince eſtabliſhed with regard to perſons going out of the kingdom: that he was ſurpriſed he ſhould talk of his being legate, when recalled, and much more, that being biſhop of Saliſbury, he ſhould be ſo ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to aſſume that title without his licence. Campegio perceiving by this anſwer, that the king intended not to give him ſatisfaction, thought himſelf very happy in being ſuffered to depart.

The cardinal had good reaſon to wiſh himſelf out of the kingdom. With what moderation ſoever the king behaved to him, he could not be ignorant how angry he was, after ſeeing, ſome days before his departure, the courſe that was taking with his colleague, cardinal Wolſey. The 9th of October, the attorney general[x] had preferred a bill of indictment againſt Wolſey, as guilty of breaking the ſtatute of præmunire. The 17th of the ſame month the king ſent and demanded the great ſeal, though it was given him for life: for which reaſon, the cardinal made ſome ſcruple to deliver it; but he obeyed a ſecond command[y]; and in a few days the king gave the great ſeal to ſir Thomas More, a perſon univerſally eſteemed for his great integrity. The cardinal had no ſooner delivered the great ſeal, but the attorney general preferred other articles of impeachment againſt him. The king having given him leave to appoint attornies to anſwer for him, he choſe two, who appeared for him, and proteſted, in his name, that he did not know the obtaining of the bulls, whereof he was accuſed, was contrary to the laws of the land, and prejudicial to the prerogative royal. As for the particulars wherewith he was charged, they ſaid, he confeſſed them, and caſt himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy. He was accuſed twice, as I ſaid, namely, on the 9th and 18th of October, and both times found guilty, and declared to be out of the protection of the laws. Probably he was indicted firſt, for obtaining ſeveral bulls without the king's expreſs licence, and the ſecond time, for exerciſing in England the office of legate a latere, without the king's letters patent to that end, contrary to the intent of the law.

As ſoon as the cardinal was out-lawed, the king commanded him to leave York Place, and retire to a country houſe belonging to him, as biſhop of Wincheſter. Then he ordered an inventory of all his goods to be taken, which contained immenſe riches[z], acquired by many acts of injuſtice. 'Tis ſaid, that of fine holland alone, there was found in his houſe a thouſand pieces. One may judge of the reſt by this ſample. Some time after, he cauſed a very humble petition to be preſented to the king, praying a protection for his perſon, without which, he ſaid, he was expoſed to the inſults of the meaneſt enemy that would abuſe

[n] King Henry received information of his having juggled in the buſineſs, and that he ſecretly adviſed the pope to do what was done. Burnet, T. I. p. 78.

[o] By Wolſey's advice, as ſhe thought. Ibid.

[p] Even after Campegio's arrival in England, the king and queen did eat at one table, and lodged in one bed; there being no viſible ſign of any breach between them. But after the ſuit concerning the divorce was commenced, they parted. See Stow, p. 546. About December Anne Bullen returned to court, and was more waited on than the queen had been for ſome years. At this the people appearing uneaſy, and ſeeming inclined to revolt, it was reſolved to ſend all the ſtrangers out of the kingdom. Burnet, T. III. p. 43, 44.

[q] Mr. Creſſy.

[r] Rapin by miſtake, ſays Oxford. He was bred up at Jeſus College, in Cambridge, where he was reader of divinity in Buckingham, now Magdalen College, and commenced doctor in 1523. He was born at Aſlockton, in Nottinghamſhire, 1489, being ſon of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq; a gentleman of a very antient family. He had nothing to do with Oxford before he was carried there to be burnt. He was indeed invited to be a reader of divinity in the cardinal's college at Oxford, but declined it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 79, &c.

[s] Though Fox and others affirm, that Cranmer was the firſt adviſer of conſulting the foreign univerſities, yet Cavendiſh, Wolſey's gentleman uſher, ſays, the cardinal firſt propoſed it.

[t] It was ſuſpected he was carrying over Wolſey's treaſure. Burnet, tom. III. p. 49.

[u] It was thought they ſearched alſo for ſome love letters of the king's to Anne Bullen, which ſome way or other were conveyed out of the king's cabinet, and ſent to Rome. They now lie in the Vatican. Burnet ſaw them in the library, and knowing Henry's hand too well not to be convinced they were written by him, got Dr. Fall to copy them for him. They were very ill wrote, the hand is ſcarce legible, and the French ſeems faulty. Burnet, vol. III. p. 42.

[w] In a letter dated October 22. Herbert, p. 123.

[x] Chriſtopher Hales.

[y] And delivered it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. The king offered it to archbiſhop Warham, but he declined accepting of it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 80.

[z] They were valued at five hundred thouſand crowns. Burnet, tom. III. p. 50.

It

him. The king granted it November the 17th, with a power to anſwer for himſelf in all actions that ſhould be entered againſt him for the future. Moreover, he left him the archbiſhopric of York and the ſee of Wincheſter. It is difficult to account for the king's behaviour with reſpect to the cardinal, ſince, at the very time he ſeemed moſt incenſed againſt him, he ſent him a certain ring, which was a token betwixt them of the continuance of his affection. The cardinal, who was then on the road to his country houſe near Wincheſter [a], was ſo tranſported with joy at the ſight of the ring, that he alighted from his horſe, and fell upon his knees in the dirt to receive it [b]. But his hopes were not long lived. His enemies, who had the king's ear, took ſo much pains to exaſperate him againſt him, that at laſt his affair was brought before the parliament [c].

Lord Herbert has inſerted in his hiſtory the 44 articles of impeachment preſented to the king againſt the cardinal by the houſe of lords, which differ much from thoſe preferred by Hales, the attorney general, either in the Star-Chamber or elſewhere. Hales had accuſed him of breaking the ſtatute of præmunire, and exerciſing the office of legate a latere, without the king's licence. Therein he proceeded according to the tenor of the ſtatute of præmunire; which ran, that no perſon ſhould be exempt from the penalty, but thoſe to whom the king ſhould be pleaſed to grant his letters patents. Now, as the cardinal had not taken care to have a licence in form, he was liable to the penalty, according to the rigour of the law. But in the articles of the houſe of lords there is no ſuch thing; and, indeed, it would have been contrary to equity to accuſe the cardinal of exerciſing the authority of legate without the king's permiſſion, ſince the king was known to conſent to it, though not in the manner preſcribed by the law. The attorney general did well to keep to the letter of the law, purſuant to the duty of his office. But it would have been wrong in the houſe of peers to take advantage of the want of a formality to deſtroy one of their body. So the articles exhibited by the lords, ran upon crimes which had no relation to the ſtatute of præmunire. The cardinal was chiefly accuſed of abuſing his legatine power, contrary to his oath when admitted to the exerciſe of his legateſhip; of unjuſt proceedings as chancellor; of making himſelf, on ſeveral occaſions, equal to the king [d]; of iſſuing out divers orders of moment without the king's knowledge; of acting arbitrarily on many occaſions, as if he was rather ſovereign than miniſter. All the reſt of the articles were of the ſame nature, importing the ill uſe he had made of his power, as legate, chancellor, prime miniſter, and favourite. But I cannot paſs over in ſilence a very extraordinary article, namely, that the cardinal, knowing he had the great pox upon him, had the confidence daily to approach the king's perſon, frequently whiſpering in his ear, without fearing to infect him with his breath. Theſe articles being ſent down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, member of parliament, and the cardinal's ſervant, ſo undertook his defence, as did him great honour, and was one of the principal cauſes of his future advancement. It is true, he pretended not to clear him of the crimes he was charged with, but only to ſhew he was not guilty of treaſon, as the houſe of peers aſſerted, wherein he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

It is neceſſary now to ſpeak of the peace of Cambray, which was only mentioned by the way. The differences between Charles V. and Francis I. ſo concerned all Europe, that it is very difficult to underſtand the hiſtories of the other ſtates, without a clear notion of the affairs of theſe two monarchs. Francis laboured, during the firſt part of the year 1529, to negotiate a peace with the emperor. After his ill ſucceſs in the war of Naples, he ſaw there was no other way to recover his two hoſtages. He knew the pope continued a ſecret negotiation in Spain, and that it lay in the emperor's power to make peace with all the ſtates of Italy, by reſtoring Sforza to Milan. So, though France and England had made the greateſt efforts, probably it would have ſerved only to haſten the peace of Italy. But the king of France was not even ſure of prevailing with Henry to act, who was ſtill deſirous to manage the pope and emperor, in hopes of obtaining their conſent to his divorce rather by fair means than by arms. Beſides, though he was bound to contribute large ſums for the war, he payed them only in paper, by acquittances of what was due to him from Francis. So, properly ſpeaking, this was no aſſiſtance to France, drained by the former wars of men and money. Francis had, therefore, no buſineſs to ſtand in ſuſpence. It was neceſſary for him to make peace at any rate. However, to obtain as good terms as poſſible, he amuſed the Venetians, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, with great promiſes, for fear they ſhould prevent him, and after they had made their peace with the emperor, his condition became worſe. He told them he was reſolved to lead, in perſon, a ſtrong army into Italy. He continued this management till he had concluded the treaty of Cambray, wherein he left them all to the emperor's mercy. Probably, Henry was the only ally that knew his intentions. The emperor was not ignorant of the ſituation of the French king's affairs, and doubtleſs would have made it turn more to his advantage, had not the invaſion the Turks were preparing againſt Hungary and Auſtria, and the commotions raiſed by the proteſtants in Germany, made him deſirous to leave Italy in quiet. Beſides, he ſaw that a peace was the only way to break the ſtrict union of France with England. If theſe two monarchs had joined in the league which the proteſtants of Germany were projecting for their common defence, they would have created him troubles which might have broke all his meaſures. Theſe were the motives that inclined the emperor to peace, which however he made France purchaſe very dear. Charles and Francis being in the ſame diſpoſition, agreed together by ſecret negotiation, upon the chief articles of the peace, the whole honour whereof they were pleaſed however to leave in appearance to the ladies. In July, Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's aunt, and governeſs of the Low Countries, Louiſa, of Savoy, ducheſs of Angoulême, Francis's mother, repaired to Cambray [e], and ſigned, the 5th of Auguſt, a treaty, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

That the emperor ſhould renounce his demand concerning Burgundy, his right to that duchy remaining however entire.

That the king of France ſhould pay him two millions of crowns of gold de ſoliel, for the ranſom of his ſons, and withdraw all his forces out of Italy.

That he ſhould reſign to him the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois.

That he ſhould reſtore to him the earldom of Aſti, with whatever he held in the duchy of Milan.

That he ſhould renounce all his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples.

That he ſhould marry queen Leonora, with whom the emperor her brother would give in dower two hundred thouſand crowns.

In ſhort, beſides ſeveral other private articles, he promiſed to reſtore the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon to all that prince's forfeited eſtates.

The treaty being ratified [f], it was ſome time before Francis durſt give audience to the embaſſadors of Venice and Florence, becauſe he could not, without confuſion, hear their

[a] It was not near Wincheſter, but to Eſher or Aſhur, near Hampton-Court, that he was ordered to withdraw.

[b] And having no other preſent to make to the king, he ſent him his fool Patch. Stow, p. 548.

[c] This parliament met on November 3, and was, on December 17, prorogued to the 21ſt of April enſuing. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted now, were theſe: 1. That part of the executors which take upon them the charge of a will, may ſell any land deviſed by the teſtator to be ſold. 2. That for probates of wills, where a man dies worth only five pounds clear, there ſhall be paid but ſix-pence; if worth forty pounds, three ſhillings and ſix-pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, five ſhillings. 3. That mortuaries ſhall be paid only where they have been uſed to be paid; and according to the following rate; when a man dies worth, in moveables, above ten marks clear, there ſhall be paid three ſhillings and four pence; if worth above thirty pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight pence; and if worth above forty pounds clear, ten ſhillings; and this to be paid only by houſekeepers. None to be paid in Wales or Berwick. 4. That ſervants embezzling their maſters goods to the value of forty ſhillings, ſhall be puniſhed as felons. 5. That no ſpiritual perſon ſhall take any lands to farm, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds a month. That no clergyman, having one benefice with cure of ſouls of the yearly value of eight pounds or above, ſhall take another, unleſs qualified as being a doctor or bachelor of divinity, or chaplain to a nobleman. In this ſame act, the number of chaplains every peer may qualify is thus ſpecified: an archbiſhop eight; a duke or biſhop ſix; a marquis and earl five; a viſcount four; the high chancellor, every baron, and knight of the garter, three; every ducheſs, marchioneſs, counteſs, and baroneſs, being widows; and the treaſurer, and controller of the houſhold, the king's ſecretary, dean of the chapel, almoner, and maſter of the rolls, two; the chief juſtice of the king's bench, and warden of the Cinque Ports, one. See Statute 21. Hen. 8. Hall, fol. 187, &c. There was finally, a very extraordinary act paſſed, by which the king was diſcharged of all the obligations or aſſignations made for the payment of all the ſeveral ſums lent him at ſeveral times by his ſubjects. Burnet, tom, I. p. 83. Coll. p. 82.

[d] He uſed to write in his letters and inſtructions, The king and I. And I would ye ſhould do thus. The king and I give unto you our hearty thanks, &c. See Herbert, p. 126. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 119.

[e] Our king's embaſſadors there were Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, and ſir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 130.

[f] King Henry ſent ſir Nicolas Carew, maſter of his horſe, and Dr. Samſon, to Bologna, to ratify it in his name. Hall, fol. 187.

And

juſt reproaches. At laſt, he put them off with ſome poor excuſe, and freſh promiſes, which he performed no better than thoſe before the peace. What was very ridiculous, even after the peace was concluded, the biſhop of Tarbe, his embaſſador at Venice, not having timely notice, ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the ſenate to ſupport the war, upon the hopes he gave them a powerful aid.

It was alſo very ſtrange, that Henry having proclaimed war with the emperor, by herald, there ſhould be, however, no particular treaty between them. Henry was ſatisfied with an article, inſerted in that of Cambray, whereby the king of France was bound to pay him the two hundred and ninety thouſand crowns due from the emperor, and redeem the rich fleur-de-lis, pawned by the emperor Maximilian to Henry VII. for fifty thouſand crowns. He did more, for he generouſly forgave Francis the firſt ſum, and made a preſent of the ſecond to the duke of Orleans, his god-ſon [f]: this ſhews, that in making peace, Francis I. had not dealt with Henry as with the princes of Italy, but had convinced him of the neceſſity he was under to conclude it.

The emperor, being agreed with Francis upon the principal articles of the peace, departed from Barcelona before he received advice of the concluſion, and arrived the 12th of Auguſt at Genoa, with nine thouſand men. The peace of Cambray being publiſhed ſhortly after, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, the duke of Ferrara, and the Florentines, whom the king of France had forſaken, ſaw no other refuge than the emperor's clemency, who had it in his power to make them pay dear for their attachment to France. The diſcuſſion of their affairs being referred to a conference which the emperor was to have with the pope at Bologna, each ſent embaſſadors to take care of their concerns. Here it was that the emperor enjoined the Venetians to reſtore to the pope Ravenna and Cervia, and to himſelf ſome places they ſtill held in the kingdom of Naples. Franceſco Sforza was reſtored to the duchy of Milan, on condition of paying to the emperor four hundred thouſand crowns in hand, and five hundred thouſand in the ſpace of ten years, at ten payments. The duke of Ferrara having offered to make the emperor arbiter and judge of his differences with the pope, his offer was accepted, Clement VII. thinking nothing could be more for his advantage than to ſubmit to the emperor's deciſion, who was now bound by the treaty of Barcelona to procure him Modena and Reggio, and aſſiſt him to take poſſeſſion of Ferrara. As to the Florentines, it was not poſſible to reconcile them with the pope. They would not hearken to any agreement, unleſs they were aſſured of preſerving their liberty, being reſolved to defend it to the laſt drop of their blood. They offered however, to purchaſe it with a ſum of money. But the pope on his part, offered them all ſorts of advantages, provided the family of the Medici were reſtored to Florence, upon the ſame foot as before the expulſion of the legate. The parties not agreeing, the emperor ordered the prince of Orange to beſiege Florence and reſtore the Medici.

The emperor, having ended his affairs in Italy, was impatient to return into Germany, where the affairs of religion began to give him diſturbance. For ſome time, the proteſtants had inſiſted continually upon a free council in Germany, which was poſitively promiſed, though never intended. During the late war, the emperor had all along amuſed them with the hopes of granting this council. But no ſooner was the peace concluded, than, in his conference with the pope, at Bologna, he promiſed him to do his utmoſt to reduce them without a council. Mean while, the proteſtants, knowing his deſign, by his menacing anſwer to their envoys after the concluſion of the peace, were thinking of joining in a league for their common defence; and this made the emperor uneaſy, and obliged him ſpeedily to finiſh his affairs in Italy, in order to ſettle thoſe of Germany. Before his departure from Bologna, he received the Imperial crown at the pope's hands the 24th of February 1530, on St. Matthias's day, which was his birth-day, and which, on ſeveral occaſions, had been very fortunate to him [g]. He ſet out at length from Bologna on the 22d of March 1530, for Germany, being attended by cardinal Campegio, who was to aſſiſt, from the pope, at the diet of Augſburg.

The prince of Orange inveſted Florence, according to the emperor's order, and was ſlain at the ſiege, which the Florentines deſperately maintained. At length, on the 10th of Auguſt, they were forced to capitulate, but however, on expreſs condition that they ſhould enjoy their liberty, leaving it to the emperor to ſettle the form of their government. But ſome days after, the adherents of the Medicis, raiſing a tumult in the city, and finding themſelves ſupported by a great number of Spaniſh officers, who had entered on divers pretences, Clement VII. was again put in poſſeſſion of the government. Then the emperor, without regarding the article of the capitulation, eſtabliſhed Alexander de Medici, his ſon-in-law, at Florence, on the ſame foot that his anceſtors had formerly been, and made the ſovereignty hereditary in his family.

The 1ſt of June, this year, Francis received his two ſons, who were hoſtages in Spain, upon paying the emperor twelve hundred thouſand crowns in hand, and giving ſecurity for the reſt of the ſum. After that, he married Leonora, purſuant to the treaty of Cambray. Had he been obliged to find ready money to pay Henry what the emperor owed him, according to the tenor of the treaty, very probably he would not ſo ſoon have recovered his ſons. But Henry proved a generous friend, who, to enable him to redeem them, freely gave him the emperor's bonds to reſtore them to him, as well as the pawned jewel above-mentioned [h]. Moreover, he renounced all demands of his charges in aſſiſting him, which, according to Francis's confeſſion, extant in the collection of the public acts, amounted to the ſum of five hundred twelve thouſand two hundred twenty-two crowns of gold ſol, two and twenty-pence ſix farthings, in ready money, and acquittances upon the two millions Francis owed him. He clogged this great generoſity but with one ſingle condition; that in caſe Francis violated the peace and alliance they had made together, he ſhould ſtill be accountable for all theſe ſums, to which Francis bound himſelf by letters patents.

By the execution of the treaty of Cambray, the king of France ſaw himſelf at length in profound tranquillity, though the late war had coſt him immenſe ſums, the loſs of Genoa and Milan, the ſovereignty of Flanders and Artois, a year's captivity, numberleſs vexations, and perhaps ſome of his honour and reputation. But it was not ſo with Henry: after a vaſt charge to ſupport the intereſts of his ally, he was ſtill embarraſed with the affair of the divorce, and in danger of a ſpeedy quarrel with the emperor. However, as he was naturally ſteady in his projects, all theſe obſtacles were not able to diſcourage him, and he reſolved to ſee the end of the affair, let what would be the conſequence. Thomas Cranmer being then very much in his eſteem, he ordered him to write upon the divorce; and the doctor did it with univerſal approbation. After that, he was commanded to accompany the embaſſadors ſent by the king to the pope and emperor, to try, for the laſt time, to find ſame expedient to end the affair, which ſo greatly embarraſed him. Theſe embaſſadors found the pope and the emperor at Bologna, and had audience of both. The pope ſhewed an inclination to content the king, but durſt not act without the emperor's conſent, who openly proteſted, he would never forſake the queen his aunt. Cranmer maintained his maſter's cauſe with great warmth, which hindered not the pope from making him his penitentiary in England to pleaſe the king, whom he ſtrove to oblige in things of little conſequence, whilſt he did nothing for him in the principal affair.

Mean while, Henry, purſuant to Cranmer's advice, had ſent able and learned men [i] into France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, to conſult the univerſities concerning the divorce. We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, the opinions of the univerſities of Angers, Paris, Bourges, Orleans, Thouloufe, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua, all uniform, declaring that Julius IId's diſpenſation for Henry's marriage with Catherine, being contrary to the divine law, could not be deemed valid. It might be objected, that the determinations of the French univerſities were ſuſpicious, by reaſon of the ſtrict union at that time between Francis and Henry; but the ſame thing cannot be ſaid of thoſe of Padua and Ferrara, and ſtill leſs of that of Bologna, a city belonging to the pope. Dr. Burnet having largely handled this ſubject, thoſe who have a mind to examine the matter more fully, may conſult his hiſtory of the reformation. It will ſuffice to

[f] And alſo remitted ſome of the payments of the penſion he yearly received from France. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 358.

[g] Since the time of Frederic, 1442, no emperor had been publicly crowned. Herbert, p. 136.

[h] This jewel, in the form of a fleur-de-lis, is ſaid to have a piece of the wood of the true croſs in it. Herbert, p. 134.

To Orleans and Thouloufe were ſent ſir Francis Brian, Edward Fox, afterwards biſhop of Hereford, and Mr. William Paget. To Paris, Reginald Pool, of the blood royal. In Italy, the king's agents were Dr. Richard Crooke, at Padua; Hieronimo de Ghinucci, biſhop of Worceſter, and ſir Gregory Caſſali, at Rome; Dr. Stokeſley, at Venice; Dr. Cranmer, Andrew and John Caſſali, were likewiſe employed in Italy. Burnet, T. I.

obſerve here, that the queſtion was, whether Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was contrary to the law of God, and upon that ſuppoſition, whether the pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. The univerſities maintained, that ſuch a marriage was contrary to the law of God, with which the pope had not power to diſpenſe. Oxford and Cambridge being likewiſe conſulted, decreed the ſame thing, though not without great oppoſition from ſome of the members [k]. It ſeems at firſt very ſtrange, that the two Engliſh univerſities ſhould be more ſcrupulous in the matter than the foreign. But the ſurpriſe ceaſes, when it is conſidered that theſe ſcruples aroſe, not from the queſtion itſelf, but from the conſequence their determination might occaſion. Moſt of the members of the univerſities were furiouſly averſe to Luther's doctrine, which began to ſpread in England, and were afraid of countenancing it by deciding againſt the pope. Beſides, they ſaw that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen would follow upon his divorce with Catherine, and this ſecond marriage they would have gladly prevented, becauſe Anne Bullen was much inclined to the reformation [l], and expreſſed a very particular eſteem for Cranmer, whoſe preferment for the ſame reaſon they dreaded.

The embaſſadors who had been ſent into Italy [m], returning without effecting any thing, Henry, who till then had ſhewn great regard for the pope, reſolved to alter his behaviour towards him. He might have known by experience, that Clement was to be gained only by his intereſt. It is certain, if at firſt he had proceeded with more vigour, and powerfully ſupported the war in Italy, the pope would never have thought of joining with the emperor. A good Engliſh fleet in the Mediterranean would have made Francis maſter of Naples, and ſaved the city of Genoa. The pope would thereby have been kept in awe, that he would have been glad to have always the king of England for his friend. Inſtead of acting in this manner, Henry remained quiet during the whole campaign of 1528, ſuffering himſelf to be amuſed by the deceitful hopes given him by the pope. So the French were driven out of the kingdom of Naples, and the pope was at liberty to treat with the emperor concerning the recovery of Florence, which he would never have thought of, had the French been ſuperior in Italy. Henry perceived his error when it was too late to repair it, that is, after the pope was united with the emperor, and Francis bound by the treaty of Cambray, he was left alone to ſupport himſelf againſt the emperor and pope, and it was very happy for him that the Turks and the proteſtants of Germany ſo embarraſed the emperor, as to hinder him from thinking of England. So, all means failing to accompliſh his deſign, but what could be found in his own kingdom, he began, though a little too late, to make uſe of the inclinations of his ſubjects, who for the moſt part were not very fond of the pope.

We have ſeen in ſeveral places of this hiſtory, how, at all times, the Engliſh complained of the tyranny of the popes, and the remedies applied by the parliaments to that grievance. It is true, the private intereſt of the kings rendered theſe remedies in ſome meaſure ineffectual, becauſe, as they frequently wanted the popes for their temporal concerns, the laws were not put in due execution. But that altered not the inclinations of the Engliſh. The principles of the Lollards were ſtill deeply imprinted in the minds of great numbers. Beſides, Luther's books, whereof many were brought into England, had opened the eyes of multitudes; ſo that it may be affirmed, at the time I am ſpeaking of, the Engliſh in general had quite another notion of religion than their anceſtors, eſpecially with reſpect to the papal authority. The three laſt popes, Alexander VI. Julius II. and Leo X. had ſhewn ſo little of religion in their conduct, and Clement VII. ſo cloſely followed their ſteps, that it was naturally inferred, it was impoſſible Jeſus Chriſt ſhould have given the government of his church to ſuch vicars. Thus the Engliſh were very ready to ſhake off the pope's yoke, if the king, for the ſake of his own private intereſt, had not ſupported the exorbitant power ſo long complained of. But Clement VII. had no ſooner joined with the emperor, than the king's intereſt became the ſame with the people's. To this chiefly are to be aſcribed all the changes mentioned hereafter.

Henry, having reſolved to make the pope ſenſible of the danger of loſing England, if he continued any longer to favour the emperor, cauſed a letter worded in ſtrong terms to be ſent him by the great men of the kingdom, according to the example of their anceſtors in the reign of Henry III [n]. They plainly told him, "That the king's cauſe being their own, if he continued to deny them what was abſolutely neceſſary for their quiet, they were reſolved to apply the remedy themſelves, which was vainly expected from him." This was ſufficient to ſatisfy him that the patience of the Engliſh was almoſt worn out, and they would not ſuffer themſelves to be curbed, or even amuſed, any longer by the court of Rome. Indeed, the letter had not the deſired effect, but however it ſhewed the pope the diſpoſition of the Engliſh, and how neceſſary it was to uſe them gently. Wherefore he returned the great men a very moderate anſwer, vindicating his conduct with reſpect to the king in the beſt manner poſſible. Mean while, he ſent for ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's embaſſador in ordinary, and hinted to him that the affair might be adjuſted, by means of a diſpenſation, for the king to have two wives. This we learn from the embaſſador's letter of the 18th of September, wherein, after acquainting the king with what the pope ſaid, he added, that the emperor's miniſters were alſo deſirous that the affair ſhould be ended by this expedient. But Henry was ſo aware of all the pope's artifices, that he took no notice of the overture. His reſolution was, either to have a bull to null the marriage, or to procure himſelf, at any rate, the ſatisfaction he required. And therefore, fearing that the pope would unexpectedly ſend into England a bull of excommunication or interdict, he iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, to receive any bull from Rome, contrary to the prerogatives of the crown. His deſign was to bring the affair before the parliament and clergy, and after gaining theſe two bodies to his intereſt, to cauſe it to be determined in England, without regarding the pope's proceeding againſt him. The difficulty was to prepoſſeſs the people in his favour. To that end, he ordered to be printed and publiſhed, an abſtract of the reaſons for the divorce, that theſe reaſons being known to all the world, he might meet with leſs oppoſition in the parliament. The abſtract [o] contained two principal points. The firſt was, That the king's marriage with Catherine was contrary to the law of God. The ſecond, That Julius II. had not power to grant a diſpenſation for that marriage, and conſequently the diſpenſation could not render it lawful. As this affair was the origin of the great events which will hereafter occur, it will not be perhaps unacceptable to the reader to ſee the ſubſtance of the arguments alleged on both ſides.

It was ſaid for the king, I. That the levitical law, forbidding a man to marry his brother's wife, was not a poſitive precept, which bound only thoſe to whom it was given, but obliged all mankind without exception: that this evidently appeared, in its being found among many others, which forbid the crimes wherewith the Canaanites were polluted. Now the Canaanites could not be polluted with crimes forbidden only by a poſitive law given to another nation.

II. Another argument was taken from what John the Baptiſt ſaid to Herod, in the new teſtament, "It is not lawful

[k] At Cambridge, it was carried at laſt with much ado in a convocation, that the matter ſhould be left to a committee of twenty-nine, viz. the vice-chancellor, Dr. Edmonds, head of Peter Houſe, ten doctors, ſixteen bachelors of divinity, and the two proctors; the majority of whom, voted the king's marriage unlawful, but decided not whether the pope had power to diſpenſe with ſuch a marriage. The king's agents at Cambridge, were Gardiner and Fox. At Oxford, the regent maſters ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the king, and the doctors and heads were for him. So that the matter remained in agitation from the 12th of February to the 8th of April. At laſt it was carried in a convocation (from which by an order from the chancellor, ſays Wood, all the maſters of arts were excluded, but, according to Burnet, conſiſting of all the doctors and maſters) that the buſineſs ſhould be decided by thirty-three doctors and bachelors of divinity, who declared the marriage of the brother's wife to be contrary to the laws of God and nature, and put the common ſeal of the univerſity to their decree on April 8. Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, was the king's agent at Oxford. Burnet, tom. I. p. 85, 86. See Fiddes's Coll. p. 180, &c.

[l] Having received ſome impreſſions of it in the ducheſs of Alençon's court. Burnet, tom. I. p. 87.

[m] The head of this embaſſy was Thomas Bullen, earl of Wiltſhire, and Ormond, (21 Hen. VIII.) who refuſed, at his audience of the pope at Bologna, to kiſs his toe, though he graciouſly ſtretched it out to him. He was accompanied by John Stockeſley, elect biſhop of Lincoln, and Edward Lee. Burnet, vol. I. p. 87, 95.

[n] Lord Herbert ſays (it was done by the parliament; but that is a miſtake, the letter being dated the 13th of July, it appears by the records there could be no ſeſſion at that time, the houſes being prorogued from the 21ſt of June to the 1ſt of October. The letter it ſeems was ſent about to the chief members for their hands, and Cavendiſh tells us with what cheerfulneſs cardinal Wolſey ſigned it. It was ſubſcribed by the two archbiſhops, four biſhops, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, eleven commoners, moſt of them the king's ſervants. Herbert, p. 142.

[o] Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on the ſubject, and out of all the tranſcripts of the manuſcripts of fathers and councils, to collect whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. Three of theſe manuſcripts are in the Cotton library. All theſe and many more were ſummed up in a ſhort book, and printed, firſt in Latin, then in Engliſh, with the determinations of the univerſities before it. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 97.

November

for thee to take thy brother's wife," becauſe St. John could allude only to the law of Moſes, and conſequently owned them to be divine.

III. It was ſhewn, from ſeveral paſſages of Tertullian, and writings of the popes, that the church always deemed the levitical prohibitions as parts of the univerſal law of nature and all mankind. To this was added, the authority of divers provincial ſynods, of the Conſtantinopolitan general council, of the council of Conſtance in the condemnation of Wickliff, of many Greek and Latin fathers, and of ſeveral ſchoolmen.

IV. It was proved, by the authority of the popes and councils, that a marriage is compleated by the mutual contract of the parties, though it be never conſummated. For that reaſon, it was ſaid, Adonijah could not marry Abiſhag, who had been his father David's wife, though David never knew her: that upon the ſame account, Joſeph could not put away Mary without a bill of divorce; a clear evidence that their marriage was compleat, though not conſummated. Hence it was inferred, that though prince Arthur had not conſummated his marriage, it was not the leſs valid. But it was maintained, that it was as certain as a thing of that nature could be, that the marriage was conſummated. It was proved firſt, by violent preſumptions; ſecondly, becauſe after Arthur's death, the princeſs, his widow, was ſuppoſed to be with child, and ſhe never ſaid any thing to the contrary. It is true, it might be objected, that Catherine had ſince ſworn, ſhe was never known by that prince. But it was replied, the canon law forbids the taking of oaths when there are ſtrong preſumptions to the contrary. Beſides, the queen's oath could not be reckoned deciſive, ſince it was deſtroyed by the brief produced by her own advocates.

V. Julius's diſpenſation being the ſole foundation on which the validity of the king's marriage was eſtabliſhed, it was ſhewn, by a crowd of witneſſes, both ancient and modern, that the pope has not power to diſpenſe with the laws of God. Nay, it was affirmed, that if he diſpenſed with the decrees of the church, it was uſurpation, and that ſeveral biſhops in England itſelf had reſiſted the popes, when they would have aſſumed ſuch a liberty.

On the other ſide, the queen's advocates replied to theſe reaſons;

I. That the prohibitions in Leviticus were not parts of the moral law, ſince God himſelf had diſpenſed with them, in commanding the brother to marry his brother's widow. But of what nature ſoever the law was, if it were diſpenſed with by Moſes to the Jews, why might it not be as well done by the pope to the Chriſtians?

II. It was ſaid, the law, in Leviticus, againſt marrying the brother's wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her while the brother was alive; for after he was dead, by another law, a man was commanded by God himſelf to marry his brother's wife.

III. The crime St. John Baptiſt reproached Herod with, might be adultery as well as inceſt, ſince, according to Joſephus and Euſebius, Herod's brother Philip was alive when St. John ſpoke.

IV. The popes daily diſpenſed, contrary to the laws of God, with vows and oaths, without being cenſured. Beſides, it was maintained, the pope was the only judge whether the prohibition was moral or not.

V. It was alleged, the pope had granted the diſpenſation upon a very weighty conſideration, to keep peace between the two crowns of Spain and England.

VI. It was urged, that the marriage had ſubſiſted near twenty years, and never been thought invalid.

VII. Laſtly, It was affirmed, if there were any nullities in the bull of diſpenſation, the pope was the only competent judge of it.

The king's advocates replied to theſe arguments, and were anſwered again by the writers on the queen's ſide, both practiſing what is very common on ſuch occaſions, that is, they evaded the force of the reaſons of the oppoſite party, by keeping to generals. I ſhall ſay no more of it. Thoſe that are curious to ſee the arguments on both ſides, may be ſatisfied by reading the hiſtory of the reformation of England, where they are fully ſet forth. It will ſuffice to remark, that in theſe diſputes was ſpent the whole year 1530, Henry being very glad the people ſhould be thoroughly informed of the affair, before it was brought to the parliament.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, cardinal Wolſey remained at his country houſe, living betwixt hope and fear, without being able to form any probable conjecture of the king's behaviour towards him. Though all his goods were ſeized, and that ſeemed to denote he intended to ſhew him no favour, yet he ſaw, from time to time, ſome rays of goodneſs ſhine upon him [p], which made him hope that his maſter, who had loved him ſo well, would not be for ever inexorable. And indeed, the 12th of February, the king granted him a general pardon of all his offences, of what nature ſoever. Among all the pardons in the Collection of the Public Acts, there are none ſo full and particular as this. Then the king came to an agreement with the cardinal, by which he left him the archbiſhopric of York, with all its revenues and dependencies, except York Place. As to the ſee of Winchеſter, and abbey of St. Alban's, the king reſerved to himſelf the revenues, though he left him the titles. But the cardinal was bound to reſign theſe two benefices when required. In conſideration whereof, the king aſſigned him a thouſand marks ſterling a year, out of the biſhopric of Winchеſter, with a promiſe to grant him the like penſion upon ſome other benefice, in caſe this was taken from him. Moreover, he gave him to the value of ſix thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four pounds three ſhillings and ſeven-pence halfpenny, in money and goods, part of thoſe belonging to the cardinal, which had been confiſcated [q]. All the reſt remained to the king with the cardinal's conſent, who owned it as a particular favour that the king was pleaſed to leave him any thing. This was all he preſerved of the immenſe riches acquired during his credit. But what afflicted him moſt ſenſibly, was, that his two colleges, founded with ſo much pains, and called by his own name, to be an everlaſting monument of his glory, were likewiſe confiſcated. He wrote to the king upon that ſubject, in a manner that perfectly ſhewed his extreme concern for that loſs: he even entreated Cromwell to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to hinder his two colleges from being involved in his ruin: but it was all in vain. The king took poſſeſſion of all the lands belonging to them [r], and, depriving them of the name of their founder, endowed them anew in his own.

Notwithſtanding all this, Wolſey had ſtill hopes, by reaſon of ſome marks of friendſhip given him by the king upon certain occaſions. He had permitted him to remove to Richmond, where he was nearer his perſon. Moreover, hearing he was ſick, he ſent a lord to viſit him in his name, and even cauſed Anne Bullen to write to him [s]. But at the ſame time that the compaſſion expreſſed for him by the king cheriſhed his hopes, it made his enemies apprehenſive of his return to court, and therefore they never ceaſed to exaſperate the king againſt him. In ſhort, as they could not ſee him ſo near the court without fearing the revival of the king's affection for a miniſter he had ſo paſſionately loved, they cauſed an order to be ſent him [t] to withdraw to his dioceſe of York.

[p] November 1, the king ſent ſir John Ruſſel to him with a Turquoiſe ring, as a token of his care and affection. Herbert, p. 125. Stow, p. 550.

[q] That the curious reader may form an eſtimate from thence, of the real proportion the value of money bears now to what it did then, here is a liſt of the money and goods, as we find it in the original grant: Firſt, in ready money, three thouſand pounds. Item, in plate, nine thouſand five hundred ſixty-five ounces and one eighth, at three ſhillings and eight-pence the ounce, amounteth to one thouſand ſeven hundred fifty-two pounds thirteen ſhillings and ſeven-pence halfpenny. Item, divers apparel of houſhold, as hangings, &c. amounting to eight hundred pounds. Item, eighty horſes and geldings, with their furniture, valued at one hundred and fifty pounds. Item, in mules for the ſaddle, four, with their furniture, valued at ſixty pounds. Item, in mules for carriage, ſix, with their furniture, valued at forty pounds. In ling, one thouſand, valued at fifty pounds. In cod and haberden, eight hundred, valued at forty pounds. In ſalt, eight wave, valued at ten pounds. In implements of the kitchen, as pots, &c. at eighty pounds. In mutton (ſheep) ſeventy, valued at twelve pounds. In fifty-two oxen, valued at eighty pounds. In wearing apparel, to the value of three hundred pounds. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 375.

[r] They remained in the king's hands till 1532, in which time ſeveral of the manors, and other eſtates, particularly in Eſſex and Oxfordſhire, were granted to ſir Richard Page, and other courtiers. In 1532, the king, by Cromwell's and Gardiner's advice, founded anew the college in Oxford, (now called Chriſt Church) and ſettled on it two thouſand pounds a year; but it was diſſolved again, by commiſſion, in 1545, and two months after was revived by the king's letters patents; and the next year the king removed the epiſcopal ſee from Oſney to this college. As for the building, Wolſey finiſhed only the hall and the kitchen. Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 306, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 409, 410, 443. Beſides his two colleges, the cardinal founded, in the univerſity of Oxford, lectures of divinity, civil law, medicine, philoſophy, mathematics, greek, and rhetoric. Fiddes, p. 209, &c.

[s] The king ſent him a ring, ſet with a ruby, whereon was his own picture, by Dr. Butts, aſſuring him he was not offended with him in his heart. And in his letter to Anne Bullen, he ſays, Good ſweetheart, as you love me, ſend the cardinal a token at my requeſt, and, in ſo doing, you ſhall deſerve our thanks. Whereupon ſhe ſent him a tablet of gold which hung at her ſide. The king ſent him alſo four loads of rich furniture. Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 513, 514.

[t] By Thomas Cromwell, his late ſervant. Fiddes, p. 514.

But

Very probably, Anne Bullen contributed moſt to his diſgrace, ſince none but a miſtreſs could poſſibly make the king forget ſuch a favourite. However this be, the cardinal, being forced to ſubmit, began his journey [u] to the north with a train, though not ſo large as uſual during his proſperity, yet conſiſting ſtill of a hundred and ſixty horſe [w]. He arrived about the end of September, at Cawood [x], where he ſtaid, according to the cuſtom of the archbiſhops of York, till things were ready for the ceremony of his inſtallment, which was to be performed in a month, with a magnificence little ſuitable to his preſent condition. But whilſt he was preparing to enjoy in his archbiſhopric the ſmall remains of authority, which he imagined would be ſtill left him, he was arreſted by the earl of Northumberland [y] for high treaſon. He would have inſiſted at firſt upon his privilege as cardinal. But the earl told him, that ſhould not hinder him from executing the king's orders. At the ſame time his phyſician was ſeized, and ſent to London with his legs tied to his horſe. It is not known to this day, whether the king had been poſſeſſed that the cardinal had a deſign upon his life, which however is not very probable. Be this as it will, he ſet forward by eaſy journies to London, extremely concerned to think he was going to appear as a criminal in a city, where he had before commanded with almoſt a ſovereign authority. But in all likelihood his grief turned to his advantage, as it threw him into a fit of ſickneſs, which conſtrained him to ſtop at Leiceſter abbey, where he ended his days the 30th of November [z]. Before he expired, he ſaid to the king's officer who ſtood near his bed: "If I had ſerved God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs." But I do not know whether he had reaſon to boaſt of his zeal and diſintereſtedneſs in the ſervices he had done the king. He added, ſpeaking to the ſame officer, that if, as he thought him worthy, he ſhould ever be admitted to the king's council, he ſhould take care what he put in his head, for he would never be able to put it out again. This ſeems to intimate, he had counſelled the king to undertake the divorce, which afterwards he would have diſſuaded him from. And indeed, he deſired the ſame perſon to tell the king, that he prayed him to call to remembrance what had paſſed betwixt them about the divorce, and hoped, that when he ſhould be leſs prejudiced, he would do him more juſtice. This ſhews that he looked upon that affair as the ſole cauſe of his diſgrace. Thus died this famous cardinal, the proudeſt and moſt haughty of men, and we may add, the moſt ambitious and moſt greedy of eſtates and honours. It is affirmed, that while he governed the king, he never gave him advice without a view to his own intereſt. This alone would be ſufficient to obſcure all the fine qualities he might otherwiſe have, but which in the main amounted only to a great penetration, whereof he made an ill uſe. The king ſhewed a concern for his death [a]. And yet, ſince he had ordered him to be arreſted for high treaſon, very probably his ruin was determined. Henry was of a temper to accompliſh whatever he undertook [b]. This will plainly appear hereafter, in his extraordinary ſeverity to perſons, who doubtleſs were not ſo guilty as this favourite.

The affair of the divorce [c] and its conſequences employing Henry during the reſidue of his life, it will for the future be the principal thing I ſhall have to ſpeak of to the end of this reign. But as by the alterations introduced by this prince into his kingdom, his affairs led him to concern himſelf with the troubles of Germany, it is neceſſary, for the underſtanding of the ſequel, briefly to mention what paſſed in that country.

The emperor's aim in calling the diet of Augſburg, was rather to inflame than appeaſe the religious troubles. Since he made peace with France, and Italy was, as it were, ſubject to his yoke, he was forming vaſt projects. He ſaw himſelf maſter of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries; his brother Ferdinand was now king of Bohemia, and had been elected king of Hungary. With theſe advantages he hoped to be able to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. It was neceſſary to begin with Germany, where he had great power, as emperor and archduke of Auſtria, becauſe if he once became abſolute in the empire, and could diſpoſe of the forces of the German princes, he imagined France and England would not be able to reſiſt him. The troubles cauſed by religion in Germany ſeemed to him a very ſpacious pretence to arm againſt the proteſtants, judging, that after ruining them by the help of the catholics, theſe would in their turn be eaſily ſubdued. I cannot be accuſed here of aſcribing to this monarch deſigns he never really had, ſince it is notorious that himſelf and ſucceſſors purſued gradually, and I, may ſay, openly, the execution of the ſame project. The wars that afflicted Europe for more than a century, were ſolely excited by the boundleſs ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, whom the other ſovereigns were concerned to oppoſe.

Since Luther's preaching in Germany, the reformation had made ſo great progreſs, that ſeveral princes of the empire, and many Hans Towns had openly embraced it. As they were accuſed of introducing many innovations in religion, in anſwer to that charge, they proteſted, their intent was only to adhere to the doctrine of the goſpel and religon of the primitive church. And therefore, they demanded that a free council might be held in ſome city of Germany, where the religious differences might be calmnly examined by the word of God. But this was a method which their adverſaries could not allow. They ſuppoſed, as a thing certain, that the religion profeſſed before Luther's appearance, was the true religion, and being without ſpot, wrinkle, or the like, had no need of reformation. According to that principle, they thought the point was not to examine it at all, but to compel the recuſants or heretics to conform. This was the conſtant maxim, long ſince followed by the Romiſh clergy, and which cauſed them to uſe fire and ſword to exterpate thoſe they were pleaſed to term heretics. But in the ſituation of Germany, at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was not eaſy to practiſe that maxim. It was not private perſons only who declared againſt the Roman church, but cities, whole nations and ſovereigns. So the zealous abettors of the old religion were not in condition to reduce them by force. Therefore they choſe to feed them with hopes of a free council, till the affairs of Europe were ſo diſpoſed that it might be hoped to reduce them by way of authority. Several diets had been held upon that ſubject in Germany, where, contrary to the opinion of the court of Rome, the emperor and the catholic princes had been obliged to conceal their ſentiments and conſent to a toleration, which however left them at liberty to act another time according to their real principles.

When Luther began to appear, the religious diſputes turned only upon the exceſſive abuſes of the papal power and a few other points. Then Luther had on his ſide almoſt all the lay princes of Germany, and many Hans Towns, each of which was a republic. From that time he made new diſcoveries, and publiſhed them to the world. But he had not upon all the articles the ſame number of followers as upon that of the papal authority. Beſides, the emperor and the zealous catholics oppoſed with all their power the progreſs of the reformation. Care was taken to intimidate ſuch as inclined that way, or to continue them in the old religion by promiſes, by places, by poſts, which did not little help to confirm them in their firſt ſentiments. So, for ſome years, the reformers uſed all poſſible endeavours to gain proſelytes, and the Romiſh clergy were as diligent to hinder their progreſs. Mean time, whilſt they ſtrove only in this manner,

[u] But before he ſet out, he received from the king the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. Cavendiſh.

[w] And ſeventy-two carts with his houſhold ſtuff. Burnet. tom. I. p. 81.

[x] A caſtle about twelve miles from York, belonging to the archbiſhops.

[y] Henry Piercy; and by ſir Walter Welſh. Fiddes, p. 522. Hall ſays, that he had wrote to the pope and ſeveral princes letters reflecting on the king, and ſtirred them to revenge his cauſe, fol. 194.

[z] In his way he ſtayed a fortnight at the earl of Shrewſbury's, at Sheffield Park, where he was taken ill one day at dinner. Cavendiſh ſays, ſpeaking of the effects of his diſtemper, it was apparent he had poiſoned himſelf. By the mediation of the earl, ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, (the perſon to whom he ſpoke his laſt words) was ſent by the king to convey him to London. With much ado, being hardly able to ſit his horſe, he got to Leiceſter abbey, where, upon their coming out to receive him, he ſaid, Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you. He was buried in the abbey chapel, of which even the ruins are not at preſent to be diſcovered. He died the 28th of November, according to Burnet; and according to Fiddes, the 29th, of a dyſentary, p. 529. He had begun a monument for himſelf with his own image, which one Benedetto, a ſtatuary of Florence, took in hand in 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for ſo much as was already done four thouſand two hundred and fifty ducats. The deſign whereof was ſo glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry VII. But upon his death the king ſeized what was finiſhed, and called it his. Thus the cardinal's tomb had the ſame fate with his college. He is ſaid to behave mighty well during the time he was in the north, after his diſgrace, and to become very popular. As no man (ſays Polydore) did ever riſe with fewer virtues, ſo (ſays lord Herbert) few that ever fell from ſo high a place had leſſer crimes objected againſt him. He is ſaid, (according to one of the articles of his impeachment) to leave two natural ſons behind him, whereof one called Winter, was loaded with church preferments. Herbert, Burnet, Stow, &c. Fiddes, p. 521. &c. 530.

[a] He was very much afflicted with the news of it, and ſaid, he would have given twenty thouſand pounds he had but lived. Herbert, p. 148.

[b] Biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, that king Henry loved to raiſe mean perſons, and upon the leaſt diſtate to throw them down, and ſacrifice them to public diſcontents. Tom. I. p. 9.

[c] It was called the king's weighty affair. Burnet.

the reformation daily took root, which obliged the adverſaries to ſeek other means to prevent its growth, thoſe hitherto uſed not proving very effectual.

In 1524, Charles V. coming to the diet of Worms, ſent for Luther, and, after a hearing, baniſhed him the empire, with all his adherents, by a formal decree in the diet's name. But ſome pretend, the diet was not concerned in the decree: however, the emperor perſiſted to maintain it. But it ſeems the Germans conſidered it not as obligatory. The next year the diet, held at Noremberg, produced againſt the court of Rome a hundred grievances, of which they demanded the redreſs by means of a free council.

Another diet, held at the ſame place, paſſed a decree, whereby it was reſolved to demand a free council in Germany. But, upon their diſſolution, the catholics aſſembled by themſelves at Ratiſbon, and ordered the decree of Worms to be executed.

In another diet, at Spires, in 1526, the emperor cauſed it to be declared, that he meant not that any reſolution ſhould be taken concerning the affairs of religion, but only concerning the method of executing the decree of Worms, till there ſhould be a general council. But as this council was yet very remote, the diet decreed the emperor ſhould be prayed to procure a council in Germany within a year, and in the mean while, every one ſhould ſo govern himſelf in point of religion, as to be able to give an account of his conduct to God and the emperor.

During theſe tranſactions, the war which the Turks had carried into Hungary ſuſpended for ſome time the execution of Charles V.'s projects againſt thoſe who had embraced the new religion, becauſe he wanted the aſſiſtance of all the German princes, as well proteſtants as catholics [d]. Beſides, his war then with France ſuffered him not to think much of the affairs of Germany. But in 1529, being upon the point of making peace with France, he thought he might talk in a higher ſtrain. He called a diet at Spires, where it was ordered, that thoſe who had hitherto obeyed the decree of Worms, ſhould continue to obſerve it, and the reſt that had not ſubmitted ſhould make no innovations in religion, nor hinder their ſubjects from going to maſs. Againſt this decree the elector of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the princes of Lunenburg, made a ſolemn proteſtation, from whence all their party were called proteſtants. The emperor, who was then in Italy, very roughly received the proteſtation brought to him by deputies, and thereby obliged the proteſtants to unite for their common defence, the emperor diſcovering by his words that he had ill deſigns againſt them. In the diet, which was to meet at Augſburg in April 1530, but did not, however, aſſemble till June, he was reſolved to lay the foundation of his projected war againſt the proteſtants.

At the opening of the diet, the emperor's chancellor made a long ſpeech, complaining, in his maſter's name, of thoſe who had hitherto endeavoured to alter the ancient faith, and cardinal Campegio exhorted the Germans to extirpate the errors that were crept into Germany. That done, the proteſtants deſired they might declare their belief before the diet. This was denied them, and they were made to take as a favour the leave granted them to deliver their confeſſion of faith in writing. The landgrave of Heſſe, ſeeing ſo great partiality in the diet, withdrew without taking leave; whereupon the emperor commanded the gates of Augſburg to be ſhut, ſhewing, he intended to uſe violence towards thoſe that remained in the city. But upon the elector of Saxony's remonſtrances, he ordered them to be opened. In ſhort, after many debates [e], he cauſed to be publiſhed, in the diet's name, a decree entirely againſt the proteſtants, and which, upon the hopes he gave them of a general council, obliged them to deſtroy whatever had been done in point of religion to that day.

The diet ending in this manner, the emperor ordered the archbiſhop of Mentz to aſſemble the electors to proceed to the election of a king of the Romans, intending to cauſe his brother Ferdinand to be choſen. The proteſtants ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this meeting, affirming there was no occaſion to elect a king of the Romans, and demonſtrating the inconveniencies which would ariſe from his deſign to render the Imperial crown as it were hereditary to the houſe of Auſtria. In fine, ſeeing that notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, it was deſigned to proceed to the election, they met at Smalcald the 22d of December 1530, and concluded a defenſive league againſt all who ſhould attack them on account of religion. Then they made a formal proteſtation againſt the intended election of a king of the Romans without their conſent. In this ſituation were the affairs of religion in Germany about the end of the year 1530.

[1531] After the emperor had quitted Italy, the pope's nuntio continually preſſed him to pronounce judgment upon the affair of the duke of Ferrara. The pope could not imagine but the judgment would be in his favour, conſidering the emperor's engagement with him by the treaty of Barcelona. But whether the emperor had more fully examined the matter, or for ſome other reaſon, he gave ſentence, that Modena and Reggio belonged of right to the duke of Ferrara; but, to ſatisfy the pope, he ſhould pay a hundred thouſand ducats, for which the pope ſhould be obliged to give him the inveſtiture of Ferrara, as granted to his predeceſſors; and to begin to execute this ſentence, he delivered Modena to the duke. The pope, extremely diſpleaſed with a judgment ſo different from what he expected, refuſed to ſubmit to it, and in hopes of ſeizing Ferrara, would not receive the hundred thouſand ducats offered him by the duke.

Clement VII. being thus incenſed againſt the emperor, had great inclinations to be reconciled with the kings of France and England, imagining he ſhould be received with open arms. Indeed, Francis I. had unwillingly agreed to the treaty of Cambray, and ſolely becauſe there was no other way to recover his ſons. But ſince he had received them, he had been thinking how to retrieve what he had loſt by that treaty. To this end, he privately laboured to ſow jealouſies among the princes, by making them apprehenſive of the emperor's ambition, and promiſing them aſſiſtance. As ſoon as he was informed of the pope's diſcontent, he thought nothing ſhould be neglected to gain him to his intereſt at ſo favourable a juncture. Wherefore he propoſed a marriage between Catherine de Medici, daughter of the late duke Lorenzo, and the duke of Orleans her ſecond ſon; an honour to which the family of the Medici durſt never aſpire, if the king had not offered it himſelf. On the other hand, Henry, knowing the union between the pope and the emperor was the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles in the affair of the divorce, did not queſtion he ſhould eaſily effect his deſigns if he could ſet them at variance. But two things hindered him from applying himſelf to that means. The firſt was, he could not truſt the pope. The ſecond, that he began to find his ſubjects much more inclined to ſhake off the papal yoke than he had imagined, and therefore did not think himſelf under a neceſſity to depend upon the pope. If he had at firſt humbly addreſſed the pope, it was partly becauſe he feared the pope's prejudice in favour of Chriſt's vicar. But when he found this prejudice was not ſo ſtrong as he had believed, he never troubled himſelf about the pope's oppoſition. His kingdom being ſafe from invaſions by land, he had nothing to fear from any prince in Europe, provided his ſubjects were not terrified with the thunders of the Vatican. But the Engliſh were not, in that reſpect, the ſame as formerly. Wickliff had begun to enlighten them; the conduct of the late popes had increaſed their light; and Luther's books and followers had quite opened their eyes. Since the ſpreading of the new doctrine in England, the pope's authority was ſo diſcredited, that the Engliſh for the moſt part wiſhed for a favourable opportunity to throw off a yoke they had ſo long groaned under. This made the king reſolve to have his cauſe tried by the parliament and convocation.

The parliament meeting the 6th of January, the chancellor opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, declaring, that the king earneſtly wiſhed to annul his marriage, not from diſhoneſt motives, as ſome laboured to make his people believe, but for the peace of his conſcience, and the welfare of the kingdom, being unwilling to leave the ſucceſſion of the crown in danger of being diſputed. Then he cauſed a great number of books and treatiſes written on that ſubject, with abſtracts of ſeveral authors both antient and modern, to be brought, with the determinations of the univerſities of France, Italy, and England, which were all left upon the table to be examined at leiſure [f]. The king's deſign was

[d] January 21ſt, king Henry empowered Thomas, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond; John Stockeſley, biſhop elect of London; Dr. William Lee, and Dr. William Bennet, to conclude a league with the pope, the emperor, the kings of France, Portugal, &c. againſt the Turk. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 354.

[e] In one of which, upon the proteſtants affirming theirs was the ancient religion, the emperor would needs diſpute himſelf; which the Spaniſh writers ſay he did with that eagerneſs that he drew his dagger. Herbert, p. 150.

[f] The king firſt brought in the books and determinations of the univerſities to the houſe of Lords, and after they were read and conſidered there, the chancellor did on the 20th of March, or (according to lord Herbert, on the 31ſt) with twelve lords ſpiritual and temporal, go down to the houſe of

alſo brought before the convocation, who declared they were ſatisfied the king's marriage was contrary to the law of God. The king required no more at that time. He had another important affair to debate with the clergy, which was to be decided before this was farther examined. Very likely the convocation, being informed of the king's intent, the more readily gave their opinion for him, as they perfectly knew how much they ſhould want his favour in the buſineſs in hand, which was of the utmoſt conſequence.

Cardinal Wolſey had been accuſed, by the attorney general, of exerciſing in England his legatine authority without the king's ſpecial licence, and of diſpoſing, as legate, of ſeveral benefices, contrary to the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire. Hence it naturally followed, that thoſe who had owned his authority, and appeared in his courts, were equally liable to be indicted. By this means, all the clergy were in the ſame caſe, ſince there was ſcarce one but what had applied to him during the courſe of his legateſhip. So, after the king had procured of the convocation an approbation of his proceedings concerning the divorce, he ordered an indictment to be brought into the king's-bench againſt all the clergy, for breaking the laws of the realm[g]. He had in this a double view; the firſt, to draw a good ſum from the clergy; the ſecond, to humble that powerful body, and ſo leſſen their great credit with the people, who before had always ſeen them ſupported by the royal authority. He knew he ſhould meet with the greateſt oppoſition from the clergy in the affair of the divorce. For that reaſon he was very glad to put it out of their power to hurt him, by keeping them as it were in dependence, and by ſowing a kind of diviſion between the clergy and people, by the ſatisfaction theſe would probably expreſs at the diſgrace of the eccleſiaſtics, who had ever treated them with great haughtineſs. He thereby put the clergy under a neceſſity of recurring to the royal protection, and conſequently of ſhewing leſs zeal for the intereſt of the court of Rome. This ſucceeded according to his expectation. In vain did the clergy plead, that the king himſelf had connived at the cardinal's proceedings. What had not been ſerviceable to Wolſey, was not capable of excuſing them that had owned his authority. So the court proceeded to a ſentence, that the clergy were all out of the king's protection, and liable to the pains in the ſtatute of præmunire. The people were extremely pleaſed, and particularly the favourers of the new religion, to ſee the clergy humbled to ſo great a degree. On the other hand, the clergy plainly perceived, that, as the laity ſtood affected, it would be in vain to reſiſt the king. They could expect no more aſſiſtance from Rome. Since the pope had quarreled with the king, he had loſt all his power; and as the king ſhewed he would no longer regard him, the thunders of the Vatican were looked upon with contempt. The clergy, in this their ill ſituation, reſolved to purchaſe the king's favour at any rate, finding they could no longer depend upon the people, who were much altered from what they were formerly. So the convocation of Canterbury, having debated upon the affair, reſolved[h] to offer the king a hundred thouſand pounds for a pardon. Purſuant to the reſolution, ſome of their members were ordered to draw an act for that purpoſe. Probably they who were charged with this commiſſion were friends of the court, and had a mind to take this opportunity to give the king a prerogative which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. Lord Herbert and doctor Burnet ſay, the convocation reſolved to preſent a petition to the king, to pray him to accept of a hundred thouſand pounds. But as this inſtrument is extant in the Collection of the Public Acts, it may now be ſpoken of with greater exactneſs. It was not a petition, but a public act of the clergy, in form of letters patents, whereby they gave that ſum to the king. It was ſaid in the inſtrument, that it was, firſt, in conſideration of his great merit. Secondly, in teſtimony of the clergy's gratitude for the great benefits he had procured the catholic church, as well by his pen as his ſword. Thirdly, for his zeal againſt the Lutherans, who were labouring to deſtroy the church of England, of which the clergy acknowledged the king ſole protector, and ſupreme head[i]. Laſtly, in hopes he would be pleaſed to grant the clergy and all their members a pardon of all the offences committed againſt the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire.

When this inſtrument was read in the convocation, many diſliked that the clergy ſhould be made to ſay, that they acknowledged the king for protector and ſupreme head of the church of England. Some imagined it was inſerted through inadvertency and exceſſive flattery, whereof the penners of the inſtrument had not conſidered the conſequence. Others ſaid, it was intended to ſurprize the convocation, by inſerting theſe words in the body of an inſtrument, which was only to grant a ſum to the king. They added theſe words, which ſeemed to be put in by accident, and without deſign, were however of very great conſequence, and as the convocation had not taken any reſolution upon that point, they were for razing them out. But, on the other hand, thoſe who were in the ſecret, pretended the words could not be put out by a formal reſolve, without diſpleaſing the king, and giving him occaſion to refuſe the offered compenſation. This cauſed ſuch debates, that they were forced to put off the deciſion of the affair to the next day. It was not without reaſon that ſeveral dreaded the conſequence which might very naturally be drawn from theſe words, ſince it was evident, the clergy was thereby engaged to acknowledge the pope no longer head of the church of England, which could not have two ſupreme heads at once. This was in effect the king's intention, as well as theirs who had penned or drawn the inſtrument, as plainly appeared the next day. Thomas Cromwell, with others of the king's council, going to the convocation, very clearly hinted, that the point in debate yeſterday was very agreeable to the king, and he could not but conſider the oppoſers as very diſaffected perſons. After ſuch a declaration, there was not one that durſt directly oppoſe it, eſpecially as the archbiſhop and ſeveral other prelates openly maintained, that the king was truly the ſupreme head of the church of England. So the act paſſed as it was drawn; only ſome moved to add this reſtriction, "as far as is conſiſtent with the law of Chriſt." But it was not the king's intention to leave a door for thoſe to eſcape, who ſhould hereafter diſpute his ſupremacy[k]. The inſtrument, being ſealed the 22d of March, was preſented to the king, who very graciouſly accepted both the clergy's preſent and his new title, of which he afterwards made great uſe. The convocation of the province of York reſolved likewiſe to give the king eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds. But as they omitted in the grant to acknowledge the king ſupreme head of the church of England, they were told that their preſent would not be accepted, if they ſpoke not like the convocation of Canterbury. So the clergy of York province were forced to inſert the ſame acknowledgment in their inſtrument. In this manner the king procured, or rather extorted, from the clergy, the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. It is certain, that though ſome freely gave it him, yet the major part were not of that opinion[l]. This is evident from the method uſed to obtain it. The acknowledgment was procured in the manner we have ſeen, by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others, who verily believed there was no occaſion for the pope. Thoſe who flattered themſelves at firſt, that the words were inſerted without deſign in the inſtrument brought into the convocation of Canterbury, might have ſeen their error, if they had attended to another article in the ſame inſtrument, and which was alſo inſerted in that of the province of York, namely, that the clergy did promiſe for the future neither to make nor execute any conſtitution without the king's licence. This was, in other words, acknowledging the king for ſupreme head of the church of England. We ſhall ſee hereafter what uſe Henry made of this new title.

The king, being ſatisfied with the clergy, granted them a pardon in ample form. But when the pardon was brought into the houſe of commons, they refuſed to paſs it, unleſs the laity, who might have been guilty of the ſame offences, were alſo included[m]. Henry, offended at their oppoſition,

commons, and ſhewed them the books, and produced twelve original papers, with the ſeals of the univerſities to them, which ſir Brian Tuke read openly in the houſe; when that was done, the chancellor ſpoke the ſpeech mentioned above. So that he did not open the ſeſſion of parliament with it, as Rapin ſays, a few lines above. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 105. Herbert, p. 152. Hall, fol. 195.

[g] Namely, the ſtatutes againſt proviſions and proviſors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 106.

[h] On January 24. This ſum was to be levied in five years. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 414.

[i] — Cujus ſingularem protectorem, unicum & ſupremum dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet, etiam ſupremum caput ipſius majeſtatem recognoſcimus. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 414.

[k] Though archbiſhop Parker and our author ſay, the act paſſed without the reſtriction, yet it appears, by ſeveral paſſages in Henry's letter to biſhop Tunſtal, who in the convocation at York had proteſted againſt it, that the words quantum per Chriſti legem licet were inſerted, and the act ſo paſſed, by nine biſhops (the biſhop of Rocheſter being one) and fifty-two abbots and priors, and the major part of the lower houſe of convocation, and particularly Stephen Gardiner. Burnet, vol. I. p. 112. Herbert, p. 151.

[l] When archbiſhop Warham, upon ſome not ſpeaking for or againſt it, ſaid, that ſilence was to be taken for conſent, they cried out, We are all ſilent then. Herbert, p. 851.

[m] They apprehended that either they might be brought into trouble, or at leaſt their having tranſgreſſed the ſtatutes, might be made uſe of to draw a ſubſidy from them. Burnet, tom. I. p. 113.

During

GENEALOGIES OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND OF HENRY II THE FIRST KING OF THE HOUSE OF ANJOU PLANTAGENET.

ANJOU

Ingerger

Fulque le Roux *E. of Anjou*

Fulque le Bon *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Grisegonelle *E. of Anjou*

Fulque Nerra *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel I. *E. of Anjou* — Hermengarde *m* Geffrey *E. of Gatinois* — *d. without Issue.*

Geffrey le Barbu *E. of Anjou.* — Fulque le Rechin *E. of Anjou*

Geffrey Martel II. *E. of Anjou* — Fulque V *E. of Anjou* *K. of Jerusalem* — 1. Ermingarde 2. Melisent of Jerusalem

Geffrey Plantagenet *E. of Anjou* — Baldwin III *K. of Jerusalem* — Amauri *K. of Jarusa*

Matilda Da. to Hen. I *K. of Eng.*

Henry II *K. of Eng.* — Geffrey — William

Consult the line of Succession of Matilda the Wife of Geffrey

NORMANDY

Rogwald *the Dane surnamd. the Rich Favorite of Harold Harfager K. of Denmark*

Rollo 1.st *Duke of Normandy* *d. 917*

William Longsword *D. of Norm. d. 943* — Robert Gerlotte *E. of Corbeil* — William *E. of Poictiers*

Richard I. *D. of Norm.* *d. 960*

Richard II *D. of Norm.* *d. 1026* — Manger *E. of Corbeil* — Bedwiga *Geffrey E. of Bretaign* — Emma 1 *Ethelred II K. of Eng.* 2 *Canute y Great* — Robert *E. of Eureux*

Richard III *D. of Norm.* *d. 1027* — Robert *D. of Norm.* *d. 1034* — Manger *Arch B. of Roan* — Alix *Renold E. of Burgundy* — Aleanor *Baldwin E. of Flanders* — Richard *E. of Eureux* — Raoul *Constable of Norm*

1 **WILLIAM** *the Conquerer* *Bast.d D. of Normandy K. of Eng. d 1087* — William *of Burgundy* — Guy — William *E. of Eureux* — John

2 **WILLIAM RUFUS** *K. of England d. 1100* — 3 **HENRY I.** *K. of Eng. d. 1135* — Cecilia *Abbess of Caen* — Constance *Alan D. of Bretaign* — Adela *Stephen E. of Blois* — Adeliza *Promised to Harold* — Agatha *Espoused to Alphonsus K. of Galicia* — Gundred *W. Warren*

Robert Richard *D. of Norm* *d. 1133*

William *Surnam.d Crito* *d. 1128*

William *d. before his Fa.*

Matild 1 *Hen. V Emper.r* 2 *Geffrey Plantagen.t E. of Anjou* — Theobald *E. of Blois* — Emm *Hebert E. of Vermandois* — **STEPHEN** *K. of England d. 1154* — Henry *Bishop of Winchester* — Lucia *Rich. E. of Chester*

5 **HENRY II** *K. of Eng.* *d. 1120* — Geffrey *E. of Nantz* — William *E. of Mortaign* — Eustace *E. of Bolloign* *d. 1153* — William *E. of Surry* *d. 1162*

Henry *Crownd but d. before his Fa.* *1183* — 6 **RICHARD I** *K. of Eng.* *d. 1199* — Geffrey *D. of Bretaign* *d. 1186* — Matilda *Hen. D. of Saxony* — Eleanor *Alphonsus IV K. of Castile* — Joanne 1 *Will K. of Sicily* 2 *Raymond E. of Tholouse* — 7 **JOHN** *Lack Land* *K. of Eng. d. 1216* — William *E. of Surry*

Arthur *D. of Bretaign* *d. 1202* — Eleanor *d. in Prison*

8 **HENRY III** *K. of Eng. d. 1272* — Jane *Alex. II K. of Scot.d* — Isabella *Frederick II. Emp.* — Eleanor 1 *W. E. of Pembroke* 2 *Simon E. of Leicester* — Richard *E. of Cornwal & K. of the Romans* *d. 1271*

9 **EDWARD I** *K. of Eng. d. 1307* — Margaret *Alex. III K. of Scot* — Beatrix *John D. of Bretaign* — Edmund *E. of Lancaster K. of Sicily* — Henry *St. of Viterbo* *1270* — Edmund *E. of Cornwall* *d. 1308*

10 **EDWARD II** *K. of Eng. dep. 1326* — Thomas *E. of Norfolk* — Edmund *E. of Kent beheaded* — Margaret *John D. of Brabant* — Elizabeth 1 *John E. of Holland* 2 *Humphrey E. of Hereford* — Thomas *E. of Lancaster beheaded* — Henry *E. of Lancaster* — John *E. of Derby d. Young*

EDWARD III *K. of Eng.* *d. 1377* — Jane *David K. of Scot* — Eleanor *Renold D. of Gueldre* — Edmond *E. of Kent* — John *E. of Kent* — Jane the Fair 1 *W. Montague* 2 *Jn.e Holland* 3 *E. Pr. of Wales Son to Edw. III* — Henry *D. of Lancast.r* — Matilda *W. E. of Ulster* — Jane *Jn.e Monbray* — John *Henry Percy*

Matilda *Will. de Baviere E. of Holland d. without Heirs* — Blanche *John of Gaunt Son of Edw.d III*

Abbreviations
E. Earl
D. Duke
d. died

The Names written in Italick are the Husbands or Wives of the Names over them

Engraved for Harrison's *Edition of* Rapin.

ROSSO
OHIO
U.S.A.

ſent them word, he would be maſter of his own favours, and not ſuffer them to be forced from him. The king's reſolution terrified the commons, who, to avoid his indignation, paſſed the pardon as it was, throwing themſelves upon his mercy as to what concerned the laity. Then the king, ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, granted to his temporal ſubjects a pardon like to that of his ſpiritual. It ſeems, however, that the colleges and monaſteries were excepted, who, not being included in the pardons, were forced to compound with the king, as we find in the Collection of the Public Acts.

So far were the people from riſing (as they would doubtleſs have done, had they been under the ſame prejudice with their anceſtors in the reigns of Henry II. and king John) that, on the contrary, joy was viſibly painted on their faces, being highly delighted to ſee the clergy humbled. Thus that body, ſo formidable theretofore, inſtead of daring to reſiſt the king, were conſtrained to fly to his protection, becauſe they ſaw plainly the people ſhewed no concern at their diſgrace, and they had no remedy elſewhere [n].

When the pope heard what had paſſed in England, he was terribly embarraſed. He ſaw Henry purſuing ſuch meaſures as would probably be attended with fatal conſequences. However he durſt not venture to proceed haughtily, for fear of engaging in a quarrel, which he foreſaw would not be to his advantage. Beſides his not being pleaſed with the emperor, he ſaw him upon the point of being fully employed by the Turks and the German proteſtants, at a time when France and England were in ſtrict union. So, perceiving no aſſiſtance ſpeedy enough, in caſe he ſhould attempt to exert his authority, he choſe to be ſilent, in expectation of a proper ſeaſon to act, or at leaſt to be reconciled to the king.

This affair being ended, Henry prorogued the parliament [o]. Then he ordered the determinations of the univerſities to be printed, with the opinions of the learned concerning his marriage, that againſt the next ſeſſion every one might be informed of the ſtate of the caſe, and of his motives to proſecute the divorce. Mean while, as in putting away the queen, his intent was to marry Anne Bullen, he paſſionately wiſhed the queen would be perſuaded to conſent to the divorce, in order to avoid the inconveniencies which might ariſe from her obſtinacy. To that purpoſe, he ſent ſome biſhops and lay-lords [p], earneſtly to preſs her, either to conſent to the divorce, or refer the deciſion of the affair to four prelates and four ſeculars. But as ſhe could not be prevailed with to deſiſt from her appeal to the pope [q], he ſent her word to chuſe where ſhe would reſide in any of his manors, and, the 14th of July 1531, took his leave of her at Windſor, intending never to ſee her more [r].

What had lately paſſed in the parliament and convocation encouraged the well-wiſhers to a reformation in the church, to which they already ſaw ſome preparatives. For this reaſon, religious diſputes became more frequent and public than formerly. But the king perceiving what inferences would be drawn from the firſt proceedings, was pleaſed to ſhew, that in throwing off the papal yoke he deſigned not to ſtrike at the fundamental truths of religion. So, to fruſtrate thoſe who had any ſuch thought, he commanded the laws againſt heretics to be rigorouſly executed. This occaſioned the death of three proteſtants, namely, Bilney, Bayfield, and Baynham, of whom the two firſt were burnt this year, and the other in the following April [s].

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in England, the affairs of Germany were more embroiled. In the beginning of the year, Ferdinand of Auſtria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, was elected king of the Romans, notwithſtanding the protection of the confederates of Smalcald, and crowned a few days after at Aix la Chapelle. This was in conſequence of a league concluded between the catholic princes of Germany in the foregoing November. But this league was offenſive, whereas that of Smalcald was only defenſive. Never had the proteſtants any deſign to force the conſciences of ſuch as differed from them in opinion. But the intent of the catholic league was, to compel the proteſtants to return to the church they had forſaken. Theſe proteſted againſt Ferdinand's election, as unneceſſary and contrary to the uſual forms. But their proteſtation had no effect.

The reſt of the year was ſpent in ſundry negotiations, wherein the emperor ſeemed to have no other aim than to adjuſt the religious differences, though in effect his deſign was only to amuſe the proteſtants, and hinder them from taking meaſures for their defence, when they ſhould be attacked. As they were not ignorant of his artifices, they wrote on that ſubject to the kings of France and England, who returned them favourable anſwers, with a promiſe of aſſiſtance in caſe it was attempted to oppreſs them. Not that theſe two monarchs deſired to countenance the reformation, but it was their intereſt to protect the German proteſtants, becauſe their deſtruction could not but exceedingly increaſe the emperor's power. Indeed, this was one of the chief means whereby that prince intended to execute his vaſt deſigns.

[1532] Whilſt the emperor was forming projects to become maſter of Germany, under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of religion and the empire, Francis I. was trying to create him troubles capable of producing ſome change, which he might improve. His vexation to have been forced to ſign the treaty of Cambray threw him upon earneſtly ſeeking means to repair his loſſes, and eſpecially to recover Genoa and Milan. To that end, he careſſed or threatened the pope, according as he ſaw it proper to uſe one or other of theſe means, and put the proteſtants of Germany in hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance, in caſe they were attacked by the emperor [t]. But chiefly he laboured to ſecure the king of England, becauſe he could be moſt ſerviceable to him. He confirmed him, as much as poſſible, in his reſolution to puſh the affair of the divorce, in order to keep him always at variance with the emperor and the pope. Sometimes he intimated to him, that if the juſtice due to him was obſtinately refuſed, he would join in a league with him to withdraw their dominions from the tyrannical power of the court of Rome. Then fearing he would agree with the emperor, he adviſed him ſpeedily to marry Anne Bullen, well knowing it would be a certain means to widen their breach. Nay, he ſent a letter to the pope, wherein he appeared no leſs concerned than Henry himſelf in the affair of the divorce. Among other things he told him, that if out of complaiſance or fear he continued to be governed by the emperor, he muſt not think it ſtrange that the king of England ſhould endeavour to procure by extraordinary means the juſt ſatisfaction he had ſo long expected in vain; adding, that his intereſt was ſo ſtrictly united with Henry's, that he was indiſpenſibly obliged to aſſiſt to the utmoſt of his power a prince whom he gloried to be the perpetual ally. In ſhort, he prayed him to conſider, whether it was prudent to give thoſe, who could not be compelled to obey, the opportunity and will to withdraw their obedience. But Clement ſeeing only the emperor's forces in Italy, took care not to follow ſuch dangerous counſels.

The two kings finding at length it was impoſſible to gain the pope, reſolved upon an interview, to contrive means to break the emperor's meaſures. But they thought proper firſt to ſpread a report they were going to make a new league, in order to frighten the pope, and hinder him from cloſing again with the emperor, from whom he was a little alienated by the affair of Ferrara. Accordingly, they concluded a league at London, ſigned the 23d of June. But it is manifeſt the treaty was made only with the forementioned view, ſince it contained but two articles that could have reaſonably alarmed the pope or the emperor, had they been known to them. The firſt was, that in caſe the emperor ſeized the Engliſh mer-

[n] During this ſeſſion of parliament, one Richard Rouſe a cook, on the 16th of February, poiſoned ſome ſoop in the biſhop of Rocheſter's kitchen, with which ſeventeen perſons were mortally infected; one of the gentlemen died of it, and ſome poor people that were charitably fed with the remainder, were alſo infected, one woman dying. The perſon was apprehended, and by act of parliament (22 Hen. VIII.) poiſoning was declared treaſon, and Rouſe was attainted and ſentenced to be boiled to death, which was to be the puniſhment of poiſoning for all times to come; (but was repealed 1 Ed. VI. and 1 Mariæ I.) The ſentence was executed in Smithfield ſoon after. Burnet, Stow, p. 560. Hall, fol. 199.

[o] It was prorogued on March 31, to the 13th of October. The moſt remarkable ſtatutes enacted during this ſeſſion, were: 1. That no maſter, wardens, or fellowſhip of crafts and trades, nor any rulers of fraternities, take from henceforth of any apprentice, or any other perſon, for the entry of any apprentice into their ſaid fellowſhip, above two ſhillings and ſixpence; nor for his entry, when his years and term is expired, above three ſhillings and fourpence, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. 2. That four juſtices of the peace in every ſhire, whereof one to be of the quorum, ſhall have power and authority to enquire, hear, and determine, in the general ſeſſions of the peace, all matters relating to bridges and highways. This act alſo explains by whom bridges and highways are to be repaired. See Statute 21 Hen. VIII.

[p] Of his council, the laſt day of May, to Greenwich. Herbert, p. 153. Hall, fol. 199.

[q] Her anſwer to the lords was, "That ſhe prayed God to ſend the king a quiet conſcience, but that ſhe was his lawful wife, and would abide by it, till the court of Rome declared the contrary." Burnet, tom. I. p. 114. Hall, fol. 200.

[r] She removed firſt to Moor, then to Eaſthamſtead, and at laſt to Ampthill, where ſhe ſtayed longer. Burnet, tom. I. p. 114.

[s] Thomas Bilney, bachelor of both laws, was burnt Auguſt 19; Bayfield, a monk of Bury, November 27, 1531; and Baynham, a gentleman and lawyer, April 30, 1532. See Fox.

[t] And alſo ſtirred up the Turks to invade the German dominions. Herbert, p. 154.

When

chants effects in the Low Countries, the king of France would do the ſame with reſpect to the emperor's ſubjects, the Germans excepted: nay, this article was guarded by ſo many reſtrictions on the part of the French king, that it plainly appeared to be only a mere pretence to make a treaty. By the ſecond, if the king of England was attacked by the emperor, Francis was to ſend him an aid of five hundred lances; and if the king of France was invaded, Henry was to aſſiſt him with a body of foot not exceeding five thouſand men [u]. As the public was not acquainted with the particulars of the treaty, ſeveral reports were ſpread. Some ſaid, the two kings had agreed to join in the league of Smalcald, or at leaſt to ſend a powerful aid to the German proteſtants. Others fancied, that as the Turks threatened Auſtria, and the emperor would be unavoidably obliged to lead his forces into that country, Francis would invade at the ſame time the duchy of Milan, and Henry carry war into the Low Countries. All theſe reports, though uncertain, made the emperor very uneaſy, becauſe they were grounded upon very probable conjectures.

The interview of the two kings, between Calais and Boulogne, was not till October [w]. They had principally two things in view. The firſt to divert the blame thrown on them by the emperor, in ſpreading over all Europe, that whilſt Chriſtendom was going to be invaded by the infidels, they remained idle ſpectators of the danger, without offering the leaſt aſſiſtance to thoſe who were preparing to defend her. Their other view was, to keep the Italians and Germans in the expectation of a freſh war, for fear they ſhould become too compliant to the emperor's will. To effect their deſign, they gave one another letters patents, whereby they engaged jointly to raiſe an army of eighty thouſand men to ſtop the progreſs of the Turks, and to lead the ſame either into Germany or Italy, as there ſhould be occaſion. But this pretended agreement was never put into the form of a treaty. Du Tillet ſpeaks of it in his inventory of the treaties between France and England, by the name of letters of agreement: but there are no ſigns of it in the Collection of the Public Acts of England. Wherefore it is not probable, theſe two monarchs deſired to execute this pretended project, the ſole aim whereof was to juſtify them to the world, and inſpire the emperor and pope with terror. Doubtleſs that was the reaſon of their affecting to publiſh it.

During the interview, Henry complained much of the pope, and Francis even improved upon him, in a long enumeration of the complaints he had received from the Gallican church, on account of the court of Rome's exactions. But this was only to amuſe Henry, ſince he was at that very time in ſecret negotiation with the pope concerning the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon's marriage with Catherine de Medici. It manifeſtly appears, by that prince's whole conduct, that his ſole aim was to make the king of England's friendſhip ſubſervient to gain the pope, in order to recover Genoa and Milan, which he had always in view. Wherefore he outwardly expreſſed a ſtrong attachment to Henry's intereſt. He even preſſed him not to ſtay for the pope's diſpenſation to marry his miſtreſs, who was preſent at the interview, having lately been made marchioneſs of Pembroke [x]. Whilſt the two kings were together, they feaſted one another ſeveral times, a particular account whereof is needleſs in this place. Henry came to ſee Francis at Boulogne, and Francis returned his viſit at Calais [y]. They parted the 30th of October, to return, the one to Paris, the other to London. But, by reaſon of the bad weather, Henry ſtaid ſome days at Calais [z], where it is ſaid he privately married Anne Bullen [a]. It is more probable, however, as ſome affirm, that it was not till the January following [b].

During this whole year, the emperor was greatly embarraſed. Soliman, emperor of the Turks, threatened to invade Hungary with a powerful army, which he accordingly did. Germany was in trouble, becauſe the proteſtants, who had now been menaced, were taking effectual meaſures for their defence, and refuſed to acknowledge Ferdinand of Auſtria for king of the Romans. On the other hand, the emperor was not ignorant of the pope's diſcontent on account of the duke of Ferrara's affair, and that the kings of France and England were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to draw him off from his party, in order to diſturb Italy. Moreover, the Italians were quiet, only becauſe there was ſtill an Imperial army in Italy, and no preparation in France to ſupport them in caſe they attempted to hold up their head. Mean while, in the midſt of this ſeeming tranquillity, they eagerly wiſhed to ſee ſome revolutions to free them from their apprehenſions of the emperor's over-grown power. In fine, the interview of Francis and Henry extremely troubled the emperor, apprehenſive as he was, that if Soliman proſpered in Hungary they would embrace that opportunity to invade the duchy of Milan and the Low Countries. It was neceſſary therefore to think without loſs of time of preventing the dangers which might proceed from theſe quarters, and to begin with the moſt urgent affair, the ſatisfying the proteſtants in order to have their aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. To that purpoſe, he came the beginning of the year to the diet of Ratiſbon, where he found means to negotiate with the proteſtants an agreement, whereby no perſon was to be diſturbed on account of religion till a council was called. He intended not punctually to perform an agreement, extorted from him by neceſſity. He received however this benefit by it, That all the princes and ſtates of Germany, as well proteſtant as catholic, furniſhed him with a powerful aid, which enabled him to aſſemble an army of eight thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe.

Whilſt this army was forming, the emperor, willing to ſound the king of France's intentions, ſent and deſired his aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, but received an unſatisfactory anſwer, which, added to the interview of the two kings, confirmed his ſuſpicion that they were contriving ſomething againſt him. But Soliman haſtening his campaign in Hungary, hindered him from thinking of means to prevent the miſchief he feared from the two confederate kings. Indeed, the Turks not only advanced into Hungary, but even into Auſtria, with deſign to give him battle. But he wiſely avoided it, ſince in loſing it he would have been without refuge, and Auſtria with part of Germany would inevitably have fallen under the dominion of the Turks. Whereas by ſtanding, as he did, upon the defenſive, with an army of above a hundred thouſand men, he prevented them from making any conſiderable progreſs, and compelled them at length to return into their own country, as ſoon as he had certain advice that Soliman was upon his march to Conſtantinople, he departed for Italy, from whence he deſigned to return into Spain.

About the middle of November he came to Bologna, where the pope waited to confer with him. As their deſigns were very oppoſite, there was not that harmony between them as at their interview in the year 1529. The emperor thought only of ſecuring Italy, and preventing the king of France's return. The pope, on the contrary, wiſhed to keep him always uneaſy on that account, as well to render himſelf neceſſary as to be freed from a ſtate of dependence. The emperor required the pope to call a council in Germany, otherwiſe he ſaw no poſſibility of finding a lawful pretence to ruin the proteſtants. But after what had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil, the very name of a council was become ſo odious to the court of Rome, that Clement VII. could not reſolve to call one. He knew what had befallen John XXII. and Eugenius IV. and therefore had no mind to have his authority queſtioned. The emperor demanded moreover the pope's conſent to a league he intended to form between all the ſtates of Italy, to which each ſhould contribute in proportion to its forces, in order to ſecure the country from all invaſion. That is to ſay, he would have in Italy an army maintained at the expence of others, and always ready to defend the duchy of Milan, in caſe the French king ſhould think of invading it.

[u] When the French embaſſador in England, returned into France, king Henry ſent by him fifty thouſand crowns, to be employed in the defence of the rights and privileges of the empire. Herbert, p. 154.

[w] King Henry landed at Calais October 11, and the interview was on the 20th. See an account of the nobility and other remarkable perſons that attended him, in Hall, fol. 206, &c. Stow, p. 561.

[x] September 1, with a penſion of a thouſand pounds a year. Hall, fol. 206.

[y] Francis went back from Boulogne with Henry, in this order, that while Francis was on French ground, he gave place, but when he came to the Engliſh pale, Henry gave him the precedence. Being now come near Calais, the duke of Richmond, Henry's natural ſon, a goodly young gentleman, bravely attended, met them. The lodging which Francis was brought to was moſt richly furniſhed with cloth of gold and tiſſue, embroidered in ſome places with pearls and precious ſtones. There ſeveral ſervices were brought in a hundred and ſeventy diſhes, all of maſſy gold. The marchioneſs of Pembroke made them a curious and rich maſk, in which both kings danced. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were made knights of St. Michael. Stow ſays, there was no leſs than eight thouſand perſons in Calais on this occaſion. See Hall, fol. 207, &c.

[z] He returned to England Nov. 14. Hall, fol. 209.

[a] Rowland Lee, afterwards biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, celebrated the marriage in the preſence of archbiſhop Cranmer, the duke of Norfolk, her father, mother, and brothers. Herbert, p. 161.

[b] January 25th. Others ſay it was November 14. Stow, p. 562. Hall, fol. 209. Burnet, T. I. p. 126. The news of this marriage was ſoon carried to Rome. The pope publiſhed, on November 15, a brief againſt king Henry, in which he exhorted him to bring back the queen, and put Anne away, within a month after the receipt of the brief; otherwiſe he excommunicated both him and Anne. Burnet, T. III. p. 17.

Or

The pope approved of the project, not in order to keep Italy in its preſent ſituation, ſince it was very much to his prejudice that the emperor ſhould remain ſo powerful there, but to have a pretence to be rid of the German and Spaniſh troops, who were a terror to the Italians. He foreſaw that a league of ſo many parties, whoſe intereſts were different, would not long ſubſiſt, and that after it was broken, he ſhould himſelf become more neceſſary and conſiderable. He deſired only that the Venetians ſhould come into the league, and bear their part of the charge. In ſhort, the emperor farther demanded of the pope, that he ſhould give his niece Catherine de Medici to the duke of Milan; his aim being to engage him for his niece's ſake in the defence of the Milaneſe, for fear in the end the king of France ſhould find a favourable opportunity to gain him to his intereſt. But Clement alleged againſt this propoſal, his engagement with the king of France, who had done him the honour to demand Catherine for the duke his ſecond ſon. He repreſented to the emperor, that he could not prefer the duke of Milan to the duke of Orleans, without making the king of France his irreconcileable enemy, who would never forgive ſuch an affront. So their whole negotiation ended only in the projected league, in which the Venetians refuſed to be included. They contented themſelves with promiſing the emperor, they would punctually perform their engagement with reſpect to the duchy of Milan. In fine, the emperor having ſent for embaſſadors from Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, it was endeavoured for ſome time to ſettle the terms of the league. But the diſpute between the pope and the duke of Ferrara very much retarded the concluſion, becauſe the duke would not come into the league before he was ſecure of peace at home. However, after great pains, the emperor prevailed with the pope to allow the duke an eight months reſpite. This affair was the reaſon the league could not be ſigned till February the next year.

Henry's proceedings againſt the clergy, and his diſpoſition with regard to the pope, greatly encouraged thoſe who longed to ſee a reformation in the church. To conceive a right notion how the Engliſh ſtood affected in this reſpect, it is neceſſary to know what the people's ſentiments were concerning religion. It may be undeniably affirmed, that as to the reformation of the pope's exorbitant power and the clergy's immunities, there was ſcarce an Engliſhman, if you except all or moſt of the eccleſiaſtics, but what heartily wiſhed it. It was now three hundred years ſince the parliament firſt began to endeavour it, but without a perfect ſucceſs, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of the kings. But as for a reformation of doctrine, the well wiſhers to it were very far from being the majority. Theſe were not ſufficiently numerous to venture to propoſe it openly, eſpecially as they were not countenanced by the king. But when the pope's exceſſive authority, or the pride and riches of the clergy, were exclaimed againſt, they boldly joined with the reſt of the people, without fear of being diſcovered; becauſe that was the ſentiment of all the people, or at leaſt of almoſt all the laity. But, in expreſſing their zeal againſt the clergy, their aim was to promote the reformation of doctrine, becauſe they knew the chief obſtacle would always proceed from the governors of the church. Here therefore they believed they ought to begin, in order to arrive at a thorough reformation. So, among thoſe that wiſhed to reduce within due bounds the papal power, and the clergy's immunities, there were doubtleſs many who had no farther views, and imagined the reformation would end there. Others, on the contrary, hoped that, after taking this firſt ſtep, it would be impoſſible to ſtop, wherein they had for warrant what had happened in Germany. But they took care not to undeceive the others, for fear of cooling their zeal, by ſhewing them too ſoon the conſequences of the firſt ſtep in the buſineſs of the reformation.

The parliament meeting the 15th of January 1532, the commons were almoſt unanimouſly inclined to redreſs the grievances, ſo long complained of in vain, with reſpect to the papal power and the eccleſiaſtical privileges. There had never been ſo favourable an opportunity. When formerly the parliaments were diſpoſed to make any attempt of this nature, the kings were unwilling to concur with them, becauſe the ſtate of their affairs permitted them not to break entirely with Rome. But the affair of the divorce had put things upon another foot. The king was diſſatisfied with the pope, and conſidered the clergy, both ſecular and regular, as ſecret enemies, by reaſon of their attachment to the court of Rome. So his intereſt required that the pope and clergy ſhould be humbled, and diviſion ſown between them and the people, knowing that the former could hurt him only in proportion to their credit with the latter. As for what foreigners might do, he thought himſelf in no danger, ſo long as he remained ſtrictly united with France, and the more, as the emperor was then employed by his war with the Turks, and the troubles of Germany.

All this being artfully inſinuated to the houſe of commons, they preſented an addreſs to the king [c], praying him to conſent to a reformation of ſundry grievances, occaſioned by the immunities of the clergy [d]. The king anſwered, that before he gave his conſent to their requeſt, which ſeemed to him of great moment, he wiſhed to hear what the clergy had to ſay for themſelves. But, under this ſhew of equity, his intent was to intimate to the clergy how much they wanted his protection, ſince he could either promote or reſtrain the proceeding of the commons as he pleaſed. Some time after, the parliament paſſed certain acts, which only glanced at ſome of the clergy's privileges the people had moſt reaſon to complain of [e]. But for that time the reformation was carried no farther. Nay, care was taken to make the eccleſiaſtics amends, by paſſing an act to releaſe them from the payment of annates [f], which was become a heavy burthen. The act ran, that the kingdom was daily impoveriſhed by the great ſums paid to the ſee of Rome, for firſt-fruits, for palls, for bulls, &c. That ſince the ſecond year of the reign of Henry VII. one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been paid to thoſe uſes, and that more was like to be ſhortly exported, by reaſon many of the biſhops were very aged: that beſides, the annates were firſt introduced only as a contribution for the war againſt the infidels, to which however they were never applied. And therefore it was enacted, that all payments of annates ſhould ceaſe for the future: that as for the bulls, there ſhould only be paid five pounds in the hundred, according to the clear annual value of the biſhoprics. That if, on account of this regulation, bulls ſhould be denied by the pope, the biſhop elect ſhould be preſented by the king to the archbiſhop of the province for his conſecration: that in caſe the archbiſhop ſhould refuſe it, on pretence of want of palls, bulls, and the like, any two biſhops appointed by the king ſhould perform the office, and the biſhop ſo conſecrated acknowledged for lawful. Nevertheleſs the parliament declared, it ſhould be in the king's power to null or confirm the act within ſuch a time; and if in this interval, he ſhould make an amicable compoſition with the court of Rome, it ſhould have the force and authority of a law. But if, upon this act, the pope ſhould pretend to vex the realm by excommunications or interdicts, ſuch cenſures ſhould neither be regarded nor publiſhed, and, all interdicts notwithſtanding, the prieſts might lawfully, without any ſcruples of conſcience, celebrate divine ſervice as before [g].

Mean while, among the great number of repreſentatives in the houſe of commons, there were ſeveral who were entirely againſt a rupture with the pope. They perceived however, it would infallibly follow upon the king's divorce. Wherefore they uſed all poſſible endeavours to prevent it. One Temſe a member of parliament, was ſo hardy as to move, that the houſe ſhould go in a body and addreſs the king to take his queen again. Henry hearing of this, ſent for Thomas Audley, the ſpeaker, and in his perſon ſeverely reprimanded the commons, for ſuffering a motion to be made concerning an affair which fell not under their cognizance [h].

[c] Or rather a liſt of their grievances compriſed in a book. It was preſented April 30. Herbert, p. 155. Hall, fol. 205.

[d] They complained of the proceedings of the ſpiritual courts, and eſpecially their calling men before them, ex officio, and laying articles to their charge without any accuſer; and then admitting no purgation, but cauſing the party accuſed either to abjure or to be burnt. Burnet, T. I. p. 116. Hall, fol. 202.

[e] By ſome of theſe ſtatutes it was enacted, 1. That no perſon in holy orders, convict of petit treaſon, wilful murder, &c. ſhall be admitted to make his purgation before the ordinary, and be ſet at liberty, but ſhall remain in priſon till he has given ſureties for his good behaviour. 2. That clerks convict, breaking the priſons of their ordinaries, ſhall be adjudged felons. There were alſo other good ſtatutes made: for erecting gaols in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; againſt perjury, and untrue verdicts; about the commiſſion of ſewers; that no perſon ſhall be cited out of the dioceſe where he lives, except in ſome particular caſes; as alſo againſt making feoffments of eſtates to chauntries, pariſh churches, &c. See Stat. 23. Henry VIII.

[f] Or the firſt fruits of the biſhoprics.

[g] This bill began in the houſe of lords: from whence it was ſent to the commons, and being agreed to by them, received the royal aſſent; but had not the final confirmation mentioned in the act, before the 9th of July 1533, and then by letters patents, in which the act is at length recited, it was confirmed. Par. Rolls. By this act was laid the foundation of the breach that afterwards followed with Rome. This act is not in the ſtatute book. Burnet, T. I. p. 117, 118.

[h] He told the ſpeaker moreover, it touched his ſoul; he wiſhed his marriage were good, but the learned had determined it to be null and deteſtable, and therefore he was obliged in conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſ-

Some days after [i] the king ſent again for the ſpeaker, and told him, that having compared the oath taken by the biſhops to the pope with that they took to the king, it ſeemed to him they were but half-ſubjects, and therefore he deſired the commons to examine the matter, and take care of the intereſts of the crown. But the plague, which raged then at London, and conſtrained the parliament to break up preſently after [k], hindered the commons from debating upon this affair at that time [l].

The power given the king by the parliament to aboliſh the annates, or make an amicable compoſition with the pope, was a clear evidence that the act had been procured by the intrigues of the court. The pope was extremely offended at it. But when he complained to the king's agents, he was told, he might have ſaved himſelf that vexation, and there was ſtill a remedy, ſince the king had power to repeal the act. This was an intimation, that he might depend upon it the king would behave according as he had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his proceedings.

Thomas More, who was lord chancellor, and a perſon of excellent judgment, foreſaw now, the king's proceedings would in the end produce a total rupture with Rome. He would have readily conſented that ſome abuſes ſhould be reformed. But he found, as matters were managed, the reformation would go much farther than he deſired. He put great difference between withdrawing entirely from the pope's obedience, and retrenching ſome of his uſurpations. So, being unwilling to be inſtrumental in the rupture, he reſigned the great ſeal on the 16th of May. Some days after, the king made ſir Thomas Audley, lord keeper of the great ſeal, till the 26th of January 1533, when he was made lord chancellor.

Whilſt Henry uſed ſundry means to ſhew the pope his danger, in obſtinately refuſing what he required, the emperor was no leſs ardently endeavouring to obtain a ſentence in favour of queen Catherine. The way theſe two monarchs applied to the pope, was not by humble intreaties, but by menaces, which had the greater effect, as he was naturally timorous, and ſlow to reſolve upon things that required a ſpeedy reſolution. By theſe two oppoſite demands he ſaw himſelf indeed between the hammer and anvil, as he ſaid himſelf in the beginning of the affair. On the other hand, he found, by Henry's late proceedings, that England was going to be loſt to him and his ſucceſſors. This conſideration was very capable of putting him upon ſeeking expedients to content that monarch, without prejudice to the honour of the holy ſee. He would thereby have preſerved a kingdom which had been ever devoted to the popes, and from whence they had drawn large revenues. But, on the other hand, the emperor had ſtill an army in Italy, and was able to revenge his refuſal. Clement, of all things, feared the loſs of Florence, which the emperor could take from him with more eaſe than he had procured him the poſſeſſion. It is no wonder, therefore, if this fear, being the moſt imminent, prevailed. It would be a great miſtake to aſcribe to the pope any motives of juſtice, equity, good, and benefit of the church, or religion. Theſe things for ſome time had ſerved only for preambles to bulls. His own and his family's intereſt was the ſole rule of his conduct. So, finding himſelf extremely preſſed by the emperor to paſs ſentence upon queen Catherine's appeal, he could no longer be excuſed from giving him ſome ſatisfaction [m]. He declared, therefore, to the Engliſh agents [n], that having long expected in vain that their maſter would of himſelf return to the right way, he was obliged to cite him to Rome. Henry having notice of it, ſent with all ſpeed Edward Karne, doctor of law, with the new character of excuſator, to allege the reaſons againſt a citation to which the king of England could not be liable. Karne coming to Rome in March [o], the pope ſcrupled to receive him as excuſator, a character, whereof there was no precedent to be found in the chancery. However, he committed the examination of this title to a congregation, which made no haſte to give their opinion, that the excuſator might not have power before he was acknowledged, to oppoſe the reſolutions already taken.

At laſt, in a conſiſtory, the 8th of July, it was reſolved, that, without examining the king of England's reaſons for not appearing in perſon, he ſhould be intreated to ſend to Rome a proxy to defend his cauſe. Mean while, as the vacation, which was to laſt till the 1ſt of October, was then juſt begun, a delay till that time was tacitly given the king. During this interval the pope ſent him a brief, to require him to ſend a proxy to Rome. At the ſame time he cauſed the following overtures to be made to him: that the affair of the divorce ſhould be examined in any indifferent place by a legate and two auditors of the rota; which done, the pope himſelf would paſs ſentence. Secondly, that all the ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom ſhould agree to a truce of three or four years, within which time the pope promiſed to call a general council. The king replied, by ſir Thomas Elliot, who was ſent on purpoſe, That he could not agree to a truce without the king of France's concurrence; ſecondly, that it was not a proper juncture to call a council; laſtly, as for the affair of the divorce, being king of England, he was to take care of the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the realm, which allowed not that any proceſs ſhould be tried in a foreign court; that beſides, the canons of the church expreſly decreed, that all matrimonial cauſes ſhould be judged in the countries where the parties reſided.

To theſe reaſons he added a proteſtation in form, declaring that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, either in perſon or by proxy, and tacked to the proteſtation the determinations of ſome univerſities [p] he had conſulted. However, he propoſed three things to the pope: Firſt, he required that the caſe ſhould be decided by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and two other biſhops, or elſe by the whole clergy of the kingdom. But it muſt be obſerved, that the ſee of Canterbury had been vacant ſince Auguſt by Warham's death [q], and if the pope had cloſed with this propoſal, the king would not have failed to fill the ſee with a prelate devoted to him. His ſecond offer was, that the cauſe ſhould be judged by four arbitrators, one to be named by the king [r], another by the queen, a third by the king of France, and that the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be the fourth. In the third place he propoſed, that the cauſe being judged by the archbiſhop, or by umpires, if the queen ſhould think fit to appeal from the ſentence, the appeal ſhould be brought before three judges, whereof he would name one, the pope another, and the king of France a third. The pope replied to theſe propoſals, that he ſaw the king would not recede from his pretended rights, and therefore it ſhould not be thought ſtrange that he reſolved to preſerve his own.

It is however certain, if the pope durſt have ſatisfied the king, he would gladly have done it, by reaſon of his fear to loſe England entirely. It was not the difficulties in the affair of the divorce that hindered him from proceeding. Had they been much greater than they were, he would have readily overlooked them all. For, ſuppoſing the unlimited power aſſumed by the pope, it was as eaſy for Clement VII. to null Henry's marriage, as it was for Julius II. to grant a diſpenſation. But he had to manage the honour of his ſee, and the intereſts of the emperor, who threatened him, and was able to execute his threats. Had not the emperor been concerned in the affair, it would have been very eaſy to find an expedient to content the king, without prejudice to the papal authority. It was only to aſſure the king, the cauſe ſhould be decided in his favour, and he would have willingly agreed that the pope ſhould have been the ſole judge. But the pope could give him no ſuch aſſurance, by reaſon of the emperor's oppoſition; and therefore Henry could not reſolve to put the affairs into his hands at the hazard of being condemned. Upon this account it was that he propoſed infallible expedients to gain his cauſe. But on the other hand, the pope could not accept of the expedients, without injuring his dignity. Thus the affair was ſolely retarded by the emperor's interpoſition. Had it not been for him, the pope would have contented the king, and the king would have ſubmitted to the pope, and remained as before an obedient ſon of the holy ſee. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that the king's proceedings, as well in the late parliament as afterwards, flowed not ſo much from his real opinion that the papal authority was uſurped, as from his ſeeing no other way to be delivered from his preſent difficulties, than by de-

ſired him flowed from no luſt, or fooliſh appetite. He was then forty-one years old, and at that age thoſe heats abate. But except Spain and Portugal, it had not been heard of, that a man married two ſiſters; and he never heard that any chriſtian, before himſelf, had married his brother's wife. Therefore he aſſured him his conſcience was troubled, which he deſired him to report to the houſe. Ibid. p. 122. Hall, fol. 205.

[i] May 11. Hall, fol. 205.

[k] It was adjourned on May 14 to February the 3d, 1533. Hall, fol. 206.

[l] Hall, Burnet, and lord Herbert, place Henry's interview with Francis after this ſeſſion of parliament.

[m] He wrote, on January 25, to king Henry, to exhort him a ſecond time to take again his wife. See Herbert, p. 156. Burnet, T. I. p. 118.

[n] Sir George Caſſali, and Dr. William Benet. Herbert, p. 158.

[o] He was accompanied by doctor Edmund Bonner. Burnet, T. I. p. 120.

[p] Thoſe of Orleans and Paris. See Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 416, &c.

[q] He died Aug. 23. Stow, p. 560.

[r] Either the biſhop of London, or ſir Thomas More. Herbert, p. 161.

On

nying it to be in the pope's power to do what Julius II. had done. It is however very likely, he was afterwards fully convinced of the truth of what he aſſerted at firſt only out of neceſſity. On the other hand, if the pope paſſed ſentence againſt Henry, as we ſhall ſee preſently, it was not from a belief that his marriage with Catherine was lawful, but ſolely to ſave the honour of the holy ſee, and through fear of the emperor. And here who can forbear admiring the ſecret ways of providence, which rendered a reconciliation between the pope and the king impracticable, in order to produce an event which was be be attended with ſo momentous conſequences for England?

At length, the vacation being over, Henry was cited the 4th of October to appear at Rome, either in perſon or by proxy, and Karne ſolemly proteſted [s] againſt the citation. What has been ſaid happened before the emperor's arrival at Bologna. Clement VII. who was going immediately after the citation to confer with that prince, promiſed Karne that all proceedings ſhould be ſuſpended, ſo long as the emperor was in Italy. This was all the favour Karne could obtain [t].

Whilſt Henry ſeemed wholly employed in the affair of his divorce, a quarrel aroſe between England and Scotland. Buchannan pretends, Henry willing to take the advantage of his union with France, and imagining Francis I. would ſuffer him to oppreſs king James, made inroads into Scotland [u], as if he intended to renew the war. He adds, that the only pretence of this rupture was, that the Scots had ſpoken ſome injurious words againſt the Engliſh. Be this as it will, the king of Scotland being prepared for his defence, Henry thought not fit to purſue his deſign. He choſe rather to agree that the difference ſhould be decided by the king of France's mediation, who for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſador to Newcaſtle. The king of Scotland was ſo offended with Francis for ſo coolly eſpouſing his cauſe, that he was going to join with the emperor. But at length all was happily adjuſted, and the two kings of England and Scotland remained friends as before.

It was not for Henry's intereſt to undertake a war againſt Scotland, when he was to prepare for his defence againſt the emperor. It was very probable the pope had not engaged to judge queen Catherine's appeal without being firſt aſſured, that the emperor, the queen's nephew, would execute the ſentence. This indeed was his deſign, but the troubles which came upon him hindered his engaging in that enterpriſe. He reckoned that the Italian league beforementioned would be a ſure defence for the duchy of Milan. But he ſoon perceived, he was himſelf the dupe of the politic pope. This league was at length ſigned at Bologna the 24th of February 1533, according to his wiſh. Every ſovereign that had dominions in Italy, the Venetians excepted, engaged to find a certain ſum monthly, for the maintenance of an army which Antonio de Leva was to command as general of the league. The emperor's intention was, that the army ſhould conſiſt of his own troops, and be conſtantly maintained: but the deſign of the confederates was very different. They had conſented to the league, only that the emperor, having nothing to fear for Italy, might withdraw all his troops. But they never meant that the army, maintained at their expence, ſhould ſerve to keep them in ſubjection, which would neceſſarily be the caſe, if the army continued always on foot, under the command of the emperor's general. They repreſented to him, therefore, that the league being only defenſive, it was not proper to continue an army, without neceſſity, to ruin them in expences; but, upon the firſt motion of the French, they would not fail to perform their agreements. What arguments ſoever the emperor alleged, it was not poſſible to bring them to what he deſired. He was forced, therefore, to be ſatisfied with their promiſes, becauſe he was not in condition to maintain an army in Italy at his own charge. Then he diſbanded part of his troops, and ſent the reſt to Naples and Spain. He departed from Bologna about the end of February, and came to Genoa, where he ſtaid ſome time; after which, on the 8th of April, he embarked for Spain, extremely diſpleaſed with the pope, who, through all his diſguiſes, could not help ſhewing his inclination to France. Indeed, he was now agreed with the cardinals of Tournon and Gramont, upon an interview with Francis, and the marriage of Catherine de Medici with the duke of Orleans.

[1533] The ſtate of Italy was not the only thing that employed the emperor. He had, as was obſerved, promiſed the proteſtants a free council in Germany. But though the word free was equally uſed by thoſe who demanded a council and by him that promiſed it, they were far from meaning the ſame thing. The proteſtants underſtood by that word, that a council ſhould be held in Germany, where not only they might have free acceſs and full liberty to produce their reaſons, but alſo that the points in diſpute ſhould be decided ſolely by the word of God. The emperor meant, on the contrary, to retain only an outward ſhew of the word, and, by rendering his party ſuperior in the council, to cauſe matters to be decided that the proteſtants ſhould be forced either to revoke all their innovations or reject the council's deciſions. In the latter caſe, which was moſt likely, the emperor plainly perceived they would give him a pretence to attack them, which was the thing he intended. But, in the execution of this deſign, a great obſtacle occurred; namely, a council, let it be what it would, was a terror to the pope. Though he knew the emperor demanded a council, not with intent to alter religion, yet he was afraid of being ſacrificed to the proteſtants, if that monarch's intereſt required it. Beſides, the ſtrict alliance between Francis and Henry made him uneaſy. In ſhort, he could not reſolve to call a council, without being ſure of managing it as he pleaſed; and this could ſcarce be expected, as matters then ſtood in Chriſtendom. Since his being on the papal throne, he had pleaſed neither the emperor, nor the king of France, nor the king of England, nor the potentates of Italy; and yet of the ſubjects of all theſe ſovereigns was the council chiefly to conſiſt. He knew himſelf to be a baſtard, and that alone to be ſufficient to depoſe him, in caſe his enemies were ſuperior in the council. What had paſſed at Conſtance and Baſil gave him juſt reaſon to dread that a council, held in a free city of Germany, might form the ſame deſigns. Upon all theſe conſiderations, when the emperor deſired him, at the conference of Bologna, to call a council, he forbore to give a poſitive anſwer. He contented himſelf with committing the examination of his requeſt of certain cardinals, under colour of being informed of the reaſons pro and con. The popes have a character to ſuſtain, which often throws them into great perplexity. In public, they muſt make ſhew of a great zeal for God's glory, for religion, and for the good of the church, and withal of a great diſintereſtedneſs for every thing which perſonally concerns them. But, for fear what they thus profeſs outwardly ſhould be taken literally, they muſt in private undeceive thoſe who treat with them, and diſcover to them that their own intereſt is the principal ſubject of the negotiation. So, what they ſay publicly is always juſt and right, and ſeems to tend only to the greater glory of God: but in the end it is too frequently perceived, that religion ſerves only for a cloak to the temporal concerns. On the preſent occaſion, a general council ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary, to put an end to the troubles cauſed by the religious differences in ſeveral places, and particularly in Germany. The pope not only agreed upon a council with the emperor, but even feigned to wiſh it heartily. Mean while, as a council was contrary to his intereſts, reaſons drawn from the good and advantage of religion were to be found to reject it, or defer the convening. This was done by the commiſſioners appointed to examine the emperor's requeſt. They drew a memorial ſetting forth the neceſſity of a council, but ſhewing withal the inconveniences of admitting the proteſtants to diſpute upon matters already ſettled, and the uſeleſsneſs of the council if they were not admitted. The memorial being communicated to Francis, he replied to it by another, demonſtrating that the inconveniencies mentioned in the firſt ought not to hinder the calling of a council. Moreover, he particularly chalked out the methods which were to be uſed to baniſh all partiality. But this memorial was not acceptable to the emperor, becauſe a free council was not what he deſired, but a council that would afford him an opportunity and pretence to attack the proteſtants of Germany; after which, he did not deſpair of bringing the catholics alſo under his yoke. Francis anſwered the empe-

[s] On November 14. Herbert, p. 159.

[t] King Henry having obtained from cardinal Wolſey a grant of the archbiſhop of York's palace at Weſtminſter, then called York Place, now Whitehall, and got a confirmation of the cardinal's grant from the chapter of the cathedral of York, did alſo this year purchaſe the hoſpital of St. James's, founded by the citizens of London, before the time of any man's memory, for fourteen leprous maidens; and built in the room of it, the palace now called St. James's, to which he annexed the park, and incloſed with a brick wall. Hall, fol. 203. Stow's Survey, b. VI. p. 4.——About June this year, the pope granted king Henry, by a bull, a commiſſion to erect ſix new biſhoprics, to be endowed by monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. Burnet, T. I. p. 121. This deſign was at firſt formed by cardinal Wolſey, as appears from Rymers Fœd.tom. XIV. p. 273, 291.

[u] He ordered ſir Arthur Darcey to make thoſe inroads, pretending for cauſe thereof, the reſtitution of the Douglaſſes. Herbert, p. 166.

The

ror's reaſons againſt this memorial, but it was to no purpoſe. It was almoſt impoſſible that two princes, whoſe intereſts were ſo oppoſite, and who were ſo jealous of each other, ſhould agree in any one point. Thus the pope had his wiſh, ſince the calling of the council was deferred to a more proper ſeaſon. I muſt now ſpeak of what paſſed in England in the year 1533.

Whilſt the pope and emperor were conferring at Bologna, Henry aſſembled the parliament the 4th of February. As hitherto the pope had not relaxed in the leaſt, except that he had delayed the excommunication wherewith he had threatned the king, it was deemed proper to proceed farther, and let him ſee he was not at all feared. So the parliament paſſed an act, expreſly forbidding all appeals to Rome on pain of incurring a præmunire. This was to convince the pope there was no occaſion for him; ſince, at the very time that the point in queſtion between him and the king was to know whether the affair of the divorce ſhould be judged in England, people were forbid to carry their cauſes to Rome. But there was another reaſon which induced the king to procure this act, namely, having heard that Francis was going to make an alliance with the pope, he imagined that for the future his friend would act but faintly in his favour; and therefore he was now determined to have his cauſe tried in the kingdom, without troubling himſelf any farther about the pope's proceedings againſt him [w]. The archbiſhopric of Canterbury being vacant by Warham's death, it was neceſſary to fill the ſee, that the ſentence might be given by the primate of England. Wherefore Henry had caſt his eyes on Dr. Thomas Cranmer, then in Germany [x]. But, contrary to his expectation, he had found the doctor more averſe to accept, than others would have been eager to deſire, that high dignity. It was ſix months before he could be perſuaded to take upon him that burthen. In fine, his reluctance being conquered by the king's patience, he began his journey to London, though very ſlowly, in hopes the king might alter his mind. However, as a farther delay was directly contrary to the king's meaſures, Cranmer could no longer defer ſubmitting to his will. The king himſelf undertook to demand his bulls [y], which, though eleven in all, were rated but at nine hundred ducats [z]. The pope forbore of his own accord to require the annates, foreſeeing they would be refuſed. To enable Cranmer to be at this charge, the king made him a preſent of the revenues of the archbiſhopric, from the 9th of September the laſt year. Theſe obſtacles being removed, there aroſe another much more conſiderable. Cranmer refuſed to take the uſual oath to the pope, believing he could not do it with a ſafe conſcience. In his firſt journey into Germany he had read Luther's books, which entirely convinced him of the truth of many of the proteſtant tenets, and particularly of the little foundation in ſcripture for the ſpiritual power aſſumed by the pope over the whole church. Conſequently he could not reſolve to ſwear an obedience, which in his opinion was not due to him. Mean while, Henry conſidering Cranmer as a perſon who, by his principles and reſolution, could effectually ſerve him in the deciſion of the affair of the divorce, of which he deſired to ſee the end, preſſed him ſo earneſtly to ſwear the cuſtomary oath, that he was prevailed with at length, by an expedient propoſed to him, namely, to make a formal proteſtation againſt the oath he was to take [a]. This is by no means one of his moſt commendable actions. However, he was conſecrated the 13th of March, according to Burnet: and yet the king put him not in poſſeſſion of the temporalities till the 29th of April. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect there is a miſtake in the firſt of theſe dates.

This affair being ended, the king required the convocation of the province of Canterbury to give their opinion upon theſe two points: Firſt, whether pope Julius's diſpenſation for the king's marriage with Catherine was ſufficient and able to render ſuch a marriage valid? Secondly, whether it was ſufficiently proved that Arthur had conſummated his marriage with Catherine? Whereupon the convocation declared, on the 5th of April, that the pope had not power to diſpenſe contrary to the law of God, and that the conſummation of Arthur's marriage was proved, as far as a thing of that nature could be. The convocation of York made the like deciſion the 13th of May following.

Whilſt the clergy were employed in debating theſe points, Henry wrote to Francis, deſiring him to ſend a truſty perſon, to whom he might diſcover ſome things which he would not make public. Francis ſent William de Bellay, lord of Langeais, ordering him to acquaint the king that he had concluded a marriage between his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, and Catherine de Medici; and that the pope and himſelf were to meet at Marſeilles to celebrate the nuptials: that in ſuch a juncture he believed his preſence would be very neceſſary to negotiate his own affairs himſelf with the pope: but, in caſe he did not think proper to be at the interview, he would do well to ſend ſome perſon on his part. Langeais being come to London, the king told him that Clement VII. having obſtinately refuſed to appoint him judges in England, he had determined at length to proceed; and therefore had already eſpouſed Anne Bullen, with a reſolution to have his marriage nulled by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That however, he would keep his ſecond marriage private till May, to ſee what the king of France could do with the biſhop of Rome (for ſo he called the pope.) But if he could obtain nothing, his deſign was to withdraw himſelf wholly from the papal authority. He imagined then, the pope and Francis would meet in May, but it was not till October. He told Langeais further, that he had compoſed a treatiſe upon the incroachments of the biſhops of Rome and the prerogatives of ſovereign princes, but would not publiſh it till he ſaw no hopes of reconciliation.

Shortly after, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was made public, which certainly was very wrong. Since the king was reſolved to have his firſt marriage nulled by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, he ſhould have ſtaid till the ſentence was prouounced. All that can be ſaid in excuſe of this irregular conduct is, that the new queen was four months gone with child, and her breeding could hardly be concealed any longer. But, notwithſtanding this, the king might have cauſed his firſt marriage to be nulled a little ſooner, or the ſecond to be publiſhed a little later, ſince there was but a month between the publication and the ſentence. However, Henry, deſpairing to prevail with the pope, and not much fearing him, thought to have no farther regard either for him or the public, being almoſt aſſured of ſucceeding in whatever he undertook, conſidering how the people ſtood affected. In ſhort, being fully determined to end the affair, he ſo ordered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury demanded his leave to ſummon queen Catherine. Before he came to this extremity, he tried more than once to perſuade the queen to conſent to the divorce. But all his endeavours proving ineffectual, he granted the archbiſhop the leave he deſired. The queen was cited to appear at Dunſtable, in the neighbourhood of the place where ſhe reſided, the 20th of May [b]. But as ſhe refuſed to appear, the archbiſhop gave ſentence the 23d of the ſame month, declaring the king's marriage with Catherine null, as being contrary to the law of God. On the 28th, at Lambeth, by another

[w] The other acts that paſſed this ſeſſion were theſe: I. That beef, pork, mutton, and veal, ſhould for the future be ſold by Averdupois weight; and no perſon take for a pound of beef or pork, above one halfpenny; and for a pound of mutton or veal, not above three farthings. 2. That a man killing a thief in his own defence, ſhall not forfeit his goods; which was the penalty of thoſe who were guilty of chance medley. 3. There was alſo an act made for encouraging the deſtruction of crows, rooks, and choughs. 4. And one for paving the ſtreetway between Charing Croſs and Strand Croſs. See Statut. 24. Henry VIII.

[x] Negotiating the buſineſs of the divorce among the learned men of Germany. Burnet, T. 1. p. 127.

[y] And accordingly ſent for them about the end of January. Idem. p. 128.

[z] Theſe being the laſt bulls in his reign, it will not be amiſs to give an account of them, as they are ſet down in the beginning of Cranmer's regiſter. By the firſt, he is, upon the king's nomination, promoted to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury; this is directed to the king. By a ſecond, directed to himſelf, he is made archbiſhop. By a third, he is abſolved from all cenſures. A fourth, is to the ſuffragans. A fifth, to the dean and chapter. A ſixth, to the clergy of Canterbury. A ſeventh, to all the laity in his ſee. An eighth, to all that held lands of it, requiring them to receive him as archbiſhop. All theſe are dated February 21, 1533. By a ninth, of February 22, he was to be conſecrated, upon taking the oath in the pontifical. By a tenth, dated the 2d of March, the pall was ſent him. And by an eleventh, of the ſame date, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, were required to put it on him. Theſe were the ſeveral artifices to make compoſitions high, and to enrich the apoſtolic chamber. Burnet, T. I. p. 128.

[a] This proteſtation imported, that he did not intend by that oath to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to, either by his duty to God, to the king, or the country; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of thoſe. Burnet, T. I. p. 129.

[b] The archbiſhop went to Dunſtable (about ſix miles from Ampthill, where the queen was) accompanied with Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and the biſhops of London, Bath, and Lincoln, and ſat in court on the 10th of May, the king appearing by proxy, but the queen, not at all. Upon which ſhe was declared contumacious, and a ſecond and third citation were iſſued out. Then the evidences that had been brought before the legates of the conſummation of the marriage with prince Arthur were read. After that the determination of the univerſities, divines, and canoniſts, with the judgments of the convocations of both provinces, were produced, and the whole merit of the cauſe was opened. And then, on the 23d, with the advice of all that were preſent, it was declared, that the marriage had been only de facto, and not de jure, and conſequently null from the beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, that the archbiſhop is called in the ſentence, the legate of the apoſtolical ſee. Whether this went of courſe as one of his titles, or was put in to make the ſentence firmer, the reader may judge. Burnet, T. I. p. 131. Hall, fol. 210.

The

ſentence, he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, and on the 1ſt of June the new queen was crowned.

Thus ended this famous proceſs, the iſſue whereof afforded no leſs matter for divers reflections than the beginning, every one reaſoning as ſwayed by prejudice or intereſt. Thoſe who were againſt the king took notice of his error in eſpouſing a ſecond wife, before his firſt marriage was legally diſſolved. They ſaid moreover, that of all the prelates in England, Cranmer was the laſt that ſhould have been choſen for judge, ſince he had ſo openly declared againſt the firſt marriage. This partiality was apparent, not only in his haſte to give ſentence, but alſo in his confirming the king's ſecond marriage, which had been conſummated while the firſt ſtill ſubſiſted.

Thoſe who were for the king, affirmed, the ſentence was but a mere formality, which rendered not the marriage void, but only declared it ſo. That it ſufficed, the ſentence was conformable to the determinations of the Engliſh clergy and all the univerſities in Europe, and to the ſentiments of the pope himſelf, who would have nulled the marriage, had he not been biaſſed by worldly conſiderations. They juſtified Cranmer by alleging, that having changed his character ſince his declaring for the divorce, that declaration ought not to hinder him from being judge, no more than a lawyer when he comes to ſit on the bench is debarred the trying of cauſes in which he formerly gave counſel. That though there were ſome default in the form, it could not be denied, the ſentence was juſt in itſelf, which was ſufficient to quiet the king's conſcience, who alone was concerned in the affair. As for the new queen, no fault could be found with her conduct, ſince ſhe proved not with child till after her marriage, whether the king eſpouſed her in November laſt year, or in the January following. As for queen Catherine, it could not be thought ſtrange that ſhe ſhould maintain the validity of her ſecond marriage. But it was juſtly wondered at, ſhe ſhould ſo obſtinately deny the conſummation of the firſt, which was proved by all poſſible evidence. But as moſt people were then biaſſed on one ſide or other [c], we are not to judge of the affair by what was publiſhed in thoſe days, but by reaſon and equity. Let us therefore briefly conſider it in that view, independently of the prejudices cauſed by the conſequences. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader, to ſee here a ſhort recapitulation of the conduct of the chief actors in this ſcene. I ſhall confine myſelf to this, without fully examining the proceſs, which is not ſo much the buſineſs of an hiſtorian as of a divine or civilian.

It is almoſt impoſſible to know poſitively whether Henry, when he undertook the affair of the divorce, was convinced that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, or at leaſt was really troubled in conſcience upon that account. All that can be ſaid in his favour is, that he himſelf affirmed as much, and none but the ſearcher of all hearts can know, whether he thought as he ſpoke. It cannot be denied that the ſole conſideration of ſuch a marriage is of itſelf capable of breeding ſuch ſcruples, eſpecially as the king's might be confirmed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury's, and the biſhop of Lincoln's, his confeſſor. But on the other hand, it may be conjectured from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was only a pretence to put away Catherine and marry Anne Bullen. In the firſt place, he had lived eighteen years with the queen without ſhewing any ſcruple. In the ſecond place, if he was not in love with Anne Bullen when his ſcruples firſt ſeized him, it cannot be denied, he was very much ſo, when he moſt ardently preſſed the affair of the divorce. So, it may be conjectured, that his love might turn into belief what at firſt was only a doubt. In the third place, very probably it was cardinal Wolſey that inſpired, by himſelf or another, the king with theſe ſcruples, to be revenged of the emperor and the queen. This bold and daring miniſter imagined, either the affair would eaſily ſucceed, conſidering his great credit at the court of Rome, or, in caſe of oppoſition, it would be no more difficult on this than on ſeveral other occaſions, to cauſe the king to alter his mind. But Henry's love unexpectedly happening, Wolſey found he had taken wrong meaſures. Beſides, the determinations of the univerſities did not a little contribute, without doubt, to confirm the king in his opinion. However, without farther inquiry whether Henry was ſatisfied of the juſtice of his cauſe, let us conſider in few words how he behaved in ſo nice an affair. He ſuppoſed that Julius II. could not grant a diſpenſation for his marriage, and conſequently the marriage was void of itſelf. And yet he thought he wanted Clement VII.'s bull to declare it ſo. Herein was a contradiction which could not but greatly embaraſs him. If Julius's diſpenſation was null by the law of God, it was needleſs to revoke it, and if a revocation was neceſſary, conſequently it was good till revoked. Thus Henry was bound till the pope ſhould pleaſe to decide the point. When Cranmer had given him another notion of the affair, by intimating to him that, independently of the power aſſumed by the pope, the chief thing was to be aſſured of the right by the opinions of the learned, he cried out, in a tranſport of joy, "He had got at laſt the right ſow by the ear," that is, he found in Cranmer's advice a ſolution of the difficulties he could not get over in following the doubtful principles of the pope's power, becauſe its extent was not ſettled. He reſolved therefore to procure the opinions of the univerſities. But at length, weighing the conſequences of a rupture with Rome, he reſumed the firſt way, and applied again to the pope. By this he wronged his cauſe very much; for, in taking the pope for judge, it was no longer in his power to limit the authority he was willing to acknowledge. But he was excuſable, ſince it was hardly poſſible to throw off at once his prejudice with reſpect to the papal power, whereof he had not at firſt ſo clear an idea as afterwards. Then, finding the pope acted only from worldly conſiderations, which hindered him from giving him the ſatisfaction he required, he returned to the way he had left. So, proceeding upon his own conviction, and the determinations of the univerſities, he cauſed his marriage to be declared null, without regarding the pope's authority, which he was reſolved to forſake. I omit the reaſon he alleged to prove the neceſſity of his divorce. That of conſcience was doubtleſs the beſt, if ſincere; that relating to the uncertainty of the ſucceſſion was proper to demand a ſentence, but not to ground the divorce upon, becauſe the divorce ſuppoſed the marriage void, which was to be judged.

Let us now conſider the pope's conduct, where we find nothing favouring of Chriſt's vicar. Clement VII. never examined the caſe by the maxims of religion, juſtice, or equity, but always with reſpect to his own or his family's intereſts. If he had attended to what religion required, he would have examined whether Henry's marriage was contrary to the law of God, and whether, in that caſe, a pope had power to grant a diſpenſation. If he had been convinced that Julius II. aſſumed a right which belonged not to him, he ſhould have readily granted Henry the bull he demanded. But if, on the contrary, he was perſuaded the marriage was agreeable to the divine law, or not being ſo, it was in the power of a pope to grant a diſpenſation, he ſhould have confirmed it, and tried to remove the king's ſcruples, without ſeeking ſo many evaſions. That was the duty of a pope; but, inſtead of acting in that manner, he conſidered only what good or hurt might accrue to him from the king's demand, independently of the juſtice or injuſtice of the thing. Whilſt he was priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo, or fugitive at Orvieto, and thought he ſtood in need of Henry, he poſitively promiſed to content him. Afterwards he only amuſed him, till, by the emperor's means, he had recovered Florence. As ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of that ſtate, which he had ſo much deſired, he avocated the proceſs to Rome, but, in all appearance, with intent never to decide it if he could help it; becauſe, whilſt the two parties remained uncertain of the deciſion, he made himſelf neceſſary to both. Can it therefore be ſaid, there was any ſign of juſtice or religion in his proceedings? Certainly, if Henry was to blame, as it is pretended, to feign ſcruples on purpoſe to gratify his paſſion, Clement was no leſs ſo, not to try to reclaim him before the affair was begun, or to content him in caſe his ſcruples were well-grounded. Though Henry had acted only through paſſion, which is, however, very uncertain, he would have been much more excuſable than the pope, who, in the poſt he filled, ought to have proceeded upon very different principles.

As for the emperor, he undoubtedly acted in this affair from motives of honour, intereſt, and policy, without juſtice or religion being concerned in his proceedings. He looked upon the queen of England, his aunt's divorce, as a diſhonour, which, added to his intereſt to create Henry troubles, who was in ſtrict alliance with France, was but too capable of inducing him to obſtruct it to the utmoſt of his power.

As for queen Catherine, very probably, ſhe acted with ſincerity. As ſhe believed the pope's authority unlimited, ſhe thought herſelf the king's lawful wife, and in that belief did not think herſelf obliged to reſign her right to another, on pretence of the king her huſband's ſcruples, which, in her opinion were groundleſs. Beſides, ſhe could not own

[c] The men generally ſpake in behalf of the king, and the women took the queen's part. Hall, f. l. 199.

her marriage null without greatly injuring her daughter the princeſs Mary. Though ſhe had been convinced her marriage was unlawful in itſelf, ſhe believed the pope had power to render it valid, being ready however to ſubmit to the ſame authority as ſoon as it ſhould be declared. Nevertheleſs, ſhe may be juſtly ſuſpected of having taken a falſe oath, to make her cauſe better.

Much has been ſaid againſt Anne Bullen. But without inſiſting upon Sander's invectives, which have been ſufficiently refuted [d], ſhe can be charged before marriage but with one ſingle fault, namely, her yielding to the king before his marriage with Catherine was nulled. But it was very difficult for a young lady of her rank, to have reſolution enough to reſiſt the temptation of being a queen, if ſhe could be ſo lawfully, as it is likely the king made her believe. It cannot however be ſaid, ſhe yielded to the king's deſires before her marriage. He eſpouſed her at the lateſt in January, and ſhe was not brought to bed till September [e]. So there is nothing in that which can give occaſion for any ſuſpicion.

As for the reſt who were concerned in the affair, as the cardinals, and the king's and the emperor's miniſters, it may affirmed, they acted only from worldly views, without any regard to religion.

It cannot be ſaid, the univerſities of France and England decided the queſtions propoſed with entire freedom, ſince it is known what an influence ſovereigns have upon the actions of their ſubjects, when they are concerned. As to the univerſities of Italy, both parties accuſed one another of having corrupted them, the one by money, and the other by threats. As for the Engliſh clergy, they had lately received ſuch a check, that they had reaſon to dread giving the king a freſh occaſion of anger. But it cannot be thence inferred, that they decided contrary to their ſentiments, ſince it often happens that truth is not oppoſite to intereſts. The ſame may be ſaid of Cranmer, who being now tinctured with Luther's doctrine, could not look upon Julius's diſpenſation as capable of rendering a marriage valid, which in itſelf was null and repugnant to the law of God. Indeed, he may have earneſtly embraced this opportunity, to give a mortal wound to the papal authority, in order to promote the reformation. But it cannot be affirmed that he acted againſt his knowledge, in pronouncing the ſentence of divorce. At leaſt his whole behaviour was directly oppoſite to ſuch obliquities.

By what has been ſaid, may be eaſily perceived, that in this affair, which was properly a caſe of conſcience, very few of the actors had any but political views, without much regard to the precepts of religion. Nevertheleſs, God, who directs all the actions of men, without their knowing very often to what they may tend, drew from the proceedings of Henry, Clement, and Charles, the end he deſigned, that is, the reformation of the church of England, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. If any one deſires fully to examine the caſe of Henry VIII.th's divorce, he would do well to caſt off all prejudice, and take care not to be miſled by the authors who have wrote on the ſubject. But if a man is contented with examining it hiſtorically, he is to conſider only the political views of the principal actors.

The ſentences of divorce being made public, Henry took care to acquaint Catherine with it, by the lord Mountjoy, who tried in vain to perſuade her to ſubmit. She ſtill remained inflexible, affirming, ſhe would be the king's wife till the pope had nulled the marriage. This anſwer being brought to the king, he ordered her to be ſtiled only princeſs dowager of Wales. But ſhe refuſed to be ſerved by any that would not treat her as queen: and the king thought not fit to remove ſuch as would ſhew her that reſpect [f]. Shortly after, he notified his divorce, and new marriage, to all the ſovereigns, and particularly to the emperor, who coldly told the Engliſh embaſſador [g], he would conſider what he was to do in the caſe.

The news of the king's marriage, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence having reached Rome, the pope was extremely angry with Henry, and the more, as a copy of his book againſt the papal authority had now appeared in Rome itſelf. The cardinals of the Imperial faction improving this occaſion, very earneſtly preſſed him to give ſentence againſt the king; remonſtrating to him, that if he reſented not ſuch an affront, the authority of the holy ſee would be at an end. Theſe remonſtrances produced their effect. The pope nulled the archbiſhop's ſentence, and declared the king himſelf liable to excommunication, unleſs, during the month of September, he reſtored the cauſe to its former ſtate [h]. He contented himſelf for this time with only threatening him, becauſe he did not yet deſpair of reclaiming him by the king of France's means, with whom he was going to confer at Marſeilles.

The pope's aim in that interview was, firſt to celebrate the nuptials between Catherine, his niece, and the duke of Orleans. In the next place, to deviſe with Francis ſome expedient to adjuſt his differences with the king of England; or, if that could not be done, to diſengage Francis from Henry's intereſts. Francis wiſhed ſincerely that ſome way might be found to reconcile them, becauſe he hoped to join in a league with both, the more eaſily to recover the duchy of Milan. Henry had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from the interview, being apprehenſive it would produce, between Francis and Clement, an union which could not but be to his prejudice [i]. He had ever reckoned that Francis would act in concert with him to frighten the pope, and that their menaces would induce him at laſt to give him the ſatisfaction he required. But, perceiving he could not prevail, he had publiſhed his marriage. From that time, he was fully bent to widen the breach with Rome, unleſs the pope and the king of France ſhould find, during their interview, ſome ſatisfactory expedient, for which he was very willing to wait. Mean while he ſent the duke of Norfolk [k] in embaſſy to Francis, with orders to accompany him to Marſeilles, and ſee whether there was yet any hopes of agreement.

The duke of Norfolk, coming to the French court the 1ſt of July, waited upon the king, who was then on his journey to Marſeilles [l], intending, however, to make ſome ſtay in Languedoc before he went to the congreſs. He accompanied him ſome time, but hearing, in the beginning of Auguſt, what was done at Rome againſt the king, his maſter, would have returned, imagining his preſence would be of little ſervice at Marſeilles. Nevertheleſs, at the king of France's ſolicitations, he contented himſelf with ſending the lord Rochfort for freſh inſtructions from the king, who immediately recalled him. However, Francis ſo artfully managed Henry, that he perſuaded him to ſend a perſon to Marſeilles, to be a witneſs of what ſhould paſs at the interview. Henry made choice of Stephen Gardiner, ſir John Wallop, and ſir Francis Brian, with Edmond Bonner, a very proper perſon to execute the orders he gave him.

The pope and Francis met at Marſeilles the beginning of October, and, within a few days, the duke of Orleans conſummated his marriage with Catherine de Medici [m]. This affair being ended, Francis ſolicited the pope in behalf of the king of England, and prevailed with him at laſt to give Henry entire ſatisfaction; but, to ſave the honour of the

[d] Sanders has aſſured the world, that the king, liking her mother, ſent her huſband, ſir Thomas Bullen, embaſſador to France, and in his abſence, begot Anne Bullen upon his wife. At his return, he ſued a divorce againſt her in the archbiſhop's court, but the king letting him know ſhe was with child by him, he was, upon the king's deſire, reconciled to his wife. Thus Anne Bullen, though ſhe went under the name of ſir Thomas's daughter, yet was of the king's begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill ſhaped and ugly, had ſix fingers, a gag tooth, and a tumour under her chin. At fifteen years of age, he ſays, both her father's butler, and chaplain, lay with her; and when in France ſhe led ſuch a diſſolute life, that ſhe was called the Engliſh hackney. That the French king liking her, ſhe was called the king's mule. But returning to England, ſhe gained the king's affection, by the appearance of a ſevere virtue, with which ſhe diſguiſed herſelf. The ſame author adds, that the king had likewiſe enjoyed her ſiſter; with a great deal more to the diſgrace of this lady and her family. Hence we may ſee to what a height of rancour and malice bigotry and blind zeal in religious matters are capable of carrying a man! Burnet, T. I. p. 41.

[e] September 7, of the princeſs Elizabeth, which afterwards mounted the throne. Hall, fol. 217. Stow, &c.

[f] William Blount, lord Mountjoy, was to mix promiſes with threatenings, particularly concerning Catherine's daughter's being put next queen Anne's iſſue in the ſucceſſion; but all would not do. She ſaid ſhe would not damn her ſoul, nor ſubmit to ſuch an infamy; that ſhe was his wife, and would never call herſelf by any other name, ſince the proceſs ſtill depended at Rome. Mountjoy, having written a relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhewed it her; but ſhe daſhed with a pen all thoſe places in which ſhe was called princeſs dowager. Burnet, T. I. p. 132.

[g] Sir Thomas Wyat.

[h] The more moderate cardinals were for finding a temper, that the ſentence ſhould not be definitive, but ſhould be given upon what had been attempted in England by the archbiſhop of Canterbury (which in the ſtile of the canon law, was called the attentates) and it was done accordingly. The ſentence was affixed ſoon after at Dunkirk. Burnet, T. I. p. 133. Herbert, p. 172.

[i] Francis acquainted king Henry that his chief deſign in this interview was to ſerve him; but Henry replied, that he was ſo ſure of his nobility and commons, that he had no apprehenſion of any thing the pope could do. Burnet, T. III. p. 72.

[k] Together with George Bullen, lord Rochford, ſir William Paulet, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Francis Brian, attended with a hundred and ſixty horſe. Hall, fol. 211. Herbert, p. 168.

[l] And endeavoured to diſſuade him from the interview and marriage propoſed, or, at leaſt, to ſuſpend it till the pope had given our king ſatisfaction; offering alſo aid for a war in Piedmont, if he would ſuffer no more money to go out of his realm to Rome, and, inſtead of the pope, to erect a patriarch. Herbert p. 169.

[m] The pope himſelf married the young couple. Herbert, p. 170.

holy ſee, he would judge the cauſe himſelf in a conſiſtory, from which the cardinals of the emperor's faction ſhould be excluded. Thus far all went very well. But Bonner, to whom doubtleſs it was not thought fit to diſcover the ſecret, demanding an audience of the pope [n], acquainted him with the king his maſter's appeal to the next general council, from the ſentence given or to be given againſt him. The pope told him, before he declared himſelf, he would adviſe with the cardinals that were with him. Some days after [o], having ſent for Bonner, he gave him for anſwer, that according to the opinion of the cardinals, the appeal was unlawful. Bonner, without being ſurpriſed at the anſwer, acquainted him in the ſame manner with the like appeal of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, from the ſentence which nulled his judgment for the divorce. This put the pope in ſuch a rage, that he talked of throwing Bonner into a cauldron of melted lead [p]. Guicciardini, ſays Francis, was ſo offended with Bonner's inſolence, that he offered the pope to do all that lay in his power to procure him ſatisfaction for the affront. But if this be true, it was only a mere compliment.

Clement departed from Marſeilles the 12th of November, as much pleaſed with the king of France as he was diſſatisfied with Henry. Mean while, Francis not deſpairing yet to adjuſt this affair, ſent into England John de Bellay, biſhop of Paris, to propound new expedients to the king. This prelate, who had reſided ſome time at the court of England as embaſſador, wrought ſo with Henry, that he perſuaded him at length to agree to an expedient he propoſed to him [q]. So, pleaſed with having obtained more than he durſt have expected, he very readily undertook to carry the good news himſelf to the pope, though it was then in the depth of winter. He found the pope inclined to do what he could to end the affair amicably, and drew from him a poſitive promiſe, that the cauſe ſhould be jugded at Cambray by ſuch as the king of England ſhould have no reaſon to except againſt. But Clement, not truſting entirely to a verbal promiſe, deſired to have it under the king's own hand, that he approved of what was concerted. Moreover, to avoid all delays and evaſions, he fixed the day for the return of the courier, who was to be ſent into England.

This weighty affair being thus upon the point of concluſion, the emperor's agents were very urgent with the pope to revoke his engagement; but he told them he had given his word. However, they repeated their inſtances with ſuch earneſtneſs, that at length they got him to promiſe, if Henry's anſwer came not by the time appointed, he ſhould think himſelf diſengaged. The courier not returning on the day appointed, the Imperialiſts preſſed the pope to give ſentence againſt Henry, repreſenting to him that he was amuſed, and threatening him with the emperor's reſentment. In ſhort, they ſo ardently ſolicited him, that though the biſhop of Paris only deſired a delay of ſix days, he could not obtain it. The pope, frightened by the menaces of the Imperialiſts, was ſo entirely devoted to them, that what ſhould have been done, according to the uſual forms, in three conſiſtories, was done in one. In a word, the pope, without ſtaying for an anſwer from England, publiſhed a ſentence [r], declaring Henry's marriage with Catherine good and lawful, and requiring him to take his wife again, with denunciation of cenſures in caſe of diſobedience. Two days after came the courier with full powers for the biſhop of Paris, as the pope had deſired. Several cardinals moved to revoke what had been done: but the emperor's party preſſed him ſo cloſely, that the motion was rejected. Thus the pope, who had amuſed the king for ſix years by affected delays, could not be perſuaded to grant him ſix days, and by this precipitation, was the cauſe of the Romiſh church's loſs of the kingdom of England.

It muſt however be confeſſed, that it is very difficult to conceive what the king's view was in the agreement he pretended to make with the pope. Can it be ſuppoſed he meant to quit his newly acquired title of ſupreme head of the church of England? But he appeared ſo jealous, during the reſt of his days, of his ſupremacy, which kept the clergy in awe, whereas before, the clergy depended more on the pope than on him, that there is no likelihood he would think of parting with this prerogative. And yet, how could the king's ſupremacy ſubſiſt in caſe he agreed with the pope? Or how could the pope reſolve to content him with reſpect to his divorce, without requiring him to reſign his ſupremacy? Certainly it is impoſſible to reconcile theſe two things; which gives occaſion to ſuſpect the king acted not with ſincerity in his pretended agreement with the pope, and that after having juſtified his divorce by the pope's ſentence, he meant to drop him there, and withdraw from his obedience. This ſuſpicion is confirmed by what paſſed in England at the very time the king diſpatched the courier to Rome, with the engagement the pope had deſired. I have obſerved that the biſhop of Paris went poſt from London about the end of December; that upon his arrival at Rome, he ſent a courier to the king, to acquaint him with what he had obtained of the pope; and that the king ſent back the ſame courier with his approbation. Now what ſpeed ſoever the biſhop and courier could make, it is impoſſible the courier could return to Rome before the middle of January. But at the very time the king diſpatched the courier, he held at Weſtminſter a parliament, where acts were paſſed directly contrary to the agreement he ſeemed to deſire [s].

[1534] The parliament, meeting the 15th of January 1534, opened the ſeſſion with repealing the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics. This was not with deſign to exempt them from the penalties in that ſtatute, ſince was enacted in this that they ſhould be burned, but only to hinder the clergy from being ſole judges in cauſes of this nature. That was the real intent of the new act, whereby, for the future, heretics were to be proſecuted and tried according to the laws of the land, without any regard to the canon law [t].

By another ſtatute which the parliament paſſed at the ſame time, it was enacted, firſt, that all convocations ſhould be called for the future by the king's writ. Secondly, that the king ſhould name thirty-two perſons, ſixteen of both houſes of parliament, and as many of the clergy, to examine the canons and conſtitutions of the church, with power to abrogate or confirm ſuch as they thought fit. As it is certain the parliament acted by the directions of the court, it may eaſily be conceived the king was not much inclined to agree with the pope, though by the engagement he did ſend or had already ſent to Rome, he ſeemed reſolved.

Here is another argument of the little regard Henry had for the pope, at the very time he was going to obtain all his deſires. Before the news came to England of the ſentence againſt the king, the parliament paſſed an act of attainder againſt Elizabeth Barton, commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, who, pretending to be inſpired, foretold, that "if the king married Anne Bullen, he ſhould not be a king a month longer." This nun, having been wrought upon and inſtructed by a certain curate, counterfeited the propheteſs, and mixed with her prediction invectives againſt the king's proceedings in the affair of the divorce, and threats againſt his chief counſellors. Several Franciſcans countenanced her pretended revelations, ſo that ſhe was in great repute with the people; nay, archbiſhop Warham, ſir Thomas More, and John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, were deceived with the reſt. But at length, the nun and her accomplices being apprehended by the king's order, the affair was ſo carefully examined, that the whole contrivance was diſcovered, and the counterfeit propheteſs condemned to die with her corrupters. However, as the affair had made a great noiſe, the king was pleaſed it ſhould be brought before the parliament, to render their condemnation more authentic. Sanders would fain reckon this nun and her accomplices for martyrs, though their own confeſſions ſufficiently juſtified their condemnation [u]. If the king had really intended to be re-

[n] November 7. Ibid.
[o] November 10. Ibid.
[p] Or burning him alive. Burnet, T. I. p. 134.
[q] Namely, that if the pope would put off the execution of his ſentence, until he had indifferent judges ſent, who might hear the buſineſs, he would alſo defer the execution of what he was inclined to do in withdrawing his obedience from the Roman ſee. Herbert p. 173.
[r] On the 23d of March. Burnet, T. I. p. 136.
[s] This year, on June 24, died Mary, queen dowager of France, and wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Hall, fol. 217.
[t] By the ſtatute of Henry IV. biſhops might, upon ſuſpicion of hereſy, commit any perſon to priſon, without preſentment or accuſation, contrary to what was practiſed in all other caſes. Therefore the ſtatute of Henry IV. was repealed, but thoſe of Richard II. and Henry V. were left ſtill in force, with the following regulation: that heretics ſhould be proceeded againſt upon preſentments, by two witneſſes at leaſt, and then committed, but brought to anſwer to their indictments in open court; and if found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapſe, to be adjudged to death; the king's writ de hæretico comburendo being firſt had. This act is the fourteenth in the ſtatute book, thirty-third in the records, thirty-firſt in the journal. It may eaſily be imagined how acceptable this act was to the whole nation, ſince it was an effectual limitation of the eccleſiaſtical power in one of the moſt uneaſy parts of it. And this regulation of the arbitrary proceedings of the ſpiritual courts, was a particular bleſſing to the favourers of the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 147.
[u] Elizabeth Barton, of Kent, in the pariſh of Aldington, being troubled with a ſort of hyſterical fits, which diſtorted her limbs ſo, that people began to think her inſpired of God, was perſuaded by Richard Maſter, the pariſh prieſt,

conciled to the court of Rome, nothing could be more unſeaſonable than to paſs this act, when the affair of the divorce ſeemed to be upon the point of being adjuſted to his ſatisfaction.

Whilſt the parliament was employed in theſe matters, Henry received news of the ſentence [w] given and publiſhed againſt him at Rome, with all the circumſtances demonſtrating the little regard the pope had for his perſon and dignity. Theſe haſty proceedings convincing him there was nothing more to be expected from Rome, he no longer delayed to execute his reſolution to break off all correſpondence with the pope. The parliament was no leſs offended than the king with the pope's conduct. So the whole legiſlature, being in the ſame mind, reſolved utterly to aboliſh the papal authority in England. After what Clement had done, there was no other way; it was neceſſary either to withſtand him vigorouſly, or prepare to endure all the ſeverities and indignities, to which England was liable in the reigns of Henry II. and John Lackland. But the times were altered. The Engliſh were no longer willing to ſubmit to the baſe actions required by the popes of their anceſtors, neither was the king's intereſt different from that of his ſubjects. Thus every one being equally tired of the papal yoke, it was deemed more honourable to demoliſh at once that formidable power, under which the kingdom had ſo long groaned, than vainly to expect, it would of itſelf be reduced within due bounds. It may be eaſily judged, the favourers of the new religion were not ſparing of their pains to bring things to this ſtate. The reſolution that had been taken was quickly put in execution. In a few days an act was paſſed containing ſundry articles, all tending to the ſame point.

Theſi rſt confirmed the ſtatute for aboliſhing the annates, or firſt fruits.

By the ſecond it was enacted, that for the future, the pope ſhall have nothing to do in the nominating or preſenting of biſhops; but that, when a biſhopric ſhall become vacant, the king ſhall ſend to the chapter a congé d'elire, and in caſe the election ſhould not be over within twelve days after the licence, it ſhall belong to the king. That the biſhop elect ſhall ſwear fealty to the king, and then be recommended by his majeſty to the archbiſhop to be conſecrated. That if the biſhop elect or archbiſhop refuſe to obey the contents of this act, they ſhall be liable to the penalty of præmunire. Moreover all perſons were expreſly forbid to apply to the biſhop of Rome for bulls, palls, and the like.

By a third article, were aboliſhed Peter-pence, all procurations, delegations, expeditions of bulls, and diſpenſations coming from the court of Rome; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury was appointed to grant all ſuch diſpenſations, &c. as ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, on condition that part of the money thence ariſing ſhall be paid into the king's exchequer [x]. Moreover, all religious houſes, exempt and not exempt, ſhould be ſubject to the archbiſhop's viſitation [y].

By a fourth, it was enacted, that the king's marriage with Catherine, widow of his brother prince, Arthur, ſhould be held null and void, and that ſhe ſhould be reputed only princeſs dowager of Wales. On the contrary, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen is declared valid, and the ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled upon their iſſue. Moreover it is ſaid, that any perſon of what quality ſoever, who ſhall ſpeak or write againſt the king's marriage, ſhall be adjudged a traitor to the king and ſtate, and that all the king's ſubjects without diſtinction ſhall be obliged to ſwear they will obſerve and maintain the contents of this act. After this, follows a liſt of the marriages forbid by the law of God, among which is that of a man with his brother's widow; and it was enacted, that no ſuch marriages ſhould be allowed for the future, and that ſuch as were then in being ſhould be diſſolved.

Thus was the papal authority aboliſhed in England by act of parliament. Indeed there were few biſhops and abbots preſent when the act paſſed [z]. However, there was but one ſingle biſhop who refuſed to ſet his name to it, becauſe they made a great difference between ſubmitting to an act paſſed by a lawful authority, and giving their vote for it. The generality of the people expreſſed great joy to ſee themſelves freed from a yoke which neither they nor their forefathers could bear. None but the monks exclaimed againſt it, and drew upon themſelves the king's indignation, the effects whereof they afterwards felt. Thoſe who wiſhed for the reformation, were highly pleaſed to ſee the main obſtacle removed, believing the reſt would quickly follow. But this reformation, which they ſo impatiently expected, made not in this reign all the progreſs they imagined they had reaſon to hope.

The parliament breaking up the 30th of March [a], after all the members had ſworn to obſerve what was enjoined in the fore-mentioned act, the king ſent commiſſioners throughout the kingdom to adminiſter the ſame oath to all his ſubjects. The collection of the Public Acts contains the oaths of ſeveral abbots and friers, of all orders, to this effect: that they would be faithful to the king, the queen, their heirs and ſucceſſors; that they owned the king for ſupreme head of the church of England; that the biſhop of Rome has no more juriſdiction than any other biſhop; that they renounced his obedience; that they would preach ſincerely doctrines agreeable to the holy ſcriptures; that in their prayers they would pray, firſt for the king, as ſupreme head of the church of England, then for the queen and her iſſue, and, laſtly, for the archbiſhop of Canterbury [b]. Some time after, Lee, archbiſhop of York, certified by a writing of the 5th of May,

prieſt, who hoped to draw great advantages from it, to pretend to prophecy and ſupernatural impulſe. Whereupon he taught her to counterfeit trances, and to utter ſpeeches againſt the wickedneſs of the times, particularly againſt hereſy and innovation. At length ſhe gave out, that on ſuch a day ſhe ſhould be perfectly cured, if ſhe went in pilgrimage to the image of the bleſſed virgin, in a chapel within the pariſh of Aldington, the reputation whereof the crafty prieſt had a mind to raiſe. On the day appointed, above two thouſand people were gathered together to ſee the miraculous cure. Being brought to the chapel, ſhe fell into one of her fits, and ſpoke many words of great piety, ſaying, that by the inſpiration of God, ſhe was called to be a nun, and that doctor Bocking (a canon of Chriſt-church in Canterbury, an aſſociate of the prieſt's) was to be her ghoſtly father. Preſently after ſhe ſeemed, by the interceſſion of our lady, to be perfectly recovered, and afterwards became a nun in the priory of St. Sepulchre's, in Canterbury, where Bocking frequently viſited her. He, with ſome others, being apprehenſive the king's marriage with Anne Bullen might be detrimental to the popiſh religion, perſuaded the nun to menace the king with death. The friers that were in the conſpiracy, had agreed to publiſh theſe revelations in their ſermons up and down the kingdom. They had given notice of them to the pope's embaſſadors, and brought the maid to declare her revelations to them. They had alſo ſent an account to queen Catherine, for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the laws. The king, who had deſpiſed the thing long, ordered, that in November the laſt year, the maid and her accompliçes ſhould be brought into the Star Chamber, where, before many lords, they all without rack or torture confeſſed the whole cheat, and were adjudged to ſtand in St. Paul's all the ſermon time, after which, every one on the Sunday following read his confeſſion openly before the people. Then they were carried to the Tower, where they lay till the ſeſſion of parliament. The matter being brought before the houſe, the nun, Richard Maſter, doctor Bocking, Richard Dering, Henry Gold, a London miniſter, Richard Riſby, were attainted of high treaſon, and executed at Tyburn, April 21. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Abel, and four more, were adjudged guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and chattels to the king, and to be impriſoned during pleaſure. The wicked deſigns of this impoſture did much alienate people from the intereſt of Rome, and made the other acts both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the viſions and miracles by which religious orders had raiſed their credit, were of the ſame nature; and it made way for the deſtroying of all the monaſteries in England. Biſhop Fiſher pleaded in his excuſe, that all he did was only to try whether her revelations were true. And for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the king, he thought it needleſs to ſay any thing, becauſe ſhe (as ſhe ſaid) had told it to the king herſelf. So he

refuſed to make any ſubmiſſion; and yet it does not appear that the king proceeded againſt him upon this act. See Hall, fol. 219, &c. Stow, p. 570. Burnet, tom. I. p. 150, &c.

[w] From Edward Karne, and William Revet, who were employed to ſolicit this important buſineſs. Herbert, p. 173.

[x] All diſpenſations formerly taxed at or above four pounds, ſhould be alſo confirmed under the great ſeal.

[y] All monaſteries, &c. heretofore exempt from the archbiſhop's viſitation, were ſtill to be ſo, and ſuch abbies whoſe elections were formerly confirmed by the pope, were now to be confirmed by the king. See the act, being 21 in the Statute book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

[z] There were preſent only the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Bath and Wells, Landaffe, and Carliſle, with twelve abbots. Burnet, tom. I. p. 144.

[a] Beſides the acts mentioned above, there were others of ſome importance made; namely, 1. That perſons indicted of petit treaſon, wilful murder, robbery, or other felony, and upon their arraignment ſtanding mute, or peremptorily challenging above twenty of the jury, or elſe refuſing to anſwer directly to their indictments, ſhall not have the benefit of the clergy. 2. By another, the deteſtable vice of buggery was adjudged felony. 3. There was alſo an act made to prevent the deſtroying of wild fowl, whereby it was enjoined that none ſhould be taken from the laſt day of May to the laſt of Auguſt, upon pain of one year's impriſonment. 4. Whereas ſome people had gathered into few hands ſeveral farms, and great plenty of cattle, particularly ſheep, ſome to the number of twenty thouſand, whereby the rents of lands were not only increaſed, but alſo tillage very much decayed, ſome churches and towns had been pulled down, and the price of corn, cattle, &c. exceſſively enhanced; it was therefore enacted, that no man ſhould keep above two thouſand ſheep at one time, and not hold above two farms at once, and thoſe to be in the pariſh where he lives. 5. That no man ſhould buy bound books brought from beyond ſea, nor buy any ſuch by retail. See Statut. 25. Hen. VIII.

[b] Gardiner wrote to Cromwell from Wincheſter, the 6th of May, that the lord Audley and others, with all the abbots, priors, wardens, and curates, within the ſhire, had taken the oath. The forms in which they did it are not known. for though they were enrolled, yet, in queen Mary's days, Bonner and others were commiſſioned to examine the records, and raze out all things done either in contempt of the ſee of Rome, or the defamation of religious houſes. However, two of the ſubſcriptions of religious orders, dated May 4, 1534, eſcaped their diligence. One is by the abbies, the other by the prioreſs and convent of the Dominican nuns at Deptford. See Burnet's collection, N. 50. vol. I.

A-

that in the convocation of his province it was declared the pope had no more power in England than any other biſhop. Only John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas Mere, late chancellor, refuſed to ſign the act of parliament, which contained three principal articles: the ſucceſſion of the crown; the nullity of the king's firſt marriage, with the validity of the ſecond; and the aboliſhment of the papal authority. They offered to ſign the firſt article; but for the other two, they ſaid, their conſcience would not ſuffer them to conſent to them; whereupon they were committed to the Tower [c].

Whilſt theſe oaths were adminiſtering throughout the kingdom, the king ſent the archbiſhop of York and the biſhop of Durham [d] to tell Catherine, ſhe muſt forbear aſſuming the title of queen, and lay before her the reaſons that moved the parliament to deprive her of it. But ſhe replied, ſhe believed her marriage with the king good and lawful, and ſhould hold it as ſuch to her dying day: that ſhe had never conſummated her marriage with prince Arthur; and they who affirmed it, ſpoke not the truth; that ſhe was not bound to ſubmit to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's ſentence, ſince the pope had nulled it and decreed the contrary [e]: that the king's marriage with Anne was not valid, as being made during the appeal: that ſhe was not obliged to ſubmit to the acts of the parliament, not being the king's ſubject, but his wife: that beſides, theſe acts were made by the king's ſubjects, upon an affair wherein he was party.

Though Henry would have been very glad of Catherine's ſubmiſſion to what the parliament had enacted, it was not her obſtinacy that gave him the moſt uneaſineſs. The emperor having undertaken to execute the pope's ſentence, Henry was naturally to expect to be attacked by that powerful enemy. In order therefore to prevent him, or to put himſelf in a ſtate of defence, he deſired to make a league with the king of France by a new treaty, which would render their union more effectual for their common defence. Francis ſeemed very ready to comply, but meant that all the terms ſhould be to his advantage, and to make Henry ſubſervient to his deſigns elſewhere. He had ſtill an eye upon the duchy of Milan, as upon what belonged to him of right, and had been unjuſtly taken from him, and deſigned to recover it, though he had expreſly renounced it by the treaty of Cambray. To that end he had ſacrificed the honour of his houſe, in marrying his ſecond ſon to a baſtard branch of the family of the Medici, becauſe he did not think he could proceed without the pope. But on the other hand, he was afraid of loſing the fruit of that alliance, by uniting too cloſely with the king of England, whom the pope could now conſider but as an open enemy. In this perplexity, he endeavoured to perſuade Henry to act only privately, by ſending large ſums to the German proteſtants to foment the diſſention between them and the emperor, and embroil him ſo, as to hinder him from thinking of Italy. Henry did not abſolutely reject the propoſal. He was very willing to aſſiſt the proteſtants with a good ſum of money; but pretended withal that Francis ſhould attack Navarre with a powerful army, whilſt on his part he carried war into Flanders. But Francis could not reſolve to join ſo openly with England, for fear of offending the pope. Beſides he turned all his thoughts to the Milaneſe, where an accident about the end of the laſt year gave him an opportunity to carry his arms. As this accident was the occaſion or pretence of a new war between the emperor and the king of France, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention it.

Franceſco Sforza was no ſooner reſtored to Milan upon very hard terms, but he wiſhed to be freed from the emperor's yoke, and the obligation to pay him the ſum he had promiſed. Francis having ſome knowledge of Sforza's diſpoſition, believed he ſhould cheriſh it, in hopes of reaping by it one day ſome advantage. But as Sforza greatly feared to give the emperor ſuſpicion, and conſequently the affair was to be managed very privately, Francis found means to keep at Milan an envoy, who could not be ſuſpected. He choſe for that purpoſe a Milaneſe gentleman, called Marveilles, who having been formerly baniſhed from Milan by Ludovico the Black, had lived in France ever ſince. The troubles of the Milaneſe being entirely ended by the peace of Cambray, Merveilles returned home with a letter of credence for the duke, to which the duke ſent an anſwer, receiving the gentleman as envoy of France, though in public he treated him not as ſuch. However ſecret Merveilles's negotiation might be, the emperor had ſome notice of it, and made great complaints to the duke, who, to remove all ſuſpicion, reſolved to ſacrifice to him this envoy. Accordingly, he ſuborned a perſon to quarrel with Merveilles, which ended in the murder of the party employed, who was killed by Merveilles's ſervants, without, however, their maſter's being preſent. Whereupon Merveilles was committed to priſon, and two days after beheaded, without any one being ſuffered to ſpeak with him. Francis hearing of it, wrote a menacing letter to the duke, and acquainted all his allies with what had happened. The duke would have excuſed himſelf, by denying that Merveilles was at Milan as envoy. What he ſaid was true in reſpect to the public. But he could not diſown his own letter to the king in anſwer to the letter of credence. When the French embaſſador informed the emperor of the outrage committed at Milan upon Merveilles, he coldly anſwered, he could not conceive how the king of France could be affected with the death of a ſubject of the duke of Milan, whom his ſovereign had puniſhed according to his deſerts. This anſwer made the king believe the emperor was concerned in Merveilles's death, which was a freſh cauſe of diſguſt, and inflamed his deſire of revenge. But, on the other hand, he was not ſorry the ſatisfaction he demanded was refuſed, becauſe he intended to take occaſion from thence to enter the Milaneſe ſword in hand. To that purpoſe, he ordered a levy of lanſquenets in Germany, and demanded paſſage of the duke of Savoy to go and chaſtiſe the duke of Milan. But that prince, fearing to diſpleaſe the emperor, would not grant it. For which reaſon Francis, who could not enter the Milaneſe but by paſſing through the duke of Savoy's dominions, reſolved to make war upon him, uſing for pretence certain claims he had in right of Louiſa, his mother, to the inheritance of the late duke of Savoy. Till every thing was ready to begin the war, he ſpent the whole year in divers negotiations, tending to create the emperor troubles, and diſable him to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy.

Whilſt Francis was thus employed, the ſituation of the affairs of Italy was changed by the death of Clement VII. who was carried off by a fit of ſickneſs the 26th of September. The 12th of October following, cardinal Farneſe was choſen pope, and aſſumed the name of Paul III.

There were likewiſe this year in Germany ſome alterations, which put the affairs of the proteſtants in a tolerable ſituation. The landgrave of Heſſe defeated king Ferdinand's army, commanded by the count Palatine, and reſtored the duke of Wirtemberg to his dominions. Ferdinand, not being able any longer to reſiſt the landgrave, was forced to agree to the duke's reſtoration; but withal obtained, that both the duke and the landgrave ſhould acknowledge him for king of the Romans. Shortly after, the elector of Saxony acknowledged him alſo, having firſt got a promiſe from him, that he would not ſuffer any perſon to be moleſted in the empire on the account of religion.

Clement VIIth's death cauſed no alteration in the meaſures taken by the court of England to ſhake off entirely the papal yoke. Matters had been carried too far ever to recede. Beſides, the king having not much to fear from abroad, by reaſon of the troubles the emperor was like to be involved in, and his ſubjects being inclined to ſupport him, it would have been imprudent to neglect ſo favourable a juncture, and

[c] At a meeting of the privy council at Lambeth, many were cited to take the oath. More was firſt called, and the oath being tendered him, he replied, after having conſidered the act, he would neither blame thoſe that made it, nor thoſe that ſwore the oath: but for his part, though he was willing to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, if he might be ſuffered to draw up the oath himſelf, yet for the oath that was offered him, his conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not, without hazarding his ſoul, take it. Upon which, being deſired to withdraw, others were called upon, and did all take the oath, except Fiſher, who anſwered in almoſt the ſame manner as More had done. Then More was again brought in, and they ſhewed him how many had taken it; he ſaid, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Being aſked the reaſon, he replied, he feared it might provoke the king the more againſt him, if he ſhould offer reaſons, which would be called diſputing againſt law: but however, if the king would command him to do it, he would put them in writing. Cranmer urged him with this argument, that ſince he blamed not others for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſuaded it was a ſin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did know certainly he ought to obey the king and the law; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding his doubtings. He anſwered, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide, and offered to purge himſelf by oath that it was purely out of conſcience that he refuſed it. The abbot of Weſtminſter preſſed him, (with an argument too often uſed in the like caſes) that he might ſee his conſcience was erroneous, ſince the great council of the realm was of another mind. Cranmer, in a letter to Cromwell, earneſtly preſſed to accept the oath as More and Fiſher offered; for if they once ſwore to the ſucceſſion, it would quiet the kingdom, ſince all others would aſquieſce and ſubmit to the judgments of ſo great men. But this ſage advice was not followed Burnet, vol. I. p. 156. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 174.

[d] Edward Lee, and Cuthbert Tunſtal: they waited upon Catherine at Bugden, near Huntingdon. Herbert, p. 175.

[e] Adding, that ſhe would never leave the name of a queen, but always take herſelf for king Henry's wife. Herbert, p. 175.

leave his work unfiniſhed. So the parliament meeting the 3d of November, paſſed ſeveral material acts, of which it will ſuffice to relate the ſubſtance, in order to ſhew they all tended to the ſame point, that is, to break all the bonds which had ſerved to hold the Engliſh in ſubjection to the popes.

The firſt act confirmed the king's title of ſupreme head of the church of England, already given him by the clergy [f]. Though Henry had very willingly accepted this title from the clergy, nay, had not left them the liberty to refuſe it, he ſeemed, however, to doubt whether he ſhould receive it when offered by the parliament. He was pleaſed firſt to adviſe with his council, and conſult ſome of the biſhops, whether out of ſcruple, or to ſhew it was not extorted. They whom he conſulted having ſatisfied him that the authority aſſumed by the biſhop of Rome over the whole church had no foundation in ſcripture, he baniſhed all his ſcruples, if it be true that he had any, and from thenceforward took all occaſions to improve the prerogatives which flowed from this new title.

By the ſecond act, it was declared treaſon to ſpeak, write, or imagine any thing againſt the king or queen [g].

The third, debarred perſons accuſed of treaſon of the benefit of ſanctuary.

By a fourth, the parliament preſcribed a form of oath concerning the ſucceſſion, to be taken by all the king's ſubjects, and annulled all former oaths upon that head.

The fifth, was very grievous to the clergy, as it gave the king the annates and firſt fruits of the benefices; whereas by the act already paſſed, the eccleſiaſtics were in hopes of being ever freed from that burthen. Moreover, by the ſame act the yearly revenue of the tenth part of all livings was granted to the king [h].

By a ſixth ſtatute, proviſion was made for twenty-five ſuffragan biſhops, each of whom was to depend on his dioceſan, who was to preſent two to the king, for him to chooſe one. Thus was revived in the church of England the uſe of Chorepiſcopi, introduced into the primitive church, but afterwards diſcontinued for ſeveral centuries [i].

Laſtly, The parliament condemned Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, to perpetual impriſonment, and confiſcated all their eſtates, for refuſing to take the oath enjoined by the act of the former ſeſſion. This ſentence was conſidered by ſome as very unjuſt, whilſt others admired in the ſame the effects of God's juſtice upon perſons that had been violent perſecutors of the Lutherans.

Before the parliament broke up, the king granted a general pardon; from which, however, Fiſher and More were excluded [k].

Shortly after, the king iſſued out a proclamation, forbiding to give the biſhop of Rome the name of pope, and commanded that name to be razed out of all books, to deſtroy the remembrance of it if poſſible. Then the biſhops voluntarily ſwore to renounce expreſly all obedience to the biſhop of Rome. Gardiner, now biſhop of Wincheſter, was not the laſt to take this oath, though in his ſoul he abhorred it as very unjuſt; but a blind condeſcenſion for the king in this reſpect was then the only means to preſerve his favour. Beſides, Gardiner was thereby enabled to croſs upon other points the reformers, who daily gained ground [l].

It was not only in Germany that the reformation had made ſome progreſs, but alſo in many other places. In England it had been countenanced in ſome meaſure by cardinal Wolſey, as during his miniſtry, no perſon was proſecuted for hereſy; though the clergy wanted not occaſions to exerciſe their uſual ſeverities, had they been left to take their own courſe. After Wolſey's diſgrace, ſir Thomas More, being made chancellor, perſuaded the king, that what did him the moſt injury at the court of Rome, was the report of his being a favourer of the innovators, and to remove this falſe imputation, the moſt infallible way was to ſhew a zeal for religion. Henry following this advice, ordered the laws againſt heretics to be rigorouſly executed, and very ſtrictly prohibited the importing any of their books into the kingdom. But this prohibition was not capable of hindering ſome of Luther's treatiſes from being brought into England with Tindal's tranſlation of the New Teſtament, who was retired into Flanders. The biſhop of London having notice of it, cauſed ſome copies to be ſeized, and publicly burnt by the hangman [m]. But this was ſo far from injuring the reformation, that it rather turned to its advantage. Many perſons, full of indignation at this impious act, inferred that the ſcriptures were contrary to the religion generally profeſſed, ſince the clergy took ſuch care to hinder the bible from being read, and that alone raiſed their curioſity to read. On the other hand, the diſlike the Engliſh had taken to the pope, greatly increaſed by the reading of the Lutheran writings.

As the reformation gained ground, the zeal of its enemies was inflamed againſt ſuch as embraced it. Whilſt More was chancellor, he ſpared no pains to deſtroy them utterly. Many ſuffered martyrdom [n] with a wonderful conſtancy, which very much contributed to ſtrengthen their brethren. At length, the king having to manage the German proteſtants, becauſe he might afterwards want them, ſuſpended More's perſecution. On the other hand, Anne Bullen very much mollified the king in that reſpect. Archbiſhop Cranmer contributed to it likewiſe to the utmoſt of his power; and Thomas Cromwell, now in great eſteem with the king, ſeconded their endeavours ſo far as in him lay [o]. But they had a ſtrong party againſt them, conſiſting of the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, Longland biſhop of Lincoln, almoſt all the churchmen who had any acceſs to the court, and thoſe who when they preached before the king filled their ſermons with invectives againſt the reformation. All theſe had gained Henry's confidence by their compliance in the affair of the divorce and the ſupremacy, though in the laſt they acted contrary to their ſentiments. By this condeſcenſion, they were enabled effectually to oppoſe the reformers in all the articles which concerned not the pope, and eſpecially in that of the real preſence, which the king deemed unqueſtionable, and thought ſo all his life. In ſpite of all this, the heads of the reformed deſpaired not of inclining him by degrees to a farther reformation, becauſe of the connection the articles of religion have one with another. Beſides, their party grew ſtronger every day, by the junction of ſuch as read the holy ſcriptures and the religious books which were handed about, notwithſtanding the king's prohibition. Nothing ſhews more the num-

[f] And declared that the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, ſhall have full power and authority to viſit, reform, and reſtrain all ſuch errors, hereſies, abuſes, and offences, which, by any manner of ſpiritual juriſdiction, ought to be reformed. See Statut.

[g] Or to call the king heretic, ſchiſmatic, tyrant, infidel, or uſurper; which opprobrious names ſome inſolent friers were very liberal of.

[h] To be paid between Chriſtmas and the 1ſt of April. It was ordered in this act, that the chancellor of England ſhould direct, into every dioceſe in the realm, commiſſions, in the king's name, under his great ſeal, as well to the archbiſhop and biſhop of every dioceſe, as to ſuch other perſons as the king ſhould appoint; to examine, ſearch, and require, by all ways and means, the true, juſt, and whole yearly value of all the manors, lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, tithes, offerings, emoluments, and all other profits, as well ſpiritual as temporal, belonging to any archbiſhopric, biſhopric, archdeaconry, deanry, hoſpital, college, prebend, cathedral, or collegiate church, parſonage, vicarage, free chapel, or any other benefices or promotion ſpiritual. Accordingly, ſeveral commiſſioners were appointed for each county, with whom were joined the biſhops of the reſpective dioceſes, and a certain number of auditors. The valuations that were thus taken by theſe commiſſioners, were all returned to Cromwell, maſter of the rolls; and according to them have the firſt fruits been paid ever ſince. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 211.

[i] The towns appointed for ſuffragan ſees were Thetford, Ipſwich, Colcheſter, Dover, Guilford, Southampton, Taunton, Shaftſbury, Molton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leiceſter, Glouceſter, Shrewſbury, Briſtol, Penreth, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Pereth, and Berwick, St. Germans, and the Iſle of Wight. They were to exerciſe ſuch juriſdiction as the biſhop of the dioceſe ſhould give to them; but their authority was to laſt no longer than the biſhop continued his commiſſion to them. In Burnet's collection, N. 51, vol. I. the reader may ſee a writ for making a ſuffragan biſhop.

[k] This parliament granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, to be paid in three years. There had been no ſubſidy granted for twelve years before. Burnet, tom. I. p. 158.

[l] This year, on the 11th of Auguſt, the monaſteries of Obſervant Friers at Canterbury, Greenwich, and Richmond, Newark and Newcaſtle, were ſuppreſſed, and Auguſtan Friers (according to ſome) put in their room; though others mention not this exchange. See Stow, p. 571. Herbert, p. 178.

[m] Tunſtal, biſhop of London, being at Antwerp (where Tindal was) in 1529, as he returned from his embaſſy at the treaty of Cambray, ſent for one Packington, an Engliſh merchant, and deſired to ſee how many of Tindal's New Teſtaments he might have for money. Packington acquainted Tindal with what the biſhop propoſed. Tindal was very glad of it, for he was then deſigning a new and more correct edition; but being poor, and the former impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it. So, giving Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, the biſhop paid for them, and brought them over and burnt them in Cheapſide. Next year, when the ſecond edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and chancellor More enquiring of one Conſtantine, who it was that encouraged and ſupported them at Antwerp, was told, that the greateſt encouragement they had was from the biſhop of London, who bought up half the old impreſſion. This made all that heard it, laugh heartily. William Tindal, born on the borders of Wales, and brought up at Oxford, was afterwards burnt in 1536, at Filford, eighteen miles from Antwerp, crying out at the ſtake, Lord, open the king of England's eyes. Hall, fol. 186, 227. Fox. Burnet, T. I. p. 159.

[n] As T. Hitton, in 1530, beſides Bilney and the reſt mentioned above, p. 793; as alſo John Tewkſbury, &c. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 162, &c. Fox, tom. II.

[o] He was, on April 12, appointed chancellor of the exchequer. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 456, and on the 21ſt of September, this ſame year, maſter of the rolls. Stow, p. 571.

October

London Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England.

THOMAS CROMWELL.
Earl of Eſsex.

Holben Pinx. *I. Abſolam Sculp.*

In the Poſſeſsion of
Edward Southwell Esq.r

Publiſhed as the Act directs July 26. 1784

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London, Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin

CHARLES LORD TALBOT.
Lord High Chancellor.

Vandebank Pinx.

Goldar Sculp.

In the Possession of the Rt. Hon.ble Wm. Lord Talbot.

Published as the Act directs Novr. 1786.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

ber and ſtrength of that party, than the readineſs wherewith the parliament paſſed the acts which tended to leſſen the clergy's power, and ſhake off the papal yoke.

The reformation made likewiſe ſome progreſs in France: the king himſelf expreſſed an inclination for the doctrine of the proteſtants, which was privately countenanced by his ſiſter Margaret queen of Navarre. But the cardinals of Tournon and Lorrain, who were in great credit with Francis, diſſuaded him from it ſo earneſtly, that they gained him at laſt, nay, made him a violent perſecutor.

Before I cloſe what relates to the events of the year 1534, I muſt not forget to mention, that a twelve months truce, concluded the laſt year [p] between England and Scotland, was turned into a peace the 11th of May this year. By the treaty, the peace was to laſt till the death of one of the two kings, and Henry might without breaking it keep the Douglaſſes in England.

[1535] In the beginning of the year 1535, Francis I. ſent an embaſſy to Henry, under colour of diſcharging the duty of a good friend and ally, but in reality to try to deceive him, by feigning to acquaint him with his ſecrets, and aſk his advice. The occaſion of the embaſſy was this: the emperor having reſolved to carry his arms into Africa, had a mind to amuſe Francis, leſt in his abſence he ſhould attack the duke of Savoy, and ſo open the way to the duchy of Milan, as he ſeemed to intend. To that purpoſe, he had diſpatched an embaſſador to him, with orders to propoſe a marriage between his third daughter and Philip prince of Spain, and another between the dauphin and Mary, daughter of Henry and Catherine of Arragon. Moreover, he had offered him a penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns for the duke of Orleans upon the duchy of Milan, and the duchy itſelf, after the death of Franceſco Sforza, who had no heirs. It was evident theſe overtures were deſigned only to amuſe Francis, who conſidered them himſelf upon no other foot. Nevertheleſs, he imagined they would ſerve to procure him ſome advantage from Henry, if he let him know he was courted by the emperor. To that end, he ſent into England admiral Chabot Seigneur de Brion, on pretence to adviſe with the king upon theſe offers. But his chief aim was to make him uneaſy, and induce him to offer ſome advantageous propoſals. It appeared in the ſequel, he would have perſuaded him to things which were very far from his thoughts. The admiral having diſcharged his commiſſion, Henry anſwered, he much wondered the emperor ſhould pretend to marry his daughter, over whom he neither had nor ever ſhould have any right or power; that it was manifeſt he only ſought to break the union between France and England, and therefore he hoped the king of France would not be ſo much his own enemy as to hearken to ſuch overtures. Shortly after, he ſent orders to his embaſſador at Paris [q] to tell Francis he would give Elizabeth, his daughter and heir, to the duke of Angoulême, his third ſon, upon the following conditions: that Francis himſelf, his three ſons, the princes of the blood, the principal nobility of France, the parliaments and univerſities, ſhould ſolemnly promiſe to cauſe to be revoked the ſentence given againſt him by the biſhop of Rome: that the duke of Angoulême ſhould be ſent into England to be educated: that in caſe by his marriage he ſhould come to the crown of England, the duchy of Angoulême ſhould be independent of the crown of France. Theſe conditions were afterwards mitigated, and Francis I. ſeemed to agree to them. But he required, in his turn, that Henry ſhould aſſiſt him in the war of Savoy, and forgive him the perpetual annuity of a hundred thouſand crowns, which he was bound to pay by a treaty. Henry, perceiving Francis's inſincerity, told the admiral, that, inſtead of forgiving the penſion, he expected the king his maſter ſhould pay the arrears, and clear by the time appointed all his other debts. This anſwer put an end to the negotiation, which probably was undertaken only to ſound Henry concerning the penſion.

Francis's grand deſign was to recover the duchy of Milan, under pretence of revenging the affront done him by Sforza. But, to execute this project, it was neceſſary to raiſe the emperor troubles, which would hinder him from aſſiſting that duchy. There were four ſeveral quarters from whence he hoped to embroil the emperor: Firſt, from the pope and the princes of Italy; ſecondly, in Germany, by means of the league of Smalcald; thirdly, by fomenting diſcord between the king of England and the emperor; laſtly, by drawing the Turks into Germany. In order to all this, he had married his ſon, the duke of Orleans, to Catherine de Medici; lodged a hundred thouſand crowns in the hands of the duke of Bavaria, to be ready upon occaſion; perſuaded Henry to end the affair of the divorce in the manner we have ſeen; and had ſecret agents at Conſtantinople to treat of an alliance with Soliman, emperor of the Turks. But moſt of theſe expedients, which he thought infallible, had proved unſucceſsful. The firſt had miſcarried by the death of Clement VII. and by the election of a new pope, whom it was not eaſy to gain to his intereſt. The king of the Romans had fruſtrated the ſecond, by agreeing with the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wirtemberg. As for the third, he could not hope much from thence, becauſe the king of England's intention was not to make war upon the emperor, but only to ſtand upon the defenſive. Conſequently it was in the emperor's power to keep him quiet by not attacking him firſt. The Turks therefore alone could properly be ſubſervient to his deſigns. But, to rely upon them, it was neceſſary to commence the war in Italy, otherwiſe it was not likely Soliman would be perſuaded to begin it in Hungary. Upon that account, he continued at Conſtantinople a negotiation, which was diſcovered by a letter, intercepted by the duke of Urbino, who ſent it immediately to the emperor. Mean while, Francis ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution to attack the duke of Savoy, and open a paſſage to the Milaneſe. He reckoned the peace of Germany could not hold long; that the emperor and Henry would never live in a good underſtanding; and that, when once the war was begun, the pope, the potentates of Italy, and the king of England, would readily aſſiſt to reduce the power of the houſe of Auſtria within due bounds. Above all, he depended upon the princes of the league of Smalcald, fancying they would embrace this opportunity to free themſelves from their uneaſineſs, cauſed by the advancement of that houſe. To that end he continued his intrigues with them, and pretended to be ſo far inclined to their religion, that he was going to invite Melancthon into France to confer with him: but withal, he plainly ſhewed he acted only upon political views, ſince he cauſed to be burnt in France thoſe that ſeparated from the church of Rome. Mean while, as there was ſome difference between Luther and Calvin about religion, and as thoſe that were burnt in France were Calviniſts, the rigid Lutherans, not conſidering them as their brethren, imagined Francis might treat them with the utmoſt ſeverity, without loſing his regard for the Lutheran religion. Francis, reſolving to uſe his endeavours to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, attacked the duke of Savoy, and in the firſt campaign took from him Savoy and la Breſſe.

Whilſt Francis was labouring to accompliſh his deſigns, Charles V. was forming vaſt projects, which tended to no leſs than eſtabliſhing his dominion over all Europe. Indeed, France and England, being cloſely united together, could have oppoſed a ſtrong fence againſt his ambition: but he did not deſpair to diſunite them in the end. That was his chief care, whilſt on the one hand he excited the Iriſh to rebellion, and the king of Scotland to a rupture with England. But, whilſt he was endeavouring to embroil his enemies, in hopes of finding his account in it, he was himſelf uneaſy with regard to Soliman, who threatened Germany, under colour of ſupporting the intereſts of John de Zapol, whom he had cauſed to be crowned king of Hungary. On the other hand, he ſaw with extreme concern the great progreſs of Haradin Barbaroſſa, the famous corſair, who, after expelling Muley Haſſem, had made himſelf king of Tunis. Such a neighbour could not but diſquiet him, becauſe, to hinder him from ravaging the coaſts of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, it would have been neceſſary conſtantly to maintain a fleet in the Mediterranean, which could not be done without a great expence, and this would have diſconcerted his other projects. So, conſidering the war he had reſolved to wage with Haradin as the moſt urgent affair, he made this ſummer an expedition into Africa, where he took the fort of la Goulette; after which, he became maſter of Tunis, and reſtored Muley Haſſem.

Henry gladly ſaw the emperor engaging in wars, which probably would keep him long employed. Whereupon he reſolved to improve this interval, to complete the regulation of his domeſtic affairs, which were yet in a very doubtful ſtate. He had aboliſhed the papal authority, and been declared ſupreme head of the church of England by acts of parliament; but though, by the conſtitution of the government, theſe acts ſeemed to be above all contradiction, it was, however, but too true, that this was not ſufficient. As religion was concerned, and conſcience cannot be compelled, the ſtatutes themſelves wanted to be ſupported by force, that an outward obedience at leaſt might be paid them. It is certain the uniformity which appeared in the

[p] October 1. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 480.
[q] Sir John Wallop. There were moreover ſent upon this occaſion, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Ely, ſir William Fitzwilliam, and doctor Fox. Herbert, p. 179. Hall, fol. 226.

At

determinations of the parliament and clergy, was in many the effect of fear rather than of inward perſuaſion. Nay ſome, as Fiſher and More, were ſo hardy as openly to diſapprove theſe ordinances, and notwithſtanding the ſeverity exerciſed upon them, ſtill perſiſted in the ſame opinion. It is true, theſe inſtances of rigour to perſons of ſuch diſtinction, made people ſilent, but were not capable of convincing them of the reaſonableneſs of the ſtatutes. Thus, though the king found no public oppoſition, it was eaſy for him to ſee, that an obedience proceeding from fear could laſt no longer than compulſion ſubſiſted. On the other hand, he beheld with concern the triumph of the proteſtants, who imagined, that after aboliſhing the papal authority, he was going to renounce all the errors they combated, though nothing was farther from his thoughts. Mean while, it was every where publiſhed, that he was upon the point of forſaking the antient religion: ſome aſſerting it, out of malice, to render him odious; and others, becauſe they wiſhed it. To clear himſelf, therefore, from theſe imputations, at the very time he refuſed to recognize the pope's authority, he ordered thoſe who were called ſacramentarians to be burnt. By this conduct he made himſelf hateful to the catholics and proteſtants. As for the proteſtants, he bore their ill-will without much concern: beſides, that he feared them not, he approved, in their doctrine, the articles only that oppoſe the papal authority, and their ſentiments of the friers, with whom he was extremely incenſed, becauſe they laboured with all their power to alienate from him the affections of his people. It is true, he valued and loved Cranmer and Cromwell, with ſome others, who countenanced the reformation; but he did not look upon them as proteſtants. He believed them men of ſolid virtue and piety, who, preſerving the eſſential doctrines of religion, were deſirous of reforming the abuſes crept into the church; but, as among theſe abuſes, he himſelf acknowledged only what concerned the pope and the friers, he imagined the reformers kept within the ſame bounds. They who perfectly knew him, took care not to diſcover all their thoughts; but, by conforming themſelves to his ſentiments on theſe two articles, they hoped to induce him by degrees to advance the reformation, when, by their pains, he ſhould become more enlightened. For which reaſon the reformation began in England with theſe two points. As to the others, which had no relation to theſe, they were not meddled with during this reign, or at leaſt, but ſlightly. The reaſon is, becauſe Henry would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go greater lengths than himſelf. But to ſpeak the truth, his underſtanding was always directed by his intereſt. If all the changes made in religion in his reign be examined, they will all be found to concur directly to eſtabliſh an abſolute power over his ſubjects. That was ever the principal, and perhaps the ſole motive of his proceedings, when he perceived the rupture with Rome to be an admirable means to that end. Hence the enemies of the reformation take occaſion to ſay, it was true, if the perſon of Henry VIII. be only conſidered. But it does not follow, that they who promoted and embraced it acted upon the like motive. Beſides, what was the reformation in Henry VIIIth's days? Only a bare renouncing of the papal power, whilſt thoſe were burnt that would have carried it farther. So, let what will be ſaid of Henry's perſon, and his motives to throw off the papal yoke, I do not ſee that the proteſtants are much concerned to undertake his defence.

Henry, finding that many of his ſubjects approved not his conduct, would have been very glad to take from them the pretence they uſed, of the ſentence publiſhed againſt him by the pope. To that purpoſe he would have engaged all France to join with him in procuring a revocation. But that method was impracticable, and a reconciliation with the court of Rome no leſs ſo. He could never have reſolved to part with the title of head of the church of England, and the pope would never have conſented an agreement, unleſs things were reſtored to their antient ſtate. So Henry ſeeing himſelf obliged to purſue his point, reſolved to overcome by force, the obſtinacy of ſuch of his ſubjects as refuſed to ſubmit to the laws lately enacted. But on the other hand, deſiring to purge himſelf of the imputation of hereſy, wherewith he was charged, he affected to puniſh ſeverely thoſe that embraced the new opinions. In this ſort of medium, which pleaſed neither party, he paſſed the reſidue of his days. But this is ſaying too little. It muſt be further added, that conſidering himſelf as a pattern for his ſubjects; he compelled them to keep within the ſame bounds, and would not ſuffer them to believe more or leſs than himſelf.

It was impoſſible that after ſuch reſolution Henry ſhould not live in a continual miſtruſt of his ſubjects, which obliged him to have always an eye upon what paſſed in the kingdom. Moreover, he had likewiſe to guard againſt the emperor's attacks, who had openly threatened him. He was ſenſible, if he were once engaged in a war, thoſe that durſt not look him in the face during his proſperity, would not ſcruple to declare againſt him, if his arms were unſucceſsful. The king of Scotland, his nephew, was the perſon moſt to be feared. As for the king of France, who profeſſed himſelf his friend, and indeed was much obliged to him, he had ſhewn too plainly how ſelf-intereſted his friendſhip was to be relied on. They both intended to embroil the emperor, but with different views. Each meant to make his ally ſubſervient to his deſigns, and to improve the advantages which flowed from their union. Thus Henry ſaw no reſource but in his own ſubjects, among whom however there were many malcontents. But as he had acted for ſome time with great haughtineſs, he found, if he relaxed on this occaſion, it would certainly be aſcribed either to his ſcruples, or to a ſenſe of his weakneſs, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to him. This conſideration, joined to his ſtern and haughty temper, rendered him altogether untractable. From thenceforward he became fierce, cruel, inſenſible of his people's calamities, and executing without mercy, the laws dictated by himſelf to his parliament. In ſhort, he may, in ſome manner be ſaid, to be no longer the ſame king that had before reigned. All that can be alleged in his vindication, is, that he was often provoked by perſons, who, endeavouring to alienate the hearts of his ſubjects, attacked him in the moſt ſenſible part, becauſe his whole reliance was upon the aſſiſtance of his people.

It will doubtleſs be ſurpriſing to ſee in this reign the Engliſh ſo patient and ſubmiſſive to their ſovereign's pleaſure, that hardly do we find, from the beginning of the affair of the divorce, that the parliament refuſed him any thing, though his demands were very extraordinary. But it is eaſy to diſcover the reaſon. Religion was the ſole cauſe. The king, as it was obſerved, kept a ſort of medium with reſpect to religion. But as no man could believe it poſſible for him to remain long in that ſituation, thoſe who deſired the reformation, imagined they could not do better than comply with him in all things, to induce him to advance it by degrees. In like manner, the friends of the old religion, ſeeing ſuch beginnings, were afraid he would proceed, and their oppoſition would make him finiſh his work the ſooner. So, each party ſtriving to gain him to their intereſt, there reſulted for him an authority which none of his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed, and which he could not have uſurped in any other circumſtances, without hazarding his crown. But both parties were alike deceived. Henry kept in the ſame medium all the reſt of his life, and made them both feel the fatal effects of that abſolute power they had ſo eaſily ſuffered him to aſſume. It is true, he was always ſo prudent, as not to act contrary to law. But he made uſe of his power to procure ſuch laws as he pleaſed, and then executed them without mercy. This will frequently be ſeen in the ſequel. But after ſhewing Henry's character and motives, his actions muſt be related, which will confirm what has been obſerved.

Though the acts concerning the king's marriage and the papal power, bore the ſeal of the public authority, they were very far from being univerſally approved. As they were not aſcribed ſo much to the two houſes as to the king, on him it was that the whole blame was caſt. Among all the malcontents, the monks were the moſt open, by their attempts to blacken him in the minds of the people. They could not bear his ſetting himſelf up in the pope's place, whom they had always conſidered, and ſtill did conſider, as their true head, notwitſtanding the ſtatutes made againſt him. Theſe were the men that cauſed the pretended Kentiſh propheteſs to ſay, if the king put away queen Catherine, and married another, he ſhould die in a month, and come to a tragical end. A Franciſcan, named Peto, preaching before the king[r], was ſo hardy as to tell him to his face, "That God's judgments were ready to fall upon his head: that he was always ſurrounded with a croud of lying prophets, who foretold him good ſucceſs. But for himſelf, like another

[r] At Greenwich, where Henry reſided moſt in ſummer. The king bore Peto's inſolence patiently; but, to undeceive the people, procured Dr. Curwin to preach the next Sunday, who juſtified the king's proceedings, and condemned Peto as a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Peto was gone to Canterbury, but Elſton, another frier, of the ſame houſe, interrupted him, and ſaid, he was one of the lying prophets, that ſought by adultery to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion to the crown. And yet nothing more was done to theſe two friers, than that they were convened before the council, and rebuked for their inſolence. Stow, p. 562. Burnet, tom. I. p. 151.

They

Micaiah, he warned him that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's." The frier's inſolence, and the daily reports of the invectives which were every where ſpread againſt him, provoked him extremely againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe that had the boldneſs to ſpeak opprobriouſly of the acts of parliament. He was however very patient for ſome time, imagining that the people would at length be calmed. But when he ſaw they did not ceaſe to aſpire him with all ſorts of calumnies, he called a council to conſider how he ſhould behave towards thoſe who affected to contradict the laws and ſpeak evil of him. Some of the council were for taking notice of theſe offences, for fear too great a ſeverity ſhould have a quite contrary effect to what he deſired [s]. But others repreſented to him the ill conſequence of ſuch a conduct. They ſhewed him that theſe people's aim was to ſtir up the people againſt him, to give the biſhop of Rome opportunity to aſſert his pretended authority, and therefore they were for putting the laws in execution with the utmoſt rigour. The king himſelf was of this opinion, as moſt agreeable to his fierce and ſtern temper, which could not bear contradiction. Beſides, he ſaw to what he ſhould be reduced in the end, if his enemies ſucceeded in their deſign to render him odious to the people. It is not therefore very ſtrange, that, ſeeing himſelf thus provoked, he reſolved to treat with rigour thoſe who laboured with all their power to ruin him.

The reſolution being taken of executing the laws without mercy, certain priors, monks, and others, who had been too free with the new ſtatutes, were apprehended, tried, and executed, according to the utmoſt rigour of the ſame laws [t]. But at the ſame time, the king, fearing leſt this ſeverity ſhould be aſcribed to the inclination he was charged with for the new religion, affected to uſe the ſame rigour to thoſe who had openly embraced the reformation, and put them to death with the others. At laſt, to keep every one in awe by an example, which ſhould make the boldeſt tremble, he reſolved to deliver up to the rigour of the law Fiſher and More, then priſoners in the Tower [u]. To that end, Fiſher was required to take the oath of ſupremacy, it being ſuppoſed he would refuſe it, as he did indeed. About the ſame time Paul III. created him cardinal, though he had declared that if the cardinal's hat was laid at his feet, he would not ſtoop to take it up. But the pope, whoſe aim was to encourage ſuch as oppoſed the king, conferred, however, that dignity upon him, with the pompous elogy, that he conſidered him as the cardinal of cardinals. This unſeaſonable honour haſtened, in all likelihood, Fiſher's death, who, being condemned, was executed the 22d of June, a month after his being made cardinal, and ſome days before the hat, ſent him by the pope, came to London [w]. After that, Sir Thomas More, being required to take the ſame oath, refuſed to anſwer, ſaying, "The act of parliament is like a ſword with two edges; for, if a man anſwer one way, it will deſtroy the ſoul, and if he anſwer another, it will deſtroy the body." Upon his refuſal, he was condemned and executed. He was a man of great learning, and excellent parts, but ſo addicted to jeſting, that even the preſence of death could not make him lay aſide his uſual facetiouſneſs [x]. When, upon the point of being executed, he had laid his head on the block to receive the mortal blow, he perceived his beard was got under his chin; whereupon, haſtily riſing up, he bid the executioner ſtay a little, till he had put his beard aſide, ſince, having committed no treaſon, it was not juſt it ſhould be cut off [y].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, pope Paul III. ſtill kept ſome correſpondence with ſir Gregory Caſſali, who was at Rome, though without character. The pope earneſtly wiſhed that ſome expedient might be found to heal the breach made by Clement VII.'s too great precipitation, and conferred from time to time with Caſſali. But when news came of the execution of the monks, and of Fiſher and More, for denying the king's ſupremacy, he deſpaired of ſucceeding. He perceived there was no more ceremony to be uſed, ſince all regard for him was thrown aſide in England, and a ſettled deſign ſhewn of ſupporting what had been done. So, to maintain the honour of his ſee, he drew up a thundering bull, excommunicating Henry, and abſolving his ſubjects from their oath. Moreover, he ordered all the eccleſiaſtics to depart his dominions, and the nobility to take up arms againſt him. He put the kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all chriſtians to have any commerce with the Engliſh. He annulled all the treaties made by foreign princes with Henry before his marriage with Anne Bullen, declaring their iſſue already born, or to be born, illegitimate. Mean while, as he was ſenſible theſe ſpiritual thunders would produce no great effect, unleſs ſupported with temporal arms, which were not yet ready, he deferred the publiſhing of this bull to a more convenient ſeaſon.

But though the bull was not publiſhed, as no great care was taken to conceal it, it quickly came to Henry's knowledge; whereupon he reſolved to join with the proteſtants of Germany [z], and keep the emperor employed in that country. He diſpatched therefore Edward Fox to the league of Smalcald [a], whilſt Francis I. made uſe for the ſame purpoſe of William du Bellai, lord of Langeais. But it was very difficult for a good and hearty union to be formed between theſe two monarchs and the proteſtants of Germany. The proteſtants meant only to preſerve the liberty of profeſſing their religion unmoleſted, whereas the ſole aim of Francis and Henry was to excite them againſt the emperor, without any regard to the proteſtant religion, which they were perſecuting in their kingdoms. It is true, to gain the proteſtants, they feigned an inclination for their religion, and a deſire to eſtabliſh it in their dominions. Nay, Henry very much improved the conformity of his ſentiments with theirs concerning the papal authority. But the rigour wherewith theſe two monarchs treated ſuch of their ſubjects as had embraced the new religion, deſtroyed whatever their embaſſadors could ſay. For this reaſon the proteſtants always inſiſted upon ſettling the points which concerned religion, and continued to require that Henry ſhould openly declare for the Augſburg confeſſion, that their union might be built on a ſolid foundation. Henry feigned to approve of what they propoſed, and to make them believe it the more, wiſhed them to ſend ſome of their divines to confer with thoſe of England. But he never really intended to conform himſelf to their notions. He rather wanted the Germans, as well as the Engliſh, to learn of him what they were to believe; and for this cauſe the project of the propoſed union was never executed. However, this negotiation made the pope and the emperor very

[s] They thought that impriſonment, baniſhment, or the like, was puniſhment enough for thoſe, who, confeſſing the king's ſupreme authority in all temporal matters, did, out of ſcrupuloſity rather than malice, oppoſe the reſt. Herbert, p. 182.

[t] Namely, the prior of the Charter-Houſe in London, the priors of Exham, and Bennul, a monk of Sion, and John Haile vicar of Thiſtleworth, on May 4; and three monks of the Charter-Houſe, on July 18, 1535. They were all drawn and quartered at Tyburn. The proteſtants put to death, were John Firth, a man of great learning, and Andrew Hewet, on July 22, 1534. As alſo nineteen men and ſix women, born in Holland. Theſe were burnt. Hall, fol. 225, 226. Stow, p. 571. Burnet, tom. I. p. 166, &c. 352. Fox, tom. XI.

[u] Fiſher was hardly uſed; his goods being ſeized, he had only ſome old rags left him to cover him, and he was neither well ſupplied with diet nor other neceſſaries. Burnet, tom. I. p. 156.

[w] Burnet ſays, the hat came no nearer him than Picardy. He was brought to his trial on the 17th of June. The lord chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and ſome other lords, together with the judges, ſat upon him by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer. He was beheaded in the 80th year of his age, on Tower-hill, and his head was ſet up on London-bridge. His body was firſt buried in Barking church-yard, and afterwards taken up and interred with More's in the Tower. He was many years confeſſor to the king's grandmother, the counteſs of Richmond. It was believed, that he perſuaded her to found her two colleges in Cambridge, and upon that account was choſen chancellor of that univerſity. Henry VII. gave him the biſhopric of Rocheſter, which he, following the rule of the primitive church, would never change for a better: he uſed to ſay his church was his wife, and he would never part with her becauſe ſhe was poor. Burnet, tom. I. p. 354.

[x] When he was going up the ſtairs of the ſcaffold, obſerving they were weak, he deſired one of the ſheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and ſaid, When I come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf as well as I can. Alſo, when he was firſt committed to the Tower, one of the officers, demanding his upper garment (that is, his gown) for his fee, ſir Thomas, taking off his cap, gave it him, ſaying, that was the uppermoſt garment he had. Hall, fol. 226.

[y] On the 1ſt of July ſir Thomas More was brought to his trial, and beheaded on the 6th, in the 53d year of his age. Though he was afterwards ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the intereſt and paſſions of the popiſh clergy, and even aſſiſted them in all their cruelties; yet in his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his Utopia, where he ſeems to borrow the diſguiſe of a romance, only to declare his mind with greater freedom: he tells us, the Utopians allow liberty of conſcience, and force their religion upon no body: that they hinder none from a ſober enquiry into truth, nor uſe any violence upon the account of a different belief. He was, ſays Burnet, no divine at all, neither did he know any thing of antiquity, beyond the quotations in the canon law, and in the maſter of ſentences. Nor was he converſant at all in the critical learning upon the ſcripture; but his peculiar excellency in writing was, that he had a natural eaſy expreſſion, and preſented all the opinions of popery with their fair ſide to the reader, diſguiſing the black ſide of them with neat art; and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant tales, which he applied wittily enough. But for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the age in which he lived. He is ſaid to have but one hundred pounds a year when he reſigned the chancellorſhip. Burnet, tom. I. p. 355. and tom. III. p. 29. Herbert, p. 184.

[z] And the rather, becauſe the pope declared he would give away England to ſome of the German catholic princes, being unwilling to increaſe therewith the power of France or Spain. Herbert, p. 184.

[a] With doctor Hethe. Earns had been ſent thither before. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 110. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 225.

uneaſy, who plainly ſaw that in attacking Henry there was danger of really engaging him to unite with the league of Smalcald.

But Henry did not depend ſo much upon foreign aſſiſtance as upon his own ſtrength. Mean while, as his ſubjects were daily corrupted by the monks, who inſinuated to them that he was going to overturn all religion, he reſolved to take all poſſible precautions to prevent the pernicious deſigns of theſe dangerous adverſaries. To this end it was moved in the council, whether it would not be proper to ſuppreſs at once all the monaſteries? This queſtion was debated with great warmth, by reaſon of the two contrary parties in the council. Cranmer and Cromwell looked upon the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries as a great ſtep to the reformation. But, on the other hand, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Winchester, Lincoln, and others, who had with reluctance ſubſcribed to what had been done againſt the pope, could not reſolve to conſent to the ſuppreſſion. They ſaw, after that, the kingdom would be irrecoverably loſt to the pope, without reckoning that the diſſolution of the monaſteries might produce yet greater effects with regard to religion. The king, having heard the arguments on both ſides, found he ſhould not be able to ſuppreſs the monaſteries all at once, without giving offence to the greateſt part of his ſubjects. He reſolved therefore with himſelf to accompliſh it by degrees, and to begin with a thing abſolutely neceſſary, namely, to remove the people's prejudice in favour of the monks. To that end, he ordered a general viſitation of the monaſteries, to know perfectly the titles of their eſtates, the behaviour of the friers and nuns, how the rules of each order were obſerved, and other things of the like nature. He did not queſtion this viſitation would diſcover ſeveral conſiderable abuſes, which, being made public, would ſenſibly diminiſh the people's veneration for the religious, and pave the way to his deſign. He was extremely incenſed with the monks, whom he looked upon as diſturbers of his repoſe. On the other hand, the hopes of profiting by their eſtates did not a little contribute, without doubt, towards his puſhing his affair with great earneſtneſs [b]. Thomas Cromwell was choſen to manage the inquiry by the name of viſitor-general. This choice was a plain indication of the king's intent, ſince he employed a perſon who was utterly averſe to the monks. Cromwell, having appointed ſubſtitutes or commiſſioners [c], gave them very particular inſtructions, under eighty-ſix articles, and the viſitation began in October. It may eaſily be judged that, among ſo great a number of monaſteries as were in the kingdom, moſt of which had never been viſited but very negligently, many were found abounding with irregularities, as well in reſpect of the lives of the friers and nuns, as in regard to the obſervance of the rule, and the management of the temporalities. The viſitors, who were not their friends, and doubtleſs had orders to terrify them, told them, they were going to be expoſed to the king's utmoſt ſeverity, and the rigour of the law. Then they ſuggeſted to them, that to ſave themſelves harmleſs, and withal to hide their diſorders, the beſt way was to reſign their houſes to the king [d], who upon that conſideration would take care to provide for each in particular. A good number of priors being terrified by the viſitors, choſe to follow their advice, their monks agreeing to it; ſome to avoid puniſhment, others to enjoy their liberty, and ſome for want of reſolution to reſiſt [e]. The reports of the commiſſioners were publiſhed, that all might be ſatisfied the king had not without reaſon and neceſſity ordered this general viſitation. The truth is, in ſome monaſteries were diſcovered monſtrous diſorders and horrible crimes, not only with reſpect to the debaucheries of the friers and nuns, but chiefly on the account of the images and relics, for which a ſhameful trade was driven to enrich the monaſteries by cheriſhing the people's ſuperſtition [f]. This occaſioned an ordinance of the king, who, as ſupreme head of the church of England, diſcharged from their vows ſuch as were profeſſedly under four and twenty years of age, and allowed all the reſt to quit their houſes, and live like ſeculars if they pleaſed [g]. But as moſt were accuſtomed to an idle life, and perceived when they forſook their monaſteries they ſhould be forced to work for their livelihood, the liberty given them by the king produced no great effect. Beſides, there were doubtleſs many, who, out of conſcience, thought not proper to uſe it. So Henry was obliged to take other meaſures.

It was but this year that cardinal Campegio loſt the biſhipric of Saliſbury, which was given to Nicolas Shaxton, a friend to the reformers. Shortly after, the ſee of Worceſter was taken from Ghinucci an Italian, and conferred on Hugh Latimer, great friend of Cranmer. John Hilſey was promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter, vacant by the death of Fiſher, and Edward Fox to that of Hereford.

Among all the king's enemies, or enviers, none gave him more uneaſineſs than his nephew the king of Scotland, and not without reaſon. During the whole time of that prince's minority, Henry had fomented the troubles of Scotland, and even ſhewn that his deſigns tended to become maſter of that kingdom. James was fully informed, and though he ſhewed great regard for the king his uncle, he let him ſee however he did not conſider him as a friend. Henry therefore was in danger, that if the innovations in religion cauſed diſturbances in the kingdom, the king of Scotland would take occaſion to be revenged, by aſſiſting the malcontents. This fear was the more juſt, as the emperor, knowing the king of Scotland's diſpoſition, had already laboured to inſpire him with ſuſpicions and jealouſies of France and England. Nay, he would have concluded a league with him, as I obſerved, had not Francis broken his meaſures by procuring a peace between England and Scotland. But notwithſtanding the peace, Henry was always in diſtruſt of that quarter. So, to make himſelf eaſy, he formed the project to inſtil into the king of Scotland the reſolution to follow his example, and renounce the pope's obedience. He conſidered this as a ſure means to preſerve between the two kingdoms a ſtrict union, which would be very advantageous in his preſent circumſtances. He ſent him therefore in the firſt place a long letter [h], declaring the reaſons of his conduct with regard to the pope. Then he diſpatched an embaſſador [i] to propoſe an interview, fancying that a conference with him would produce a greater effect than whatever he ſhould ſay to him by letter or embaſſy. But though the reformation had already crept into Scotland, James had no inclination to embrace it. So the eccleſiaſtics about his perſon eaſily diſſwaded him from accepting the interview, where they were afraid ſome things might paſs very prejudicial to their religion. Mean while, James, not being willing openly to refuſe the conference deſired by the king his uncle, gave him hopes of his conſent, after certain difficulties, purpoſely raiſed, were removed. But at the ſame time he demanded of the pope a brief, to forbid his having any interview with the king of England. When the brief came, he gave the king his uncle notice of it, who having prepared for his journey, was extremely offended at this refuſal. Hence ſprung a quarrel between them, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter.

Before I conclude the year 1535, I muſt not forget to relate an event which very much changed the face of the affairs of Europe. I mean the death of Franceſco Sforza, duke of Milan, which happened in the month of October. As that prince left no iſſue by Catherine of Denmark, the emperor's niece, whom he had lately married, the duchy of Milan, as a

[b] He wanted money upon ſeveral accounts; chiefly, as he apprehended a war from the emperor, the moſt powerful prince then in the world, and who had large fleets of his own; therefore, to ſecure himſelf againſt his attacks, he judged it neceſſary to fortify his ports, and to build new harbours. Burnet, tom. I. p. 189.

[c] Particularly Richard Leighton, Thomas Lee, and William Petre, doctors of law, doctor John London dean of Wallingford, &c. Herbert, p. 186. Burnet, tom. I. p. 183.

[d] Before this, namely, on February 24, 1533, the priory of the Trinity of Chriſt church, near Aldgate in London, was ſuppreſſed, and the lands and church-plate thereto belonging, given to ſir Thomas Audley, the high chancellor. Stow, p. 560.

[e] The firſt ſurrender was by the abbot of Langden in Kent, on November 13. (Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 555) who, upon doctor Leighton's breaking open his door on a ſudden, was found in bed with a whore, who went in the habit of a lay brother. This ſurrender was followed by that of the priory of Folkſton, November 15; on the 16th, of that of Dover; and on February 21, 1536, of that of Bilſingtoun; all three in Kent. As alſo of Merton in Yorkſhire, February 9; of Tilty in Eſſex, and of Hornby in Yorkſhire, March 23. The original of theſe and the other ſurrenders are in the augmentation office. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

[f] They found great factions in the houſes, and barbarous cruelties exerciſed by one faction againſt another, as either of them prevailed. They were all extremely addicted to idolatry and ſuperſtition. In ſome they found inſtruments and other tools for multiplying and coining. But for the lewdneſs of the confeſſors of nunneries, and the great corruption of that ſtate, whole houſes being found almoſt all with child; for the diſſoluteneſs of abbots and the other monks and friers, not only with harlots, but married women; and for their unnatural luſts, and other brutiſh practices: theſe, ſays Burnet, are not fit to be ſpoken of, much leſs enlarged on in a work of this nature. The full report of this viſitation is loſt; yet Burnet ſaw an extract of a part of it concerning one hundred and forty-four houſes, that contains abominations in it equal to any that were in Sodom. Burnet, tom. I. p. 191.

[g] The men, if in orders, were to have a prieſt's habit given them, and forty ſhillings in money; the nuns were to have only a gown, ſuch as ſecular women wore. Some however, for ſurrendering their houſes, got ſmall penſions. Herbert. Stow, p. 572.

[h] By William Barlow, biſhop elect of St. Aſaph, and Thomas Holcroft. Herbert p. 184.

[i] William Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, p. 184.

This

fief of the empire, was fallen to the emperor to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſed. So the fears and jealouſies of the pope, the king of France, and the Venetians, were revived on this occaſion; each of theſe powers having cauſe to fear the emperor would keep Milan for himſelf, or give it to his brother the king of the Romans. In that caſe Italy would of courſe fall again into ſlavery, and the king of France loſe his hopes of recovering that duchy. To make them eaſy, the emperor declared he had no deſign to keep Milan, but intended to preſent ſome prince with it, who ſhould cauſe no ſuſpicion to thoſe that were concerned to preſerve the peace of Italy. Afterwards, he wiſely made uſe of it for a lure to amuſe the king of France. But in reality he never deſired to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of it [k].

[1536] Queen Catherine ended her days the beginning of the year 1536 [l]. Though her virtue had gained her an univerſal eſteem, ſhe died however little lamented by the public, becauſe ſhe equally embarraſed her friends and enemies. Before ſhe expired, ſhe dictated a very tender letter to the king, who ſeemed to be extremely moved with it [m]. But in appearance his grief was of no long continuance. He was very fond of her when firſt married; her mildneſs and modeſty having a greater influence upon him than ſhe could expect from her beauty, which was not extraordinary. In time his affection abating, he treated her with indifference, though always with much civility. At laſt, after he had reſolved to put her away, her obſtinate refuſal to comply with his will made him conſider her as an enemy. Accordingly he uſed her rigorouſly when the ſentence of divorce was pronounced, even to the not ſuffering her to keep ſervants who treated her as a queen. At laſt he publicly forbid to give her that title, though he was forced to connive at her diſobedience.

The parliament meeting the 4th of February, finiſhed the work begun, by aboliſhing every thing relating to the pope's power, not to leave the leaſt pretence to acknowledge his authority. But the king had a farther view, namely, to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, as well to be revenged of the monks and prevent their ill deſigns, as to procure their eſtates. In all appearance, the late viſitation of the monaſteries had convinced him that the monks were as unſerviceable to religion, as prejudicial to his affairs in his preſent circumſtances.

As among the conſtitutions obſerved in the church of England, there were not a few that had a manifeſt relation to the papal authority, it was abſolutely neceſſary to annul them, and make others, which ſhould have for foundation the king's ſupremacy. The parliament had already paſſed an act, empowering the king to nominate thirty-two commiſſioners to examine ſuch as were to be aboliſhed. But the king had not haſtened the nomination, becauſe, by this confuſion, his authority was much more extenſive. Indeed, the papal power was aboliſhed by act of parliament, and yet it ſtill ſubſiſted in the conſtitutions, which, not being abrogated, threw the clergy into great perplexities, becauſe they knew not what to do. But this was what the king deſired, that the clergy might be more at his devotion, ſince he could equally proſecute them as guilty, whether they did or did not obſerve them. The parliament, taking this contrariety into conſideration, would have cured it, by confirming the power formerly given the king to appoint commiſſioners to alter theſe conſtitutions. This was a ſort of reproach for his negligence in that reſpect. But he feigned not to mind it, and left the affair in the ſame ſtate it was [n].

He had another thing in his thoughts which affected him much more, namely, to execute his deſign upon the monks. In this ſeſſion, he repreſented to the parliament, that the great number of monaſteries in the kingdom were a burden to the ſtate, and earneſtly deſired them to remedy the evil by ſuch means as they ſhould judge proper. Whereupon it was enacted, that all houſes of two hundred pounds a year and under ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their effects given to the king [o]. Of this ſort there were three hundred ſeventy-ſix, and a revenue of thirty-two thouſand pounds a year fell to the crown, with above a hundred thouſand pounds worth of plate, goods, ornaments of the churches, and the like. A new court was erected, called the court of the augmentation of the king's revenue, which was to take cognizance of all matters concerning this new acquiſition [p]. The erecting of a court for ſo ſmall an income was a clear evidence the king had no deſign to ſtop there, but intended to ſeize the revenue of all the monaſteries in the kingdom [q].

The convocation ſitting, as uſual, at the ſame time with the parliament, a motion was made there, that there ſhould be a tranſlation of the bible in Engliſh, to be ſet up in all churches, and the ſame was approved of. It muſt be obſerved, the king's intent was only to ſhew the people there was nothing contrary to the holy ſcriptures in what was done againſt the pope. But Cranmer, Cromwell, and the reſt of the reformers, had much farther views. They hoped, when the bible was in the hands of the people, they would ſee their error in many other things which hitherto had been deemed eſſential to religion. But they took care to hide their deſigns from the king, knowing how contrary they were to his. Henry was abſolutely againſt all reformation of doctrine, and conſequently they were to bring him inſenſibly and by degrees to what they deſired. They partly ſucceeded, but they fell extremely ſhort of what they had expected at firſt. However, they thought it very conſiderable to obtain his conſent that it ſhould be moved in the convocation, to give the people the bible in Engliſh, and to have cauſed the motion to be approved. As there was then no other Engliſh verſion of the bible but Tindal's, made at Antwerp without the public authority, the convocation petitioned the king for a good tranſlation, which he was pleaſed to take upon himſelf [r].

Henry having obtained of the parliament all he deſired, thought it time to diſſolve it, which he did the 14th of April, after having continued it ſix years. Never had parliament laſted ſo long ſince the beginning of the monarchy.

The care Henry took to ſecure himſelf from the cabals of the monks and his other domeſtic enemies, did not prevent him from thinking of his foreign affairs, and of means to avoid the emperor's attacks. Francis was invading Savoy, and it was but too manifeſt that his intent was to open a paſſage into the Milaneſe. But as this was a great undertaking, conſidering the ſituation of France, the emperor could not believe he had engaged in it without being firſt ſure of Henry's aſſiſtance. Wherefore he reſolved to uſe his utmoſt

[k] This year, Wales, which had hitherto been only a province to the Engliſh nation, was incorporated, united, and annexed for ever to the realm of England. Statut. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 26.——John Owen began this year to make braſs cannons, being the firſt that made this kind of artillery in England.——The 8th of May king Henry commanded all perſons about his court to cut their hair ſhort; and to ſet them an example, he cauſed his own to be cut: and likewiſe began to wear his beard knotted, and was no more ſhaved.——Auguſt 16, the king's ſtables at the Meuſe (ſo called becauſe the king's hawks were there mewed and kept) were burnt down. Hall, fol. 225. Stow, p. 571.

[l] On the 8th of January, at Kimbolton, in the fiftieth year of her age, thirty-three years after ſhe came into England. In her will, ſhe appointed her body to be buried in a convent of Obſervants, who had done and ſuffered moſt for her; but the king ordered it to be laid in the abbey-church of Peterborough, which he afterwards converted to a cathedral. Stow, p. 572. Queen Anne Bullen wore yellow for the mourning. Hall, fol. 227.

[m] In the title ſhe called him, "My moſt dear lord, king, and huſband;" and concluded with ſaying, "I make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things. She adviſed him to look to the health of his ſoul. She forgave him all the troubles he had caſt her into. Sherecommended their daughter Mary to him, deſiring he would be a loving father to her. She alſo deſired he would provide matches for her maids, who were but three; and that he would give her ſervants one year's wages more than was due to them." She was a devout and pious princeſs, and led a ſevere life. In her greatneſs ſhe wrought much with her own hand, and kept her women well employed about her, as appeared when the two legates came once to ſpeak with her, ſhe came out to them with a ſkein of of ſilk about her neck, and told them ſhe had been within at work with her maids. Few ſuch queens now-days! Burnet, tom. I. p. 192.

[n] About this time, king Henry appointed an office for all eccleſiaſtical matters, and ordered a ſeal to be cut. The archbiſhop of Canterbury's title was alſo in convocation ordered to be altered: inſtead of legate of the apoſtolic ſee, he was to be called, metropolitan and primate. Burnet, tom. III. p. 104.

[o] A commiſſion was alſo directed, on June 16, 1535, to the biſhops of Meath and Kildare; to John Allen, maſter of the rolls; Gerard Ailmer, chief baron of the exchequer, and ſome others; impowering them to ſuppreſs the monaſteries in Ireland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 551.

[p] The court was to conſiſt of a chancellor, a treaſurer, an attorney and ſolicitor, ten auditors, ſeventeen receivers, a clerk, an uſher, and a meſſenger. Beſides the preſent ones, the king was to have the lands of all thoſe houſes that had been diſſolved within a year before this act. Burnet, tom. I. p. 194.

[q] What remarkable ſtatutes were enacted during this ſeſſion, are as follow: 1. Whereas pirates uſed to be tried after the courſe of the civil laws, it was ordered that they ſhould be tried in ſuch places as ſhould be directed by the king's commiſſion, and by juries, as offenders at land. 2. That every perſon who hath a park ſhall keep two mares, thirteen hands high, for breeding foals. 3. That clerks, preſented to benefices, ſhall not pay tenths the firſt year in which they pay their firſt fruits. 4. That tithes, offerings, and other duties, ſhall be paid according to the eccleſiaſtical laws and ordinances of the church of England, and after the laudable uſes and cuſtoms of each pariſh. 5. That all bargains and ſales of lands ſhall be made by writing, indented, ſealed, and inrolled, in one of the king's courts of record at Weſtminſter, or before the cuſtos rotulorum, two juſtices, and a clerk of the peace, of the county where the lands lie. See Statut. 27 Hen.

[r] It is not known to whom that work was committed, or how they proceeded in it; for the account of theſe things has not been preſerved, nor conveyed to us with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate; for, three years after this, it was printed at Paris, which ſhews they made all convenient haſte in a thing that required ſo much deliberation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

daughter

endeavours to break their union. From the death of Sforza, he had continued a private negotiation with Francis to reſign the duchy of Milan to one of his ſons, and acted ſo artfully that the treaty ſeemed to be very near a concluſion. This could not but inſpire Henry with jealouſy. He plainly ſaw if the negotiation ended to the king of France's ſatisfaction, he would be regardleſs of his intereſts. On the other hand, the emperor no ſooner heard of the death of his aunt queen Catherine, but he ſent and offered Henry to renew their alliance, with a mutual oblivion of all that was paſſed. But leſt he ſhould be taken at his word, he required three conditions, which left him the liberty to prolong the affair as much as he pleaſed, his aim being only to ſow diviſion between Francis and Henry by making them ſuſpicious of each other. The firſt of theſe conditions was, that Henry ſhould be reconciled to the pope, to which end he offered his mediation. By the ſecond, he demanded a powerful aſſiſtance againſt the Turks. By the third, that purſuant to their treaty in 1518, he ſhould join with him in the defence of Milan againſt the attacks of the French king. Henry replied, that what had been done againſt the pope could not be revoked; that as ſoon as Chriſtendom ſhould be in peace, he would act againſt the infidels, as became a chriſtian prince: that he was ready to renew his alliance with the emperor, provided it was done without prejudice to the king of France his ally, that being friend to both, he might be the better enabled to labour the reconciliation, or if he could not ſucceed, to aſſiſt him that ſhould be unjuſtly attacked: that as to the reſt, he refuſed not to agree with the emperor, provided he would own the rupture came from him. The emperor perceiving Henry was upon his guard, thought not fit to puſh the affair any farther. Indeed Henry could eaſily ſee his aim was to ſet him at variance with France, ſince at the very time theſe things paſſed, Francis imparted to him the private negotiation concerning the duchy of Milan. Moreover he warned him, that the emperor intended to force him to return to the pope's obedience, and it was only upon that condition he offered to reſign the Milaneſe.

All theſe proceedings of the emperor convincing Henry that he ſought occaſion to attack him, he reſolved to purſue his negotiation with the proteſtants of Germany, to make him a diverſion in that country which ſhould break his meaſures with regard to England. To the ſame end, he had ſent Edward Fox to them laſt year. But they would not be his dupes; not imagining, as he would fain have made them believe, that he was inclined to their faith, whilſt he ordered their brethren to be burnt in England. So, not to be engaged by faint hopes to be ſubſervient to his deſigns at their expence, they delivered to his embaſſador the terms on which they were willing to be ſtrictly united with him. The terms were, that he ſhould embrace the Augſburg confeſſion; and defend it with all his power in a free council: that he ſhould approve of no place for holding the council without their conſent: that if the pope called a council at his own pleaſure, Henry ſhould join with them in proteſting againſt it: that he ſhould accept the title of protector of the league: that he ſhould never return to the pope's obedience: that he ſhould not aſſiſt their enemies: that he ſhould find a hundred thouſand crowns for the occaſions of the league, and two hundred thouſand if the war laſted any time. Adding, that when he ſhould have declared himſelf upon theſe articles, they would ſend embaſſadors and agree with him upon the reſt.

Theſe propoſals threw Henry into ſome perplexity. He ſaw the ſole aim of the proteſtants was to ſupport their religion, and that, however, was the thing which diſturbed him the leaſt. He was by no means ſatisfied with the Augſburg confeſſion, and yet he perceived, in caſe he openly rejected it, there was no likelihood of his being able to join with the league of Smalcald. On the other hand, it was his intereſt to continue the negotiation, as well becauſe the proteſtants might be ſerviceable to him, as to keep the emperor in awe by that conſideration. So his intereſt required that he ſhould favourably hear theſe propoſitions. But withal he reſolved to inſert in his anſwer ſomething which ſhould afford him occaſion to break, if he thought proper. He replied, therefore, that he was willing to furniſh the ſums required, in caſe a league, of which he would treat with their embaſſadors, ſhould be concluded between him and the proteſtants; that though he was ſenſible to what the title of protector of the league would expoſe him, he was content to accept it, provided there were between him and them a conformity of doctrine, otherwiſe he could not engage to defend a faith, of whoſe truth he was not convinced; that therefore he deſired them to ſend commiſſioners, with powers to mitigate ſome articles of the Augſburg confeſſion, which he could not approve. Moreover, as to the ſupplies, he required that the engagement ſhould be mutual, whether he or they were attacked. In fine, he demanded an authentic approbation of his divorce, and their promiſe to juſtify it in a council. Theſe propoſals on both ſides were of a nature to keep a treaty long on foot. But though the members of the league of Smalcald ſaw no great likelihood of a ſtrict union, they appointed, however, Sturmius, Draco, Bucer, and Melancthon, to go and confer with Henry and his divines. It was eſpecially provided in their inſtructions, that nothing ſhould be concluded to the prejudice of the emperor or empire. This negotiation was interrupted by the death of Anne Bullen, which happened ſhortly after, and which very much altered the face of affairs, as well as the king's mind, in reſpect to the reformation, which ſhe openly countenanced.

The king was poſſeſſed at once with two paſſions: a violent love for Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen[s], and an extreme jealouſy of his wife[t]. Very likely his jealouſy was a conſequence of his love. When Anne Bullen's enemies found ſhe no longer held in the king's heart the place ſhe had formerly enjoyed, inſtead of fearing to accuſe her of unfaithfulneſs to the king, they believed it would be grateful to him, who began to be himſelf unfaithful. It is certain the king had loſt that affection for the queen which made him ſurmount ſo many obſtacles to poſſeſs her. Whether enjoyment had quenced this firſt flame, or the queen's indiſcretions given the king cauſe to ſuſpect her, he ſo gave himſelf over to jealouſy, that it was not in his power to overcome it, or perhaps did not much endeavour it. However, the occaſion was this: The queen had a great friendſhip for her brother, the lord Rochford, but could not endure his wife, who lived very ill with her huſband, and had an infamous character, as will evidently appear hereafter. It was this lady that whiſpered in the king's ear the firſt report that the queen was unfaithful, and had a criminal commerce with her brother, the lord Rochford. Theſe ſeeds fell upon a ſoil already prepared to receive them. The king, now prejudiced by his paſſions for Jane Seymour, was overjoyed to find, in the pretended unfaithfulneſs of the queen, a means to procure the poſſeſſion of the perſon he loved. As ſoon as queen Anne's enemies ſaw how the king ſtood affected towards her, they took care to ruin her quite in his favour, by accuſing her of ſundry intrigues with their own domeſtics. Theſe enemies were the ſame with thoſe of the reformation. They imagined ſhe had put the king upon all his proceedings againſt the pope, on purpoſe to favour the new religion; but, though ſhe had not done this, it was ſufficient to hate her that ſhe had been the cauſe of inſpiring the king with love, ſince that had occaſioned Catherine's divorce, and conſequently all the innovations in religion. Policy might likewiſe enter into their project. They were ſenſible, ſo long as Anne lived, ſhe would be an invincible obſtacle to a reconciliation with Rome; whereas, if ſhe were dead, they hoped all difficulties would be eaſily removed. The duke of Norfolk inwardly burned with a deſire to ſee religion again eſtabliſhed upon the ſame foot it was before theſe alterations; though, like a good courtier, he took care not to diſcover it to his maſter. His quality, zeal, and credit, made him head of the party of the old religion, and, as he had the king's ear, he could eaſily do ill offices to the contrary party. The king's jealouſy of the queen was too favourable an occaſion to be neglected, ſince he could at once ſerve his party, and make his court to his maſter. So it is commonly believed this lord contributed the moſt to the queen's ruin; becauſe, among all her enemies, he had moſt acceſs to the king. But, however, whether it was he or another, the king was inſpired with a jealouſy which threw him into a ſort of fury. This is not very ſtrange, conſidering his temper, the moſt impetuous and moſt impatient that ever was. The queen was accuſed of a criminal commerce, not only with the lord Rochford, her brother, but alſo with Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, Francis Weſtern, and William Brereton, of the king's privy chamber, and Mark Smeton, a muſician. It muſt be confeſſed, the queen had ſome indiſcreet ways, which the king never minded, whilſt he was not prejudiced againſt her, but which afterwards were too capable of con-

[s] Daughter of ſir John Seymour, of Wolf-hall, in Wiltſhire, and of Elizabeth, daughter of ſir Henry Wentworth, of Nettleſted, in Suffolk. Dugdale's baron, vol. II. p. 361.

[t] She miſcarried of a ſon Jan. 29, this year. Stow, p. 572. This was thought to have made ill impreſſions on the king, who from thence concluded, that this marriage was diſagreeable to God. Burnet, tom. I. p. 196.

She

firming his ſuſpicions [u]. Beſides, as ſoon as he hearkened to what was ſaid againſt her, probably, her enemies were very diligent to give an ill turn to her moſt innocent words or actions. Without doubt Henry was ſome time tormented with jealouſy before he diſcovered it, but at laſt it broke out at a ſolemn juſts held at Greenwich [w], from whence he ſuddenly withdrew with ſigns of great anger, the cauſe whereof could not be gueſſed. It is likely he had obſerved ſomething that confirmed his ſuſpicions, of which none but himſelf took notice. Sanders ſays, the queen dropping her handkerchief, one of her gallants took it up and wiped his face with it. But this author is the only perſon that relates that circumſtance [x]. However, the king was no ſooner gone from the juſts, but he ordered the lord Rochford, Norris, Weſton, Brereton and Smeton to be arreſted. At the ſame time the queen was confined to her chamber, and the next day conveyed to the Tower [y]. But what plainly ſhewed the deſign of her enemies to deſtroy her, was their procuring an order for the archbiſhop of Canterbury to retire to his palace at Lambeth, for fear, if he could ſpeak with the king, he would find occaſion to vindicate the queen.

It is not ſurpriſing this princeſs in her ſad condition ſhould be diſordered, and having none to adviſe with ſhould be inſnared by her enemies. Her uncle's lady, the lady Bullen, was appointed to lie in her chamber, with whom ſhe was at great variance; and from this lady, who was placed there to watch her, it came to be known, that during her confinement, ſhe ſaid ſome things which helped to confirm the king's ſuſpicions. However, upon her examination, ſhe poſitively denied, ſhe had ever been falſe to the king. Only when ſhe was told that Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton had accuſed her, though ſhe might have eaſily ſeen it was purely to draw from her ſome confeſſion, ſhe believed ſhe ought not to conceal certain things which had paſſed between her and them. She ſaid concerning Norris, that aſking him one day why he did not go on with his marriage, he replied, there was no haſte. Whereupon ſhe ſaid, ſhe plainly ſaw he was in hopes of having her, in caſe the king died. This ſeems to argue there was ſome familiarity between her and Norris. Otherwiſe, ſuppoſing the truth of the fact, it is hard to conceive that a queen ſhould think of talking thus to one of her domeſtics.

As for Smeton the muſician, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her chamber but twice. That the laſt time ſhe ſaw him there, ſhe aſked him why he was ſo ſad; and that, in her converſation with him, he had the boldneſs to tell her, No, no, madam, a look ſuffices me [z].

As for Weſton, ſhe owned he had taken the liberty to tell her, he loved her, and that ſhe thereupon defied him [a].

But after all, the queſtion is to know, whether the regiſters from whence this examination is taken are true, or whether the examination was impartially written. Indeed, this doubt alone is not ſufficient to clear the queen. But then, when it is conſidered, ſhe had for adverſary a huſband, who was king, and jealous even to madneſs, very likely they who were employed to examine her, gave her words ſuch a turn and ſenſe as favoured the king's deſigns, by pretending to ſet down the ſubſtance of her anſwer inſtead of her very words.

As for the lord Rochford, all the evidence for his pretended familiarity with the queen his ſiſter, amounted to no more than that he was once ſeen leaning on her bed.

When theſe men were examined, Norris ſwore he believed the queen innocent, and perſiſted in his aſſeveration to his laſt breath. Smeton confeſſed he had known the queen carnally three times; but he was never confronted with her; nay, he was condemned before ſhe was brought to her trial, that he might not be a witneſs. This makes very much for the queen, ſince it is not likely ſuch an evidence would have been voluntarily neglected, had it been deemed as good as it appears to be. But probably it was feared that Smeton would retract, or the queen confound him, if brought face to face with her. The reſt pleaded not guilty; but however were condemed and executed [b].

Three days after, the queen, and the lord Rochford her brother, were tried by their peers [c], the duke of Norfolk being lord high ſteward for that occaſion [d]. The queen was accuſed of proſtituting herſelf to her brother, and four other men, and conſpiring the king's death. But this laſt charge being without any foundation, it was not thought proper to inſiſt upon it. The queen and the lord Rochford pleaded not guilty, and yet were condemned, without its being ever known upon what evidence the ſentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the lord Rochford ſhould be beheaded and quartered. As for the queen, ſhe was condemned to be burnt or beheaded at the king's pleaſure.

Very probably the king believed the queen guilty, and, under his preſent prejudice, ſigns and tokens were to him as good proofs. But can the ſame thing be ſaid of the peers who condemned her? Did their conſcience ſuffer them to condemn a queen to death upon bare ſurmiſes? I ſay ſurmiſes; ſince, had there been ſolid proofs, they would very likely have been publiſhed, in order to juſtify a ſentence of this nature, which was unprecedented in England. Such reſerve was not afterwards uſed with reſpect to another of Henry's queens, who was really guilty of the like crime. All that can be ſaid in favour of thoſe who paſſed ſentence on Anne Bullen is, that their dread of turning againſt themſelves the king's fury, if they complied not with his humour, made them conſider ſigns as real proofs. It is obſervable, there were but twenty-ſix peers preſent at the trial, though there were then fifty-three in England, as appears by the ſummons to parliament, directed to them ſhortly after. This gives occaſion to conjecture, that, according to the method introduced by cardinal Wolſey, in the condemnation of the duke of Buckingham, care was taken to remove thoſe who were ſuſpected not to have ſo much complaiſance as to gratify the king's paſſion at the expence of their conſcience,

[u] She was, ſays Burnet, of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited with the bounds of exact decency and diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the king's ſervants more than became her. Tom. I. p. 197.

[w] May the 1ſt. Hall, fol. 227. At theſe juſts, George Boleyn, viſcount Rochford, was chief challenger, and Henry Norris, principal defendant. Stow, p. 572.

[x] Burnet, who was at more than ordinary pains to learn all he could concerning this affair, obſerves, that this circumſtance is not in Spelman, a judge at that time, who wrote an account of the matter with his own hand, in his common place book, of which Burnet had a ſight. Spelman ſays, the buſineſs was diſcovered in a very different manner. As for the evidence (ſays he) of this matter, it was diſcovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a ſervant to the queen, and becoming on a ſudden infirm ſome time before her death, did ſwear this matter to one of her ———. And here unluckliy the reſt of the page is torn off. By this it ſeems there was no legal evidence againſt the queen, and that it was a witneſs at ſecond hand who depoſed what they heard the lady Wingfield ſwear. Who this perſon was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the lady Wingfield might be when ſhe ſwore. And this it ſeems was that which was brought to the king at Greenwich during the juſts, who did thereupon immediately return to Whitehall. Burnet, tom. I. 191.

[y] Sir Thomas Audley lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell the ſecretary, and ſir William Kingſton conſtable of the Tower, who were ſent to apprehend her, letting her know what crime ſhe was charged with, ſhe cried out, that ſhe was wronged, and deſired to ſee the king before ſhe was conveyed to the Tower, but in vain. When ſhe was brought to the Tower, ſhe fell on her knees before the ſame lords, beſeeching God to help her, as ſhe was not guilty of that whereof ſhe was accuſed, and deſired thoſe lords to beſeech the king's grace to be good unto her. Stow, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194.

[z] She ſaid, "Smeton was never in her chamber but when the king was laſt at Wincheſter; and then he came to play the virginals: ſhe ſaid, ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May-day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the window; and then ſhe aſked him, why he was ſo ſad? he ſaid, It was no matter. She anſwered, You muſt not expect I ſhould ſpeak to you as if you were a nobleman, ſince you are an inferior perſon. No, no, madam, ſaid he, a look ſuffices me." Burnet, tom. I. p. 199.

[a] She ſeemed more apprehenſive of Weſton than of any body. For on Whitſun-monday laſt he ſaid to her, "That Norris came more to her chamber upon her account, than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved that he loved a kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and for not loving his wife. But he anſwered her, that there were women in the houſe whom he loved better than them both: ſhe aſked, who is that? Your ſelf, ſaid he; upon which ſhe ſaid, ſhe defied him." Ibid.

[b] Their trial came on the 12th of May, on which day they were tried by a commiſſion of oyer and terminer in Weſtminſter-hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two grand juries in the counties of Kent and Middleſex; the crimes they were charged with being ſaid to be done in both counties. All proteſted their innocence, only Smeton confeſſed, he had well deſerved to die, which gave occaſion to many reflections. They were all beheaded but Smeton, who was hanged. It was generally ſaid, he was bribed into that confeſſion, and had his life promiſed; but it was not fit to let him live to tell tales. Norris had been much in the king's favour, who ſent for him, and offered him his life if he would confeſs his guilt. He generouſly rejected the offer, affirming, that in his conſcience he thought the queen innocent, and that he would die a thouſand times rather than ruin an innocent perſon. Burnet, vol. I. p. 201. vol. III. p. 100.

[c] In the Tower of London, on a ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe in the king's hall. Stow, p. 572.

[d] With him ſat the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Derby, Worceſter, Rutland, Suſſex, and Huntingdon; the lords Audley, Delaware, Montague, Morley, Dacres, Cobham, Maltravers, Powis, Monteagle, Clenton, Sands, Windſor, Wentworth, Burgh, and Mordant. The charge ran, That ſhe had procured her brother and the other four to lye with her, which they had often done; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the king never had her heart; and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any perſon whatever, which was to the ſlander of the iſſue that was between the king and her. And this was treaſon according to the ſtatute made in the 26th year of this reign (ſo that the law made for her and her iſſue is now made uſe of to deſtroy her.) It was added in the indictment, that ſhe and her accomplices had conſpired the king's death; but this it ſeems was only put in to ſwell the charge. Burnet, vol. I. p. 202, 363.

Henry 8th

As for Dr. Burnet's saying, in his history, that Anne Bullen's father was among her judges, it is known he retracted it afterwards.

Death of Anna Bullen

The sentence was executed the 19th of May. Anne suffered death with great constancy, after a short speech to those that were present, wherein she neither confessed nor denied the crime for which she was condemned. She contented herself with acknowledging her obligations to the king, with praying for him, and desiring the prayers of the people for herself [e]. It is generally believed, her fear of drawing the king's anger on her daughter Elizabeth, prevented her from insisting upon her own innocence [f]. As she knew the king's temper perfectly, and could not vindicate herself without charging him with injustice, she was afraid Elizabeth would become the sacrifice of the king her father's resentment. However, this was the tragical end of Anne Bullen, whom some have vehemently defamed, and whose conduct others have studiously justified, without any possibility yet of knowing for certain whether she was guilty or innocent. The enemies to her daughter Elizabeth and the reformation have blackened her reputation as much as possible, imagining thereby to give a mortal wound to the protestant religion. For a contrary reason, the protestants have forgot nothing that could help to give of her a quite different idea. But both have reasoned upon a false principle, since the goodness of a religion depends not upon the life and conversation of the professors. For my part, if I may speak my opinion, I can never believe the peers, her judges, had sufficient evidence to condemn her as guilty of defiling the king's bed. However, it cannot be denied that, by some familiarities unbecoming a queen, she gave too great an advantage over her. As she was young and handsome, without doubt she was not displeased to see the effect of her beauty upon all sorts of people, imagining that the love she inspired greatly heightened her merit. We see too many ladies liable to this infirmity. Be this as it will, it is certain, the spirit of party has not a little contributed to the diversity of opinions concerning the queen. Had she not countenanced the reformation, she would have undoubtedly fewer accusers among the catholics, and had she led the king to prosecute the reformed, not many of these would undertake her vindication. This is the way of the world. People are innocent or guilty according to the party they are of. Besides this general cause, a particular reason may also be found in the carriage of Anne Bullen. She was of a very gay temper, which had charmed the king, but which, after some years of enjoyment, served only to raise his jealousy. On the other hand, it cannot be denied she had very good qualities, and particularly great charity to the poor, to whom a few days before her disgrace she had given two thousand pounds [g]. A circumstance in the story of her death shews likewise she had a very tender conscience. After she was condemned, she fell upon her knees to the lady Bullen her sister-in-law [h], and conjured her, for God's sake, to tell the princess Mary, she begged her pardon for her ill usage of her. This charity, and this tenderness of conscience, would little become a woman who had held a shameful and criminal commerce with four men and her own brother. But they would be very consistent with great indiscretion and a little coquetry.

Though the king had procured the queen's condemnation, he was not satisfied. He was pleased to give her before she died a fresh cause of mortification, by annulling their marriage. To this end, he caused her to be so wrought on, that at last she confessed a contract between her and the lord Percy, now earl of Northmberland, though that lord protested, upon his salvation, there never was any formal promise of marriage between them. It was believed this confession was drawn from her, by an intimation, that the king would on no other condition be prevailed with to mitigate that cruel part of her sentence of being burnt, into the milder part of being beheaded. However, upon this confession, the archbishop of Canterbury was forced to pass a sentence of divorce between the king and her [i], and declare their daughter Elizabeth illigitimate. What is most strange in the king's proceedings is, the artifice he used in causing the queen to be condemned before her marriage was nulled. Had the sentence of divorce been passed before the trial, she could not have been condemned for adultery, since her marriage with the king must have been considered only as a concubinage. But Henry had acquired such an absolute sway over his subjects, that his will was the sole measure of justice and law. Nay, he so little regarded the public and his own reputation, that he married Jane Seymour the next day after Anne Bullen's death, wherein he expressed a passion which served greatly to justify the deceased queen.

The death of Anne Bullen revived the hopes of Mary, the king's daughter, by his first wife Catherine. Her attachment to the queen, her mother, and her obstinate refusal to submit to the late acts of parliament, had quite thrown her out of the king's favour, who could not bear contradiction. But the late event causing the friends of Rome to imagine the king might be reconciled to the pope, they advised Mary to accommodate herself to the times, for fear of losing the fruit this change might produce. As there was nothing now that obstructed the union of the king with the emperor, it was hoped the act, which declared her illegitimate, might be repealed, provided she made her submission to the king her father. To this end, she resolved to write a very humble and respectful letter to the king, protesting for the future she would have no other sentiments but his. But Henry, not satisfied with a submission expressed in such general terms, insisted, before he restored her to favour, upon her signing certain articles which she had hitherto rejected: namely, the supremacy, the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and the unlawfulness of her mother's marriage. Mary tried all possible means to be excused. But at length, finding the king remained inflexible, she signed them, though contrary to her opinion, in hopes that the ill she committed, in acting against her conscience, might be productive of much good [k]. As for the princess Elizabeth, then about three years old, she was divested of the title of princess of Wales, which she had enjoyed from her birth. However, the king still continued to educate her at court, with all the care and tenderness of a father.

A new parliament meeting the 8th of June [l], an act was passed to settle the succession; that made after their marriage being void by the sentence of divorce between the king and Anne Bullen. By the new act the other was repealed, and the issue of the king's two first marriages declared illegitimate, and disabled from ever inheriting the crown. Moreover the act confirmed Anne Bullen's sentence, as being grounded upon very just causes [m], and settled the crown after the king's

[e] Her carriage the day she died, will best appear from the following original letter of sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, to Cromwell.

SIR,

"This shall be to advertise you, that I have received your letter, wherein you would have strangers conveyed out of the Tower; and so they be, by the means of Richard Gresham, and William Loke, and Whitepole. But the number of strangers past not thirty, and not many othe [other] and the embassador of the emperor had a servant there, and honestly put out: sir, if we have not an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think there will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best, for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such a time as she received the good lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency always to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said: Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain. I told her it should be no pain, it was so little. And then she said, I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck, and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men and also women executed, and that they have been in great sorrow, and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and had been since two a clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and thus fare you well."

She was beheaded a little before noon, on the green within the Tower. There were present the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord chancellor Audley, and secretary Cromwell, with the lord mayor, the sheriffs and aldermen of London. Her head was cut off by the hangman of Calais, as being more expert at his business than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move, after her head was cut off, as Spelman writes; her body was thrown into a common chest of elm that was made to put arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock. Burnet, vol. I. p. 203. Hall, fol. 227. Stow.

[f] On the 6th of May she wrote a very moving letter to the king, wherein she insisted upon her innocence in the strongest terms: and at another time affirmed, she could confess no more than she had already done. See Herbert, p. 194. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 283. Burnet, tom. I. p. 206.

[g] She had distributed, in the last nine months of her life, between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor. And in all appearance, if she had lived, the money that was raised by the suppression of religious houses, had been better employed than it was. Burnet, tom, I. p. 196.

[h] Burnet says, it was to the lady Kingston, the constable of the Tower's lady. Tom. I. p. 204.

[i] At Lambeth, May 17. Burnet, tom. I. p. 203.

[k] There is one circumstance that shews the frugality of that time, or rather how far money went then, on account of its scarcity. In the establishment that was made for her family, there was only forty pounds a quarter assigned for her privy purse. Burnet, tom. I. p. 208.

[l] Burnet observes, that if full forty days be necessary for a summons, then the writs must have been issued out the day before the late queen's disgrace; so that it was designed before the just at Greenwich, and consequently did not flow from any thing that then appeared. Tom. I. p. 209. and III. p. 118. The writs of summons bear date April 7. Rymer's Fœd. tom XIV. p. 563.

[m] Queen Anne is said in the act, to have been inflamed with pride and carnal desires of her body; and, having confederated herself with her accomplices, to have committed divers treasons to the danger of the king's royal person (with other aggravating words) for which she had justly suffered death, and is now attained by act of parliament. Burnet, tom. I. p. 210.

Burnet

death upon the iſſue of queen Jane, or of any other queen whom he might afterwards marry. Finally, they gave the king full power to declare the ſucceſſion to the crown, either by his letters patents under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will, ſigned with his hand; and if any ſo deſigned to ſucceed, in default of others, ſhould endeavour to uſurp upon thoſe before them, or to exclude them, they were declared traitors, as were alſo thoſe who ſhould maintain the lawfulneſs of the former marriages. Hence it may be eaſily gueſſed, with what an abſolute ſway Henry then ruled, ſince, without any examination, the parliament approved of all his actions, and granted him even more than he deſired, by giving him power to ſettle the order of his ſucceſſors. By that it was in the king's power to replace Mary and Elizabeth in ſuch order as he pleaſed, or exclude them entirely. This is a clear evidence that the parliament had not juſtice and equity ſo much in view as pleaſing the king.

When pope Paul III. heard of Anne Bullen's death, he entertained hopes of a revocation of what had been done in England. And therefore declared his thoughts to ſir Gregory Caſſali, formerly the king's embaſſador; and after ſome excuſes concerning the ſentence of excommunication which he had given, but was not yet publiſhed, told him he would willingly cloſe with any expedients that ſhould be deemed proper to procure a good agreement between the king and him. But Henry, who ſome few years before would have done much to obtain the pope's favour, was now of another mind. Nothing was capable of inducing him to diſpoſſeſs himſelf of the authority acquired over the clergy, as well as over the reſt of his ſubjects, and which rendered his power more extenſive than he expected at firſt. On the contrary, entirely to deſtroy the pope's expectations, he cauſed the parliament to confirm, by two new acts, whatever had been done againſt him. By the firſt, all perſons were to incur the pains of a præmunire, who endeavoured to reſtore in England the authority of the biſhop of Rome; and all officers, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, were commanded, under ſevere penalties, to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to violate this ſtatute. The ſecond, nulled and aboliſhed all diſpenſations, immunities, and privileges, flowing from the court of Rome, ſaving to the archbiſhop of Canterbury the power of confirming what ſhould not be contrary to the law of God, or common decency, which confirmation was to paſs under the great ſeal.

In this ceſſion two conſiderable acts were alſo paſſed, but which related not to religion. By the firſt, it was forbid, under ſevere penalties, to marry in the next degrees of the blood royal, without the king's licence firſt had. This ſtatute was made on account of Thomas Howard, the duke of Norfolk's brother, to whom Margaret Douglas, the king's niece, and daughter to the queen of Scotland, then living in the Engliſh court, had plighted her faith, without acquainting the king her uncle. Henry, offended at their boldneſs, ſent them both to the Tower, and, to prevent the like for the future, procured the forementioned act. By the ſecond, it was provided, that all uſurpations of the parliament upon the royal authority, before the king was twenty-four years of age, might be repealed by letters patents under the great ſeal. Thus both houſes of parliament employed their whole authority to give the ſovereign a power which his predeceſſors had never enjoyed, as if they had been aſſembled for that purpoſe.

But it was not only with reſpect to the civil government that the bounds of the royal authority were enlarged. The clergy, unwilling to yield to the parliament in that point, uſed the ſame endeavours to become agreeable to the king, by approving all his proceedings.

The convocation, being met at the ſame time, confirmed the ſentence of the invalidity of the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, upon the ſame ground which had ſerved to procure it, namely, a precontract with the lord Percy, though that lord denied it upon oath.

A few days after, the lower houſe of convocation ſent to the upper houſe ſixty-ſeven opinions, which they thought worthy to be condemned. At the ſame time the deputies made great complaints againſt thoſe who were for making innovations in religion. Theſe complaints were levelled at Cranmer, Cromwell, Shaxton, Latimer, and ſome others, who were noted as heads or promoters of the reformation, though they were not named [n]. Care was taken to mix with theſe ſixty-ſeven opinions, moſtly drawn from the doctrine of the Lutherans, ſeveral tenets of the old lollards and the anabaptiſts, to inſinuate that thoſe who were complained of embraced them all alike. The enemies of the reformers hoped to make them forfeit the king's favour, who affected a great rigour againſt ſuch as were termed heretics. After the death of Anne Bullen, they ſcarce doubted that all whom ſhe had loved or protected would ſhare in her ruin. But they were diſappointed in their expectations. Cranmer and Cromwell were never more in the king's favour, who even gave preſently after to Cromwell a freſh mark of his eſteem, by conſtituting him his vicegerent in all eccleſiaſtical matters [o]. So the convocation's complaints, inſtead of being prejudicial to the reformation or reformers, ſeem rather to have increaſed the credit of the two heads. This was quickly perceived, when it was ſeen that they had perſuaded the king to advance the reformation, by retrenching in the public worſhip ſuch ceremonies as were not founded upon the word of God. This reſolution being taken, the king acquainted the convocation that he wiſhed them to examine the ceremonies, to the end ſuch as were uſeleſs and inſignificant might be retrenched.

But thoſe who were againſt the reformation had a much greater cauſe to be alarmed, when ſome days after, Cromwell brought into the upper houſe of convocation, articles by the king himſelf, containing ſundry alterations in the doctrines, with orders to examine them, and report to the king the reſult of their debates. Then it was that the two parties openly divided, the one to promote and the other to oppoſe the reformation. Cranmer was at the head of the firſt, being ſupported by Godrick biſhop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worceſter, Fox of Hereford, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Barlow of St. David's. Lee archbiſhop of York, was chief of the ſecond, and with him were Stokeſly biſhop of London, Tunſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherburn [p] of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich [q], Kite of Carliſle. Theſe, who were private favourers of the pope, ſtill hoping a reconciliation with Rome, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all innovations, for fear the breach ſhould become wider. But this party lay under a great diſadvantage, as Cromwell and Cranmer, who had the king's ear, ſuggeſted to him that moſt of the abuſes which they deſired to be aboliſhed, directly tended to ſupport the pope's uſurpations. In ſhort, after many debates, the convocation agreed upon certain articles which were digeſted in form of conſtitutions, the ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

I. The holy ſcriptures are laid down as the foundation of faith, jointly with the three Creeds, the apoſtles, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian, and the four firſt general councils.

II. The neceſſity of baptiſm is eſtabliſhed in the ſecond, which forbids alſo to repeat it.

III. In the third, penance is reckoned neceſſary to ſalvation; conſiſting of contrition, auricular confeſſion, and amendment of life.

IV. The fourth eſtabliſhes, as a fundamental doctrine, the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the euchariſt [r].

V. In the fifth it is ſaid, that juſtification is attained by regeneration; which conſiſts of contrition, faith, and charity.

VI. It is appointed in the ſixth, that images ſhould ſtand in the churches; but that in incenſing, kneeling, and offering to them, people ſhould not do it to the image, but to God and his honour.

VII. In the ſeventh, ſaints are to be honoured; but without believing ſuch things are to be obtained at their hands, as belongs only to God to beſtow.

VIII. In the eighth, ſaints are to be prayed to, provided

[n] Burnet obſerves, that Cranmer promoted the reformation prudently and ſolidly; Latimer, zealouſly and ſimply; Shaxton, with much indiſcreet pride and vanity. Tom. I. 214.

[o] In a public inſtrument, dated October 22, 1535, he is ſtiled vicegerent; and in the writ of ſummons, 1539 (in Dugdale) he is ſtiled vicarius generalis. So that theſe two titles ſeem to have been promiſcuouſly uſed. In right of his office of vicar general, he ſat in convocation above the archbiſhop of Canterbury. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 402, 123. About this time he was made lord privy ſeal, upon the reſignation of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltſhire; and on the 9th of July was created a baron. Stow, p. 573. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 571.

[p] Sherburn, upon what inducement is not known, reſigned his biſhopric, which was given to Richard Sampſon dean of the chapel; a penſion of four hundred pounds being reſerved to Sherburn, and confirmed by parliament. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 570.

[q] Nix had alſo offended the king ſignally, by ſome correſpondence with Rome, and was long kept in the Marſhalſea, and was convicted and found in a præmunire; but the king conſidering his old age, upon his ſubmiſſion, pardoned him. He died the laſt year, though Fuller in his ſlight way makes him ſit in this convocation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 214. See Rymer, ibid. p. 573.

[r] It is obſervable, that there are only three ſacraments mentioned in theſe articles. Hall, fol. 228.

The

it be done without ſuperſtition. The days ſet apart for their memories are to be obſerved, unleſs the king ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

IX. The ceremonies uſed in the church are to be retained: as the veſtments of the prieſt's holy water, holy-bread, bearing candles on Candlemas-day, giving aſhes on Aſh-wedneſday, bearing palms on Palm-ſunday, creeping to the croſs on Good-friday, and kiſſing it, hallowing the font, and other exorciſms and benedictions.

X. The tenth declares it good to pray for the dead; but that it is neceſſary to correct the abuſes advanced under the pretence of purgatory, the pope's pardons, maſſes ſaid in certain places, or before certain images. In fine, that ſince the ſtate and place of ſouls after death are unknown, they ought to be recommended to God's mercy in general terms only.

Theſe conſtitutions being preſented to the king, who corrected them in ſeveral places [s], were ſigned by Cromwell, Cranmer, ſeventeen biſhops, forty abbots and priors, and fifty archdeacons and proctors of the lower houſe of convocation, among whom was Polydore Virgil, archdeacon of Wells, author of a hiſtory of England, publiſhed afterwards by the king's order [t]. Their publication occaſioned great variety of cenſures. Thoſe that deſired a reformation had gained ſome ground, with reſpect to images and purgatory, but chiefly in that the ſcriptures were made the ſtandard of faith, becauſe they hoped from that principal to draw one day very great conſequences. But the determinations concerning auricular confeſſion, and the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the euchariſt, troubled them extremely. Not only were theſe articles directly contrary to their ſentiments, but they ſaw how difficult it would be to meddle with them again, by reaſon of the king's prejudice, who believed them unqueſtionable. The other party were under an unſpeakable conſternation, to ſee articles ſo long ſince determined brought under examination, the papal authority aboliſhed, and the exiſtence of purgatory called in queſtion. Thus theſe conſtitutions pleaſed neither party. The one thought the reformers had acted too faintly, in not advancing the reformation, and could not forbear blaming their compliance, in ſuffering doctrines ſo repugnant to truth, to be eſtabliſhed. But it was replied, that every thing could not be done at once, and that it would have been imprudent obſtinately to require that the errors, the people were not yet ſenſible of, ſhould be ſuddenly retrenched. The other party were very angry alſo with the biſhops, for ſo baſely abandoning truths, embraced for ſo many ages by the catholic church. But indeed, it was not in the power of either to act otherwiſe. The king himſelf managed the whole, having ſettled in his cabinet council what he thought fit to alter or keep. But there was not a counſeller that dared to oppoſe his opinion, or believed it prudent to combat his ſentiments, for fear a too great oppoſition ſhould produce a quite contrary effect. All that could be done, was to try to enlighten the king gently and by degrees, without ſtriving to bring him, by a ſort of compulſion, to what was thought reaſonable.

Before the convocation broke up, the king communicated to both houſes a ſummons he had received to a council, which was to meet at Mantua. The pope, without conſulting him, had called this council in concert with the emperor, and was to preſide by his legates. So Henry might well expect to loſe his cauſe before ſuch a council, had he been ſo unwiſe as to ſubmit to its deciſions. Indeed he had appealed from the pope to a general council, but there were many queries to be reſolved, in order to know whether this called at Mantua was lawful, and furniſhed with a ſufficient authority. Mean while, before he anſwered the ſummons, he was pleaſed to adviſe with the clergy, who, after mature deliberation, preſented to him a writing to this effect: that a true and lawful general council was a very good means to preſerve the peace and union of the church: but before a council was called, it was neceſſary to conſider, firſt, who had authority to call it. Secondly, whether the reaſons for calling it were weighty. Thirdly, who ſhould aſſiſt as judges. Fourthly, what ſhould be the order of proceeding. Fifthly, what doctrines were to be diſcuſſed. Then it was declared, that neither the pope nor any prince in the world had power to call a general council, without the conſent of all the ſovereigns in Chriſtendom. Purſuant to this declaration, Henry publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the council which was to meet at Mantua, ſpeaking very plainly and freely of the deſigns and conduct of the pope. He concluded with ſaying, that he could not conſider as free and general, a council where the biſhop of Rome ſhould preſide, which ſhould meet in a ſuſpected place, and which muſt be compoſed only of a ſmall number of prelates, till the war between the emperor and France was ended.

The 18th of July the parliament was prorogued, after a ceſſion but of forty days, wherein however ſeveral acts of moment were paſſed [u].

At this time cardinal Pole was in high repute for his learning and eloquence. His name was de la Pole, but every where, except in England, he is ſo well known by that of Polus, that he cannot be called by any other, without danger of confounding the reader. He was deſcended of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and favourite of Richard II. From that time this family had been continually advanced, ſo that in the reign of Henry VI. the earl of Suffolk was honoured with the title of duke. After that, a lord of this family married a daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.; of this marriage was born, among other children, Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, the cardinal I am ſpeaking of, who conſequently was couſin to the king [w]. Being a younger brother, he was deſigned for the church, for which alſo his natural qualities rendered him very proper. In his younger years he made ſo great progreſs in all the ſciences, that the king, intending to raiſe him to the higheſt dignities of the church, conferred on him the deanery of Exeter, with ſeveral other benefices, that he might go and finiſh his ſtudies abroad. He went firſt to Paris, where he ſtayed ſome years, and forfeited in ſome meaſure the king's favour, for refuſing to concur with his agents in procuring the determinations of the French univerſities in the affair of the divorce. Notwithſtanding this, he returned into England, where he aſſiſted as dean of Exeter, at the convocation, which acknowledged the king ſupreme head of the church of England [x]. There is even reaſon to preſume he was not of the number of thoſe who oppoſed the new title, becauſe he kept his deanery ſeveral years after. At length he travelled into Italy, and lived ſome time at Padua, where he contracted a friendſhip with Bembo, Sadoletti, and other celebrated wits. The reputation he acquired in that country, made the king deſirous to recal him, intending to reward his merit, which was univerſally known. But Pole ſtill declined, on ſome pretence or other, to comply with the king's deſire. At laſt, finding delays could prevail no longer, he was forced to write to the king the true reaſon of his refuſal, which was, he could not approve either of his divorce, or his ſeparation from the apoſtolic ſee. Henry, who was extremely deſirous to gain him, ſent him a writing, containing his apology, and the reaſons of his proceedings againſt the pope [y]. Upon which Pole wrote his book de Unitate Eccleſiaſtica, wherein he takes the liberty to ſpeak of the king in very offenſive terms, comparing him to Nebuchadnezzar, and exhorting the emperor and the reſt of the princes to turn their arms againſt him. He was not ſatisfied with ſending him his book in manuſcript, but cauſed it to be printed and publiſhed [z]. Henry, provoked, as may be eaſily judged, at ſuch a violent and diſreſpectful behaviour, tried to allure him into England, by writing to him how much he eſteemed his book, deſiring him withal to come and explain ſome difficult paſſages by word of mouth. Pole took care not to

[s] The king did not correct the engroſſed and ſigned articles, as Rapin, and others have been led to imagine, by miſunderſtanding Burnet's words in his vol. I. p. 217. For his meaning was, (as he explains it himſelf in vol. III. p. 123.) That there are ſeveral draughts of theſe articles that are in many places corrected by the king's own hand, ſome of which corrections are very long and very material. Of theſe he ſpoke, and not of the engroſſed articles ſigned by the convocation.

[t] And Peter Vannes archdeacon of Worceſter. Herbert, p. 202.

[u] Namely, thoſe mentioned above; againſt reſtoring the authority of the biſhop of Rome; againſt immunities, &c.——By an act now made, it was alſo injoined, that tithes and other profits, ariſing or becoming due during the vacancy of any ſpiritual promotion, ſhall belong to the perſon that is next preſented thereto, toward the payment of the firſt fruits. And by another, that French wine ſhould be ſold by retail only eight pence a gallon; and ſack or malmſey for twelve pence. See ſtatut. 28 Henry VIII.

[w] This is one of the greateſt miſtakes concerning families Rapin has been guilty of. Cardinal Pole was no ways related to de la Pole, duke of Suffolk. The cardinal's father, ſir Richard Pole, knight of the garter, was a Welchman, and married Margaret, daughter of the duke of Clarence. See note [e], p. 96.

[x] He ſays himſelf he was not preſent, which ſhews, that at that time he was contented to be ſilent in his opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppoſe what was doing. Burnet, tom. III. p. 124.

[y] In a book written by Dr. Sampſon. Idem. T. I. p. 221.

[z] Pole's book was anſwered by biſhop Stokeſley, and biſhop Tunſtal, in a long and learned letter, directed to Pole. Gardiner publiſhed alſo againſt it his book of true obedience; to which was added a preface by Bonner. Idem. tom. III. p. 126, &c. Herbert, p. 182.

The

be thus enſnared. So the king, perceiving this artifice took not effect, diveſted him of all his dignities, the loſs whereof was amply repaired by the pope and the emperor. Some time after, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat. He thereby became ſtill more attached to the pope's intereſt, and a greater enemy to the king, who, not being able to reach his perſon, made his family and kindred feel the effects of his indignation.

The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries, enacted in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament, was not executed till Auguſt, though the commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe had received their inſtructions in April. Probably, the king had a mind to ſee the event of the new parliament before they proceeded. As their report was ſuppreſſed in the reign of queen Mary, it cannot poſitively be ſaid what it contained. Thus much is certain, the adherents of the pope and the old religion accuſed them of committing numberleſs extortions and robberies, and of making falſe reports of what they diſcovered in this viſitation, to leſſen the horror of their oppreſſions. This may be partly true. Nay, it is not unlikely that theſe men, either from a deſire to make their court to the king, or from a greedineſs to enrich themſelves, exceeded their inſtructions. On the other hand, it is alſo probable their accuſers highly aggravated the crimes laid to their charge. However this be, immenſe numbers were extremely diſpleaſed at the ſuppreſſion of ſo many religious houſes, which were had in great veneration. All the friers of theſe ſuppreſſed houſes who wiſhed to become ſeculars, had a diſpenſation from the king, and the reſt were removed to the larger monaſteries, which were untouched. The churches and cloiſters were pulled down, and the materials ſold to the king's uſe.

It may be eaſily judged the monks ſpared no pains to excite the people to rebel. They found it the more eaſy, as great diſcontents reigned every where. The nobility and gentry took it very ill that the king ſhould have the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, moſt part whereof were founded by their anceſtors. Beſides, they were deprived of the conveniency of providing for their younger children, when they had too many, and of lodging, as they travelled, in theſe houſes, where they were always well entertained. The poor murmured ſtill louder, becauſe multitudes lived by the alms which were daily diſtributed in theſe houſes. In ſhort, the devout bigots thought the ſouls of their anceſtors muſt now lie in purgatory, ſince ſo many maſſes which were ſaid for their deliverance, were aboliſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries.

The court hearing of theſe murmurs, endeavoured to compoſe them, by publiſhing the diſorders diſcovered in theſe houſes. But this ſignified nothing. Beſides that theſe reports were deemed very much aggravated, it was ſaid, why were not theſe abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed, without deſtroying whole houſes for ever? At laſt Cromwell found an expedient to allay the diſcontents in a great meaſure, by adviſing the king to ſell the lands of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries at very eaſy rates, and oblige the purchaſers, under ſevere penalties, to keep up the wonted hoſpitality [a]. But this expedient was not capable of entirely appeaſing the murmurs of the people, though the king ſtrove to give them ſome ſatisfaction, by re-endowing one and thirty of theſe houſes [b].

Whilſt people were in this fermentation, the king publiſhed, in the name of the vice-gerent, ſome injunctions to regulate the behaviour of perſons in holy orders, many of whom led very irregular lives. Theſe injunctions contained nothing but what had been ordained by ſeveral ſynods [c], and yet the clergy were extremely offended, becauſe they could not endure to ſee themſelves ſubject to the orders of the vice-gerent, by whom, they ſaid, they were going to be enſlaved much more than by the pope. Thus the inferior clergy, the monks, and the bigots, being equally affected by what had been done, and by what very probably was intended to be done, inſpired thoſe on whom they had any influence, with a ſpirit of rebellion, which quickly broke out into a flame.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire [d], where Dr. Mackerel, prior of Barlings, drew after him a great body of men, whom he headed, under the name of Captain Cobler. The rebels ſent their grievances to the king in a very humble manner, telling him, they acknowledged his ſupremacy, and were content he ſhould enjoy the tenths and firſt fruits of the livings, but withal prayed him to adviſe with his nobility concerning the redreſs of their grievances. This was taxing the king indirectly with following the counſels of Thomas Cromwell, who was of a mean extraction. Theſe grievances were, that he had ſuppreſſed a great number of monaſteries; that large ſubſidies had been granted by parliament without any occaſion; that he admitted into his council perſons of mean birth, whoſe ſole view was to enrich themſelves, inſtead of conſulting the good of the ſtate; that ſeveral biſhops had ſubverted the antient faith [e], and embraced new doctrines, at all times contemned by the church; that having ſeen ſo many religious houſes plundered, they were afraid the churches would undergo the ſame fate.

The king returned an anſwer to theſe grievances in a large manifeſto [f]. But as his reaſons were grounded upon principles not admitted by the malcontents, the manifeſto had no great effect. Mean while the king was greatly embarraſſed; his troops were few, and he had certain advice that a like inſurrection was preparing in Yorkſhire and other neighbouring counties. He ordered however the duke of Suffolk to march, though with very few troops, and try to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. But the duke, finding himſelf too weak, thought it more proper to endeavour to appeaſe the commotion by way of negotiation than by arms. So when he ſent to the malcontents the king's anſwer to their grievances, he took occaſion to let them know they ſhould not deſpair of pardon. Upon which ſome of their heads privately ſent him word, they had joined with the rebels only to reclaim them, wherein they hoped to ſucceed, provided the king would be pleaſed to grant them a general pardon. The duke diſliked not the overture, which afforded him an opportunity to write to the king, and ſollicit him in their behalf, offering him however to march againſt the rebels if he was ordered. At the ſame time, the king received news that the Yorkſhiremen had taken up arms, and, as he feared the others would join them, iſſued out a proclamation, granting an abſolute pardon to all that ſhould return to their homes. The proclamation ſucceeded according to expectation. The rebels immediately diſperſed, and ſo freed the king from great perplexity. Some however choſe rather to join the Yorkſhire rebels than accept of the pardon [g].

The inſurrection of Yorkſhire was much more dangerous than that of Lincolnſhire. This ſeemed to have been accidental and ſudden. The other was in purſuance of a ſettled deſign, wherein were concerned ſeveral perſons of note,

[a] The purchaſers being obliged to keep up the old hoſpitality (which they were to do upon the penalty of paying every month ſix pounds thirteen ſhillings and four-pence, to be levied by the juſtices of the peace, who were empowered to enquire of the matter) the common ſort, who, like thoſe of old, that followed Chriſt for the loaves, were moſt concerned for the loſs of a dinner on Sundays and holidays, were in a great meaſure ſatisfied; and the gentry, by having good bargains, were drawn in to like what was done, and to affix the crown for ever in the defence of theſe laws, their own intereſts being interwoven with the rights of the crown. The commiſſioners, as was but juſt, paid all the debts of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries: but when relics happened to be pawned, it ſeems they refuſed to redeem them. Thus one man loſt forty pounds which he had lent upon St. Andrew's finger, except one ounce of ſilver with which it was covered. The writers that lived near the time ſay, about ten thouſand friers and nuns were ſent to ſeek for their livings. The abbots and priors had ſmall penſions. Burnet. Herbert.

[b] Fifteen abbies, and ſixteen nunneries. The king's letters patent for that purpoſe are dated Auguſt 17. Burnet, tom. I. p. 224, and Collect. p. 142.

[c] The preamble of theſe injunctions ran thus: "In the name of God, amen. By the authority and commiſſion of the excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth ſupreme head, under Chriſt, of the church of England. I Thomas lord Cromwell, privy ſeal, and vice-gerent to the king's ſaid highneſs, for all his juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the glory of Almighty God, encreaſe of virtue, and honour of the king's majeſty, give and exhibit unto you ——— theſe injunctions following, &c." This was the firſt act of pure ſupremacy done by the king. For in all that went before, he had the concurrence of the two convocations. They were penned, it is like, by Cranmer. They were not reliſhed by the majority of the clergy. The great profits they made by their images and relics, and the pilgrimages to them, were now taken away; and yet ſevere impoſitions were laid upon them: a fifth for repairs; a tenth at leaſt for an exhibitioner, in either of the univerſities, or ſome grammar ſchool; and a fortieth for charity; which were cried out upon as intolerable burdens. Their labour was alſo encreaſed, and they were bound up to a ſtrict life. In ſhort, the very ſame opinions about pilgrimages, ſaints, &c. and about inſtructing the people in the chriſtian religion, in the vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long ago burnt, were now ſet up by the king's authority. See Burnet's Collect. tom. I. p. 160, &c.

[d] In the beginning of October, occaſioned by the levying of the fifteenth lately granted by parliament. Hall, fol. 229. Stow, p. 573. The duke of Suffolk was commiſſioned to go againſt them October 7. Herbert, p. 205.

[e] Particularly they complained, that four of their pretended ſeven ſacraments were taken away, and that they ſhould ſoon loſe the other three. Hall, fol. 228.

[f] As to the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, he declared, that it was granted him by all the nobles, ſpiritual and temporal, of his realm, and by all the commons in the ſame, by act of parliament, and not ſet forth by any counſellors of his upon their mere will and fancy. Hall, fol. 229.

[g] Captain Cobler, with ſeveral others, were taken and executed. Hall, fol. 230. The reſt made their ſubmiſſion October 19. Hollingſhead, p. 941.

who only waited, before they declared, to ſee how the people in general were diſpoſed. Robert Aſke, a man of good judgment, headed the malcontents of thoſe parts, where the diſtance of the court, and the neighbourhood of Scotland, rendered the people more bold than elſewhere; beſides that, the monks had always been in more credit in the northern counties than in all the reſt of the kingdom. Since July, Aſke had tried to gain the lord Dacres, who had amuſed him ſome time with hopes that this negotiation would ſucceed. Probably, this lord ſent the king the firſt notice of the plot. At laſt the malcontents took up arms, and aſſembled in very great numbers about the end of Auguſt, juſt after the Lincolnſhire rebellion broke out. When they ſaw themſelves ſtrong enough, they would not ſuffer the lords and gentlemen to remain neuter at home, but forced them either to fly or join with them, and ſwear they would be true to the cauſe for which they intended to fight. This cauſe was properly religion, as they plainly intimated by putting a crucifix in their banners [h]. Beſides, they reeſtabliſhed the monks in ſome of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. As they met with no oppoſition, becauſe the king's forces were employed againſt the rebels in Lincolnſhire, they made great progreſs at firſt; and ſtill much greater, after Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, the biſhopric of Durham, and the county of Weſtmoreland, engaged on their ſide. George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, was the only perſon that ventured to take up arms for the king without receiving his commiſſion, though he was not ignorant that at ſuch a juncture his proceedings might be miſinterpreted. But, as he meant well, he hoped the king would forgive a fault committed purely for his ſervice. And indeed the king ſent him a commiſſion, conſtituting him his lieutenant againſt the rebels. At the ſame time he ordered the duke of Suffolk not to ſtir from Lincolnſhire, leſt the malcontents there ſhould think of joining thoſe of the north. Moreover, he gave commiſſions to ſeveral lords [i] to levy troops, whilſt on his part he aſſembled as many as poſſible, in order to form an army, the command whereof he deſigned for the duke of Norfolk. But, either from the backwardneſs of the people, or for ſome other reaſon, the army was not ſufficiently numerous to reſiſt the rebels.

Whilſt the king was making his preparations, Aſke was not idle. He approached Pontfract caſtle, where the archbiſhop of York and Thomas lord d'Arcy were, and forced them to ſurrender the place. As theſe two lords were reckoned well affected to the pope, many believed they were not ſorry that the want of proviſions furniſhed them with a pretence to deliver Pontfract to the rebels, and march with them in their other expeditions [k]. Shortly after, Aſke took alſo York and Hull, and, by fair or foul means, obliged all the nobility of the country to join his army [l]. Thus the affair grew daily more important, and the court became apprehenſive that the reſt of the kingdom would follow the example of the northern counties. This apprehenſion was the more juſt, as at the ſame time there were in all parts men who made it their buſineſs to ſpread reports capable of inciting the whole nation to rebel, by putting them in fear of the utter ſubverſion of the religion they had hitherto profeſſed.

Mean while, the king choſe to amuſe the rebels till his army was ready. The 20th of October he ſent a herald with a proclamation to be read to the troops. Aſke gave the herald audience, ſitting in ſtate, with the archbiſhop on the one hand, and the lord d'Arcy on the other. But when he heard the contents of the proclamation, he ſent him away without ſuffering him to publiſh it. Henry, finding matters were in an ill way, diſpatched the duke of Norfolk with what troops he had ready, which were to be joined by thoſe under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome others levied in haſte by the marquis of Exeter [m]. But theſe three ſmall bodies bore no proportion to the forces of the rebels. So the king found himſelf obliged to publiſh a proclamation, commanding all the nobility to meet him at Northampton the 7th of November. Mean time, Aſke, at the head of thirty thouſand men, advanced towards Doncaſter, where the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Exeter, and the earl of Shrewſbury, were encamped with five thouſand men only, and having no other refuge but to defend the paſs of the river between the two armies. But as it was fordable in ſeveral places, they would doubtleſs have been extremely embarraſſed, if a great rain, which fell very ſeaſonably, had not made the river impaſſable. This was certainly a very fortunate accident for the king. If his troops had been defeated on this occaſion, as it was very likely, conſidering their ſmall number, it would have done him an unſpeakable damage.

I have before obſerved, that the duke of Norfolk approved not of the alterations made in religion. And therefore it could not but be very diſagreeable to him to command the king's army, againſt people who had taken up arms in a cauſe which he could not diſlike. Mean while, he ſaw himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation, ſince he was as much afraid of conquering as of being conquered. In the firſt caſe, a victory over the rebels would infallibly ruin the party he ſecretly favoured. In the ſecond caſe, he ran the riſque of being ſuſpected by the king, and forfeiting his favour. Happily for him, his inability to hurt the rebels freed him from this embarraſſment, by affording him a pretence to proceed by way of negotiation. As he held intelligence with ſome of their leaders, he ſo ordered it by their means, that they came to a reſolution to preſent a very humble petition to the king. That done, they acquainted the duke with it, intreating him to ſecond it with his intereſt. The duke readily granted their requeſt, but told them, that to obtain a favourable anſwer to the king there muſt be a ceſſation of arms, during which he took upon him to go himſelf and preſent their petition. The propoſal being accepted, the ceſſation was concluded, and the duke departed for London [n]. At ſuch a juncture, the ceſſation was very advantageous to the king, becauſe his army being very weak, he wanted time to raiſe more forces. For this very cauſe many of the rebels, ſeeing that contrary to all reaſon the king had leiſure given him to aſſemble his troops, and imagining they were betrayed by their leaders, withdrew to their homes [o].

The diſcord which began to ſpread among the rebels, gave the king ſome hopes of coming off upon eaſy terms. And therefore he delayed ſending an anſwer to their petition, expecting their army would diſperſe by degrees [p]. But the leaders perceiving at length that the court purpoſely prolonged the negotiation, and that thoſe delays muſt utterly ruin their affairs, renewed their hoſtilities, and reſolved once more to attack the royal army. Had this reſolution been executed, it would probably have changed the face of affairs very much; but another great rain ſo ſwelled the river which parted the two armies, that it was not poſſible for them to paſs it [q]. The king hearing of this, thought it neceſſary to give them ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, for fear they ſhould execute their reſolution before he was ready. To that end, he ſent them an anſwer to their petition [r]; but it was expreſſed in ſuch general terms, that they could not depend upon what was promiſed therein. At the ſame time he propoſed, that if they would ſend three hundred deputies to Doncaſter, commiſſioners ſhould meet them there, and treat of a peace. His aim was to gain time, in hopes the three hundred deputies would diſagree, and their diſſention by prolonging the negotiation gave him time to prepare his army. A few days after, the duke of Norfolk returning to Doncaſter, ſent word to the rebels that he had brought them a general pardon, ten only excepted, ſix of whom were named, and four not. But the pardon was unanimouſly rejected, becauſe the ſix perſons named were ſome of the heads, and each

[h] Their march was called the pilgrimage of grace; and, to inveigle the people, ſome prieſts marched before them with croſſes in their hands. In their banners they had a crucifix with the five wounds, and a chalice, and every one wore on his ſleeve, as a badge, an emblem of the five wounds of Chriſt, with the name of Jeſus wrought in the midſt. All that joined them took an oath, "That they entered into this pilgrimage of grace, for the love of God, the preſervation of the king's perſon and iſſue, the putrifying the nobility, and driving away all baſe-born and evil counſellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for envy, but to take before them the croſs of Chriſt, his faith, the reſtitution of the church, and the ſuppreſſion of heretics and their opinions." Theſe were ſpecious pretences. So people flocked about their croſſes and ſtandards, in ſuch numbers, that they grew forty thouſand ſtrong. Burnet, tom. I. p. 229. Hall, fol. 230. Stow, p. 574.

[i] Particularly to George Stanley, earl of Derby, October 17. At the ſame time, George Haſtings, earl of Huntingdon, and Thomas Manners, earl of Rutland, ſent the king offers of their ſervices. Herbert, p. 206.

[k] They were both made to take the oath in the note above.

[l] Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland (17 Hen. VIII.) grandſon of the lord Clifford, ſlain in the firſt of Edw. IV. held out his caſtle of Skipton, againſt all that force, though five hundred gentlemen (retained at his coſt) had deſerted him. Sir Ralph Evers alſo defended Scarborough caſtle till he was relieved, though himſelf and men had nothing but bread and water for twenty days. Herb. p. 206.

[m] Henry Courtney.

[n] Together with ſir Ralph Elecker, and Robert Bowes, whom the rebels ſent with him. Herbert, p. 206.

[o] Rumours were induſtriouſly ſpread among them, that ſome of their chiefs would compound for themſelves, and leave the reſt to the gallows. Herbert, ibid.

[p] He alſo detained Elecker and Bowes, under pretence that the rebels had broken the ceſſation. Ibid.

[q] The ſecond ſwelling of the river, was not, according to Herbert, &c. till after the conference at Doncaſter, when the rebels, upon the king's rejecting their demands, reſolved to attack Doncaſter, p. 207.

[r] By the duke of Norfolk. Herbert, ibid.

Among

was in fear of being one of the four whom the king had reſerved. And indeed the king had no other view but to ſow diſcord among them, and make way for the treaty at Doncaſter, which they accepted at laſt, and ſent their three hundred deputies thither [s]. The court had expected, theſe deputies would never agree about their demands, and ſo would afford the time that was wanted. But as it was eaſy for the leaders to diſcover the court's intention, they gave the deputies their inſtructions in writing, from which they were not to depart. Theſe inſtructions contained ten demands, which the deputies made at the congreſs held at Doncaſter the 6th of December.

I. They demanded a general pardon, without any exception.

II. That a parliament ſhould be held at York.

III. That a court of juſtice ſhould be erected there, that the inhabitants of the northern counties might not be brought to London upon any law ſuit.

IV. That ſome acts of the late parliaments, which were too grievous to the people, ſhould be repealed [t].

V. That the princeſs Mary ſhould be declared legitimate.

VI. That the papal authority ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed upon the old foot.

VII. That the ſuppreſſed monaſteries ſhould be reſtored to their former ſtate.

VIII. That the Lutherans, and all innovators in religion, ſhould be puniſhed ſeverely.

IX. That Thomas Cromwell, and Audley lord chancellor, ſhould be removed from the council, and excluded from the next parliament.

X. That Lee and Leighton, viſitors of the monaſteries, ſhould be impriſoned, and brought to account for their briberies and extortions.

As the deputies had not power to qualify theſe demands, ſo the king's commiſſioners were not authoriſed to grant them. The king took care not to deſtroy in a moment the work of many years. Thus the congreſs ended without any fruit. The duke of Norfolk was very ſorry to ſee that the affair was like to be decided by arms. He heartily wiſhed the king would grant the rebels all their demands; but knew too well his humour and character to venture to make him ſuch a propoſal. Mean while, he was extremely embarraſſed. He muſt either betray the king's intereſts, or reſolve to fight the rebels, contrary to his own inclination, and with great danger of a defeat. At leaſt, he would not avoid, purſuant to the intent of the court, to prolong the affair till the king was ready to march, and then he ſaw the ruin of the rebels was inevitable. In this perplexity he choſe to write to the king, that, the number of the rebels daily increaſing, there was danger of their making ſome attempt which it would be difficult to reſiſt; and therefore, to prevent the threatened miſchief, it was his opinion, if his highneſs pleaſed, that ſome of their demands ſhould be granted. Upon this letter, the king empowered him to offer them a general pardon without exception [u], and promiſe them in his name, that the next parliament ſhould be held in the north. But withal, he ordered him not to uſe theſe remedies except in extremity, and when there was no other reſource. The duke, receiving theſe powers, thought proper to uſe them without delay, ſince it was the only way to free him from his embarraſſment. He was unwilling openly to betray the king's intereſts, and, on the other hand, did not care to be inſtrumental in the rebels deſtruction, whoſe ſentiments he approved, though he durſt not ſhew it. So, after having by his correſpondents prevailed with the leaders to comply with the king's offers, the agreement was concluded, and every man returned to his home, to the great ſorrow of the monks and bigots, who had expected quite another thing from their efforts to excite the people to rebel [w]. But the agreement hindered not the friers and eccleſiaſtics of thoſe parts, from continuing to foment among the people a ſpirit of rebellion, which broke out again, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. Something muſt now be ſaid of the emperor's affairs with the king of France, wherein all Europe was concerned.

When Francis I. began the war in Savoy, about the end of the laſt year, the emperor was in Sicily upon his return from his Tunis expedition, but unable to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy. This made him chooſe to try to cool the king of France's ardour by a negotiation, till he could aid his ally.

The death of Franceſco Sforza, which happened in the mean time, furniſhed him with an opportunity. He intimated to the French embaſſador reſiding at his court, that he would not diſpoſe of the duchy of Milan till he knew the king of France's ſentiments. Francis being informed of it, demanded the duchy for his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, and the emperor put him in hopes he would give it to his third ſon, the duke of Angoulême, upon certain terms, which left it in his power to prolong the negotiation as much as he pleaſed. And, indeed, he amuſed him in this manner till April 1536; one while inſiſting upon the perſon of the duke of Angolême, another while ſeeming inclined to confer the duchy on the duke of Orleans. Francis, willing to end this affair, and knowing the emperor intended to go to Rome, ſent the cardinal of Lorrain for a poſitive anſwer; but, leſt the events of the war ſhould bring ſome obſtacle to the negotiation, he ordered admiral Biron, who commanded in Piedmont, to ceaſe hoſtilities.

Whilſt the cardinal of Lorrain was on his journey, the emperor, arriving at Rome, went a few days after to a public conſiſtory, which was aſſembled at his requeſt. There, before the pope and the cardinals, he inveighed againſt the king of France, intimating, he was the ſole author of the wars that had afflicted Europe ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne. He thence took occaſion to ſay, that, inſtead of ſhedding ſo much innocent blood, it would be better to decide their quarrel by ſingle combat, with ſword and poignard; in their ſhirts, in ſome iſland, or in a boat. But the next day, the French embaſſador demanding whether he deſigned to challenge the king his maſter, he replied, he had no ſuch intention, but meant only that the expedient he propoſed ſeemed to him more reaſonable than a war.

Some time after, the emperor, being at Sienna, the cardinal of Lorrain waited on him, and in his audiences diſcovered he had never intended to give the duchy of Milan to a prince of the royal family of France. He wrote therefore to the king, that he was to expect war. And, indeed, the emperor was now aſſembling all his forces, purpoſing to bring three armies into the field, one in Piedmont, which he intended to command in perſon, another in Picardy, and a third in Champagne. This deſign was already ſo public, that Francis could not be ignorant of it. So, believing the emperor meant to make his moſt powerful effort in Picardy, he recalled the greateſt part of his army in Piedmont, having ordered Turin, and his other conqueſts in that country, to be well ſtored with ammunition.

The French troops quitting Piedmont, the emperor cauſed Turin to be inveſted, and during the ſiege headed his army and marched towards Provence. Francis, who was then at Lyons, ſpeedily provided Marſeilles with neceſſaries, and ordered two camps to be fortified, one at Cavaillon, under the command of the marſhal de Montmorency, the other at Valence, where he came himſelf. There he received the ſad news of the death of his ſon the dauphin, poiſoned by Montecuculli.

The emperor having entered Provence took Aix, and then laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which was begun the 25th of Auguſt and raiſed the 9th of September. He had ſo ill taken his meaſures, that not knowing how to ſubſiſt his army in Provence, he was forced to retire in the utmoſt diſorder, not without danger of being defeated in his retreat, if Francis had thought proper to attack him. He came to Genoa the 2d of October, and embarked for Spain. This was the ſucceſs of the Provence expedition, which he had been long meditating, and by means of which he hoped to give a mortal wound to France.

Whilſt the emperor was waging war in Provence, the count of Naſſau entered Picardy with an army of thirty thouſand men and took Guiſe by ſtorm. After that, he beſieged Peronne, which was relieved by the duke of Guiſe.

Francis returning to Paris with unſpeakable ſatisfaction, at having diſappointed the emperor's deſigns, met upon the way James V. king of Scotland, who was come to demand his daughter Magdalen in marriage. He was not without great

[s] Among whom were John lord Scrope, lord Latimer, John lord Lumley, Thomas lord d'Arcy, ſir Thomas Percy, Robert Aſke, &c. who were to treat with the duke of Norfolk, ſir William Fitzwilliam, admiral of England, &c. Herbert, Ibid.

[t] Namely, thoſe for the laſt ſubſidy, being a fifteenth, for uſes, for making of words miſpriſion of treaſon, for the clergy's paying their tenths and firſt fruits to the king. Herbert, p. 207.

[u] Their pardon was ſigned by king Henry, at Richmond, December 7. Herbert, p. 207.

[w] The king ſent alſo a long anſwer to their demands, which the reader may ſee in Burnet, tom. I. p. 232, and Herbert, p. 207.

And

difficulty prevailed with to grant his requeſt, becauſe the princeſs being ſickly, it was thought marriage would but ſhorten her days. However, the king of Scotland expreſſing a very earneſt deſire for marriage, it was concluded in December, and the nuptials were celebrated the 1ſt of January 1537. Let us return now to the affairs of England.

[1537] The northern rebellion was appeaſed, but in ſuch a manner that the cauſe ſtill ſubſiſted, the malcontents having received no redreſs of their grievances, except only that the king had promiſed to call a parliament in the north, which he never intended to do. The pretence he uſed was, that they left in the monaſteries the monks they had reſtored. But this was a precarious excuſe, if ever there was one, ſince it was not their buſineſs to turn them out, but the king's, who had the power in his own hands, whereas they had nothing more to ſay after quitting their arms. The king, knowing how the people of the north ſtood affected, ordered the duke of Norfolk [x] to remain there with his army, to keep them in awe. So the duke was employed for ſome time with cauſing perſons of all conditions to ſwear to be true to the king [y]; a very improper remedy for ſuch ſort of evils, ſince the ſame compulſion which extorts oaths from a diſcontented people, ſerves alſo for pretences to break them upon occaſion. In the mean time, Aſke, who had commanded the rebels, was ordered to court, where he was well received; but the lord d'Arcy, who had not ſo readily obeyed the like order, was ſent to the Tower upon his arrival at London.

Shortly after, two gentlemen of the north, Nicholas Muſgrave and Thomas Tilby, put themſelves at the head of eight thouſand malcontents, and appeared before Carliſle in order to take the city. But being repulſed, and thereupon ſuddenly attacked by the duke of Norfolk, they were entirely routed. Muſgrave had the good fortune to eſcape, but Tilby, and ſeventy-four others taken with him, were hanged on the walls of Carliſle. Sir Francis Bigod and one Halam, with another body of rebels, attempted at the ſame time to ſurpriſe Hull, but were made priſoners themſelves, and executed.

Theſe attempts rendered the king ſo fierce, that he put to death Aſke and the lord d'Arcy, notwithſtanding the general pardon to appeaſe the firſt inſurrection. The lord d'Arcy accuſed the duke of Norfolk of favouring the rebels, which perhaps was too true. But the duke cleared himſelf, or rather the king thought not fit ſtrictly to examine the accuſation [z]. Mean while, as he knew, the emperor was contriving ſome plot in Ireland, he gave order that Thomas Fitzgerald, ſon of the late earl of Kildare, and five of his uncles, after a long impriſonment at London, ſhould ſuffer death, for a terror to the Iriſh. But the earl of Kildare's youngeſt ſon had the good fortune to eſcape, and fled for refuge to cardinal Pole [a].

The king could not be perſuaded but that it was the monks who moſt contributed to preſerve and foment the people's diſcontents. He conſidered them as the chief authors of the late inſurrections, and conſequently as his perſonal enemies. He believed to ſee in their behaviour, that if they had power, they would not ſpare him, and therefore he projected their ruin to prevent their deſigns. Herein he found two conſiderable advantages: the one to free himſelf from his enemies, and the other to enjoy their ſpoils. It is not to be doubted, this laſt conſideration had alſo a ſhare in his project of vengeance upon them. The ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries having only whetted his appetite, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the reſt, and ſeize their immenſe poſſeſſions [b]. The more eaſily to accompliſh his deſign, he uſed the ſame means he had practiſed to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries; that is, he appointed a very ſtrict viſitation of thoſe that remained, not queſtioning but the diſcoveries which ſhould be made would promote his deſign.

The 12th of October the queen was delivered of a prince, who was called Edward. But his birth coſt his mother her life, who died two days after her delivery [c]. As the king had cauſed his two daughters by his former marriages to be declared illegitimate, nothing could be more acceptable than the birth of a ſon, who put the ſucceſſion of the crown out of all diſpute. And therefore, in a few days, he conferred on him, as his heir apparent, the title of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwal, and earl of Cheſter. At the ſame time, he created Edward Seymour, the queen's brother and the newborn prince's uncle, earl of Hertford [d].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the war ſtill continued between the emperor and the king of France, but was interrupted in Picardy by a ſix months truce, concluded in July, which was followed by another in November for Italy. As by the laſt truce, it was agreed that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed, the duke of Savoy remained equally deſpoiled by his enemies, and by thoſe he had called to his aſſiſtance: the common fate of petty princes!

The queen of Scotland died in July, to the great joy of thoſe who dreaded the progreſs of the reformation; becauſe that princeſs had been educated by her aunt, the queen of Navarre. Buchanan ſays, the cuſtom of wearing mourning was firſt introduced into Scotland on occaſion of her death, which cuſtom, though of forty years ſtanding, was however not yet eſtabliſhed in his time. James V. removed the uneaſineſs of thoſe who were afraid of his being biaſſed by the deceaſed queen in favour of the new religion, by demanding in marriage Mary of Guiſe, ſiſter of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain.

The affairs of religion daily grew more important in a great part of Europe, by reaſon of the progreſs of the reformation. Thoſe who had embraced it, wiſhed only to live in quiet with liberty of conſcience. But this was what the old religion would never allow them. The glory of God, and zeal for the intereſts of the church, ſerved for pretence to this refuſal. But the real cauſes were, firſt, the pride of moſt men, who cannot bear to be told that their opinions are wrong. Secondly, the temporal intereſt of the clergy, who, wherever the reformation was eſtabliſhed, ſaw themſelves deprived of their rich benefices, the revenues of the church being applied by the reformed to uſes very different from thoſe in which they had hitherto been employed. Thirdly, the pope's intereſts, who daily loſt his ſubjects, his revenues, his credit, his authority. There was another particular cauſe in Germany, which inflamed the troubles occaſioned by religion, and that was, the emperor and his brother the king of the Romans had formed a deſign to uſe the pretence of obliging the proteſtants to re-enter the pale of the church. For that reaſon, inſtead of healing, they fomented the diviſions to the utmoſt of their power. The proteſtants com-

[x] And the earl of Shrewſbury. Herbert, p. 211.

[y] The contents of the oath they took, were: 1. To revoke all oaths and promiſes made in the former inſurrection, aſking the king's forgiveneſs on their knees. 2. To be true to the king, his heirs, and ſucceſſors. 3. To obſerve and maintain all acts of parliament, ſince the firſt year of the king's reign. 4. Not to take arms again, but by the king's authority. 5. To apprehend all ſeditious perſons. 6. To remove all the monks and nuns they had replaced in the late diſſolved monaſteries. Herbert, p. 211.

[z] Aſke had left the court without leave, and, being taken again, was hanged in chains on a tower in York. The lord d'Arcy and the lord Huſſy were arraigned at Weſtminſter, before the marquis of Exeter, then high ſteward, and found guilty of treaſon. The lord Huſſy was beheaded at Lincoln, the lord d'Arcy on Tower-hill, the 20th of June, and buried in St. Botolph's church. He endeavoured to purge himſelf, that he was forced to a compliance with them; and pleaded, that the long ſervices he had done the crown for fifty years, he being fourſcore, together with his great age and infirmity, might mitigate the king's diſpleaſure. He died much lamented, every body thinking he had hard meaſure. Sir Robert Conſtable was hanged at Hull; ſir John Bulmer, ſir Thomas Piercy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, and William Lumley, ſuffered at Tyburn; and Margaret Cheney, alias lady Bulmer, was burned in Smithfield. Hall, fol. 232. Stow, p. 574. Burnet, tom. I. p. 234.

[a] Gerald Fitzgerald, the eighth earl of Kildare, was made deputy of Ireland in 1515, and again in 1524; but a quarrel ariſing between him and James Butler, earl of Oſſory, the earl of Kildare was charged with maladminiſtration, and ordered by king Henry to repair to London. At his departure, he left his ſon Thomas, deputy in his room, who, upon a falſe report that his father (then a priſoner in the Tower) was beheaded, defied king Henry and his authority, proclaimed open war, and applied to the emperor for aſſiſtance; whereupon, he and five of his uncles were attainted, and, upon the king's ſending an army into Ireland, were taken, and brought over to London, and beheaded on February 3. Gerald Fitzgerald, the earl of Kildare's youngeſt ſon, was packed up in a bundle of clothes, and conveyed to Ireland, and ſo to France, and from thence to the Low Countries; in both which places being required of our king, he at length fled to cardinal Pole, who, finding him a fit inſtrument for his purpoſe, kept him till he might be reſtored to his country and place. Herbert, p. 212, 181.

[b] In the records of this year there are extant the ſurrenders of three monaſteries only: namely, of the abbey of Furneſe, in Lincolnſhire, on April 9, valued at nine hundred and ſixty pounds a year; of Bermondſey, in Surrey, June 1, valued at five hundred and forty-eight pounds; and of Buſhliſham or Biſhtam, in Berkſhire, July 5, valued at two hundred and thirty-ſeven pounds. Burnet, tom. I. p. 235. Collect. p. 143.

[c] The queen was delivered at Hampton Court, and died the 24th of October, as appears in a journal, written by Cecil, that it was in twelve days after Edward's birth: ſo it is in the Herald's office. Strype Correct. to Burnet, tom. III. p. 406, 419. She died not by the cruelty of the ſurgeons ripping up her belly to make way for the prince's birth, as ſome writers gave out, but, as the original letters yet extant ſhew, ſhe died, after being well delivered, of a diſtemper incident to women in that condition. Burnet, tom. III. ibid. Queen Jane was buried in the choir at Windſor; whoſe loſs ſo much afflicted the king, he having always found her diſcreet, humble, and loyal, that notwithſtanding ſome good offers, he continued a widower above two years. Herbert, p. 212.

[d] Sir William Fitzwilliams was made earl of Southampton, and in March following, ſir William Paulet, treaſurer of the king's houſe, was created lord St. John, and ſir John Ruſſel, comptroller, lord Ruſſel. Herbert, p. 214.

This

plained, among other things, that a council was called at Mantua, contrary to an expreſs promiſe that it ſhould be in Germany. Beſides, they meant not to ſubmit to the deciſions of a council where the pope preſided, and which, as they perceived, would be far from being free. The emperor amuſed them with evaſive anſwers, till all ſhould be ready to attack them. Mean while the pope, having deferred the opening of the council from May to November, charged in that interval the cardinals Contarini, Sadoletti, Pole, Bembo, all perſons of great reputation, to examine wherein the church wanted reformation. Theſe able divines found nothing amiſs in the doctrines. They only drew up, as to diſcipline, a liſt of ſundry triſles, which in their opinion deſerved to be rectified. To theſe alone they thought the reformation ought to be confined.

Mean while the emperor was very ſeriouſly thinking of the affairs of Germany, though he took great care to conceal his deſigns from the proteſtants. In order to free himſelf from all other incumbrances, and attack them with advantage, he had concluded the truce with Francis, in hopes it would ſoon be followed by a peace. He perceived the Smalcaldick league would be an everlaſting obſtacle to the execution of his projects, by Francis's and Henry's endeavours to gain it to their intereſts. So his chief aim was to diſſolve that league, that he might afterwards proceed againſt England with all the forces of Spain, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries [e].

[1538] Henry eaſily judged Charles V. and Francis I. had agreed to a truce, only in order to conclude a peace very ſoon, which would rob him of the aſſiſtance of France. So, finding he had no refuge but in his own forces in caſe of attack, he conſidered early of means to prevent inſurrections at home, which muſt have greatly embarraſſed him, if he ſhould be engaged in a foreign war. He knew the monks hated him mortally. They were the perſons that inſpired the Engliſh with a ſpirit of rebellion, the more dangerous, as religion was the principal cauſe. So, to deprive the pope and the emperor of ſuch a ſupport in his own realm, he reſolved to ſuppreſs all the religious houſes ſtill remaining in England. He had a farther motive, which was not inconſiderable, namely, to have a fund ſufficient to maintain the war, without being forced to over-burden his ſubjects. But as the ſuppreſſion of part of the monaſteries had already occaſioned troubles in the kingdom, it was likely, the ſuppreſſion of all would riſe ſtill greater. Wherefore he believed he ſhould prevent all commotions by removing the people's veneration for the monks. To that end, the report of the laſt viſitation being brought to him, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed. Very probably the facts inſerted, concerning the diſorderly lives of the friers and nuns, were ſet forth ſo as to be ſubſervient to the king's deſigns [f]. But what conduced moſt to recover people out of their ſuperſtitious fondneſs for the religious houſes, was the diſcovery of the frauds committed there with reſpect to relics and images. Had the buſineſs been only the debaucheries of the monks and nuns, it might have been objected, that it ſufficed to make ſtrict enquiry of thoſe who were guilty, and to puniſh them ſeverely. But for the pious frauds (as they are called) it could hardly be thought but that the whole ſociety was concerned. For this reaſon, therefore, the king, to make them as viſible as the ſun, took care publicly to expoſe the counterfeit relics found in the monaſteries, and the ſprings by which the images of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, or any of the ſaints were made to move, which was looked upon by the ignorant multitude as the effect of a divine power. If the reader deſires to ſee a particular account of theſe pious impoſtures, he will find it, though withal very ſhort, in the hiſtory of the reformation of England. Theſe frauds being thus detected, whatever had ſerved to engage the people in ſuperſtition, was by the king's order burnt in public [g]. But what grieved the votaries moſt was, to ſee the bones of Thomas Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, publicly burnt. They accuſed the king of acting from a motive of a ſacrilegious avarice, in order to have a pretence to ſeize the rich ſhrine of that ſaint, whereon, beſides other precious ſtones, was a very fine diamond offered in 1179 by Henry I. king of France, when he came in pilgrimage to Canterbury [h]. This proceeding ſo exaſperated the adherents of the old religion, that they wrote in a moſt virulent manner to Rome againſt the king, comparing him to the greateſt tyrants that ever lived. Whereupon, at Rome and other places, numberleſs ſatyrs were penned, which painted Henry as the moſt execrable of men to thoſe who were not uſed to the hyperbolical expreſſions of the Italians. The king had his ſpies at Rome, who, acquainting him with what was publiſhed againſt him, told him withal, that to cardinal Pole the informations ſent from England were generally addreſſed, and that his ſtile was viſible in ſome of the ſatyrs. This ſo highly incenſed the king againſt the cardinal, that he made all his family and friends feel the effects, inſomuch that he would ſooner have pardoned any crime than a correſpondence with him. It is ſtrange that the cardinal, who ſeemed otherwiſe very prudent and moderate, ſhould ſo give way to his zeal or his paſſion againſt the king, that he feared not, by ſo unadviſed a behaviour, to expoſe his friends to Henry's utmoſt reſentment. His obſtinacy in this reſpect was ſo great, that at length he was the occaſion of his mother's loſing her head on the ſcaffold, as will be ſeen hereafter.

All the king's proceedings convincing the pope that he was to expect no change in him, he publiſhed at length the bull of excommunication [i], drawn and ſigned in 1535. Moreover, he tried to excite all the princes of Chriſtendom againſt Henry, and offered the kingdom of England to the king of Scotland. Nay, Pole maintained, in a book publiſhed ſhortly after, that it was more meritorious to fight againſt Henry than againſt the Turk. But the pope's thunders had ſo loſt their force in England, that the bull cauſed no commotion, or if it produced any effect, it was quite contrary to what the pope expected. Henry being more provoked with him, took ſo good precautions to hinder him from executing his deſigns, that he thereby advanced the reformation much more than he intended. As ſoon as he had heard of the bulls being publiſhed, he required the biſhops and abbots to ſwear again to renounce the papal authority. At the ſame time, the new tranſlation of the bible being preſented to him, he ordered fifteen hundred copies to be printed, and ſet up in the principal churches, being ſatisfied that nothing would be found there to ſupport the exorbitant power aſſumed by the pope over all Chriſtendom [k].

[e] This year, the manner of caſting pipes of lead, for conveyance of water under ground, was firſt invented by Robert Brock, one of the king's chaplains; Robert Cooper, goldſmith, making the inſtruments, and putting the invention firſt in practice. Hollingſhead, p. 944.

[f] Of the confeſſions then made to the viſitors, there is only now one extant, which probably eſcaped the deſtruction of all papers of that kind in queen Mary's time. It is from the Benedictines of St. Andrews, in Northampton, wherein they acknowledge their paſt ill life, for which the pit of hell was ready to ſwallow them up. They confeſs they had neglectedthe worſhip of God, lived in idleneſs, gluttony, ſenſuality, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 237.

[g] And here, ſays lord Herbert, out of our records I ſhall mention ſome of the images and relics to which the pilgrimages of theſe times brought devotion and offerings, as our lady's girdle ſhewed in eleven places, and her milk in eight. The felt of St. Thomas, of Lancaſter, a remedy for the headach; the penknite and boots of St. Thomas, of Canterbury, and a piece of his ſhirt, much reverenced by great bellied women; the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; two or three heads of St. Urſula; Malchus's ear, and the paring of St. Edmund's nails; the image of an angel with one wing, which brought hither the ſpear's head that pierced Chriſt's ſide; an image of our lady, with a taper in her hand, which burnt nine years together without waſting, till one forſwearing himſelf thereon, it went out, and was now found to be but a piece of wood. The crucifix of Boxley, in Kent, commonly called the rood of grace, was a famous impoſture, to which many pilgrimages were made, being contrived ſo as to be able, by the help of ſprings, to roll the eyes, and move the lips, to bow, to ſhake the head, hands, and feet. It was ſhewed publicly at Paul's croſs, by John, biſhop of Rocheſter, and, after a ſermon upon it, there broken in pieces, Feb. 24. Another great impoſture was at Hales, in Glocesterſhire, where the blood of Chriſt, brought from Jeruſalem, was ſhewed in a chriſtal vial, and was ſaid to have this property, that if a man was in a mortal ſin, and not abſolved, he could not ſee it. Therefore every man that came to behold this miracle was forced to continue to make preſents, till he bribed heaven to give him the ſight of ſo bleſſed a relic. This was now diſcovered to be the blood of a duck, renewed every week, and the one ſide of the vial was ſo thick, that there was no ſeeing through it, but the other was tranſparent. It was ſo placed near the altar, that one in a ſecret place behind could turn which ſide he pleaſed outward. There was brought out of Wales a huge image of wood, called Darvel Gatheren, which ſerved for fuel to burn one frier Forreſt, who adviſed people, in confeſſion, not to believe the king's ſupremacy. Beſides which, the images of our lady of Walſingham, of Ipſwich, of Penriſe, of Iſlington, and St. John, of Oſulſton, called otherwiſe Mr. John Shorne, who was ſaid to ſhut up the devil in a boot, and many others, were publicly burnt. Herbert, p. 213. Compl. Hiſt. Stow, p. 575.

[h] For three hundred years he was accounted one of the greateſt ſaints in heaven, as appears from the accounts of the leger books of the offerings to three of the greateſt altars in Chriſt's Church in Canterbury. In one year there was offered at Chriſt's altar, 3l. 1s. 6d. At the virgin's altar, 63l. 5s. 6d. But at St. Thomas's, 832l. 12s. 3d. The next year the odds grew greater; at Chriſt's altar not a penny; at the Virgin's only 4l. 1s. 8d.; but at St. Thomas's, 954l. 6s. 3d. The rich ſtone was offered by Lewis VII. of France, which our king ſet in a ring, and wore on his thumb. The ſpoil of the ſhrine in gold and precious ſtones filled two cheſts, which were ſo heavy that they were a load to eight ſtrong men to carry them out of the church. His name was ſtruck out of the kalendar; the day of raiſing his body, or, as they called it, his tranſlation, being the 7th of July, which was not only a holiday, but every 50th year there was a jubilee for 15 days together, and indulgence granted to all that viſited his ſhrine. Burnet, tom. I. p. 244. Stow, p. 576.

[i] On Dec. 17. Herb. p. 216. Burnet, tom. I. p. 245, 248.

[k] Grafton, the printer, printed fifteen hundred at his own charge, which amounted to five hundred pounds. This bible was preſented to the king by Cromwell, who procured the king's warrant, allowing all to read it without controul.

Shortly after, an injunction was publiſhed by the vicegerent, to teach the people the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. Moreover, all incumbents were ordered to inſtruct the people, by declaring, they muſt not truſt in other men's works, but in their own; and that relics, beads, and the like, were unneceſſary to ſalvation. They were alſo to take down all images to which offerings were wont to be made, and to ſuffer no candles to be ſet up before any image, except our Saviour's. In fine, they were to ſuppreſs all the Ora pro Nobis's which were added to the prayers addreſſed to the ſaints [l].

This injunction was deemed a mortal wound to the old religion, whoſe adherents were in the utmoſt conſternation. But no man dared to ſtir, ſo abſolute a ſway had the king acquired over his ſubjects. Nay, the moſt diſcontented affected a blind ſubmiſſion to his will, knowing the leaſt ſuſpicion would ruin them.

Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was now rerurned from his embaſſy to France. He was one of the zealous adherents of the old religion. Nay, he was ſuſpected of being privately reconciled to the pope, and of holding correſpondence with the emperor. But he ſo artfully diſſembled his ſentiments, that he perſuaded the king, it was only the device of his enemies, on purpoſe to ruin him. It is however certain, though the king ſeemed ſatisfied, he had no great eſteem for him, and yet ſuffered him to be near him on account of the extreme ſubmiſſion. His blind condeſcention to the king's will afforded him many opportunities to ſerve the party he privately favoured. The king conſidering him not as a ſuſpected perſon, ſince he ſo readily complied with his orders, freely liſtened to him when he ſpoke againſt the Sacramentarians, being ſtill extremely prepoſſeſſed in favour of the doctrine of the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacrament. Then Gardiner could explain his ſentiments without fear, becauſe they agreed with the king's. He inſinuated to him, that ſo long as he left that doctrine untouched, he would never be accuſed of changing his religion, but would rather be extolled for having purged it in preſerving the eſſentials. Thus Gardiner engaged him to perſecute the Sacramentarians, not ſo much from a religious as from a political motive. He knew the king's temper to be impatient of contradiction. And therefore, by engaging him to maintain a doctrine which thoſe of the new religion could not admit, he hoped their reſiſtance would provoke him againſt them, and thereby he would be more eaſily led to be reconciled to the pope. That is to ſay properly, he employed, to alienate the king from the proteſtants, the ſame means they uſed to prejudice him againſt their adverſaries. But neither could ſucceed. Henry reformed himſelf but by halves, and was never reconciled to the court of Rome. As he was grown abſolute, he would never ſuffer his ſubjects to go farther than himſelf, but compelled them to ſtop where he was pleaſed to ſtop; equally ſevere, or rather unmerciful, to thoſe who refuſed to follow him, and to thoſe who would go beyond him. He ſhewed this year an inſtance of rigour capable of making the reformers deſpair of any farther progreſs.

One John Nicolſon, alias Lambert, being informed againſt as a Sacramentarian [m], the king convened a great aſſembly in Weſtminſter-hall, where he was pleaſed himſelf to diſpute publicly with the party accuſed. The match was by no means equal. Lambert ſtood alone without a ſecond; but the king was ſurrounded with a croud of perſons, who applauded his arguments, and deemed them invincible; whereas none dared to approve of what Lambert aſſerted. The diſpute ended with the king's putting it to the choice of the unfortunate Lambert, either to abjure his opinion, or be burnt. But, whatever advantage the king ſeemed to have, he may be ſaid to be vanquiſhed, ſince he was forced to fly to ſo rigorous a method to convince his adverſary, after flattering himſelf to perſuade him by dint of reaſon; otherwiſe, probably, he would not have engaged in the diſpute. However, he ſucceeded not by this extraordinary way, ſince Lambert choſe rather to die than abjure the opinion he ſtill believed [n]. Henry had no occaſion to be flattered; he had but too good a conceit of himſelf. Nevertheleſs, Gardiner, and the reſt of his party, took occaſion from the diſpute to extol him above the moſt learned divines of the age. They inſpired him with ſuch an opinion of his learning, that he thought his notions ought to be a ſtandard to all. But, contrary to the expectation of his flatterers, this conceit of himſelf was no leſs fatal to them than to the other party, ſince he reſolved to puniſh ſeverely and indifferently all who dared to ſwerve from what he himſelf deemed reaſonable.

About this time the emperor concluded with France a ten years truce, of which I ſhall ſpeak preſently. Henry, not doubting it was in order to invade him, conſidered of means to raiſe the emperor troubles, which ſhould divert him from his purpoſe. The Smalcaldick league furniſhed him with a good opportunity; but, the preſervation of the Augſburg confeſſion being the ſole foundation of that league, he did not ſee that he could poſſibly join in it, to ſupport a religion, all whoſe articles were not approved by him. So his deſign was either to bring the proteſtants to conclude with him a general league, which ſhould not be limited to the defence of their religon, or prevail with them to be ſatisfied with the reformation he had himſelf introduced into England. To that end he ſent embaſſadors [o] with inſtructions to ſee who were the confederates, and, in caſe the league was confined to religion only, to deſire them to ſend ſome of their ableſt divines to try whether a common religion might not be agreed upon. The proteſtants replied, their league conſiſted of twenty-ſix Imperial cities, and twenty-four princes; among whom the king of Denmark was lately admitted; that at preſent they could not be without their divines, but deſired him to declare himſelf poſitively upon the propoſition made him, of embracing the Augſburg confeſſion. Some time after, they ſent embaſſadors capable of diſputing upon the points of religion. But this embaſſy was fruitleſs. Henry found in the Germans men of a very different ſtamp from his own ſubjects, and little inclined to compliance. They would not allow him communion in one kind, private maſſes, auricular confeſſion, celibacy of prieſts, and gave him their reaſons in writing; to which he replied, though to very little purpoſe. As he could not put the ſame choice to them as he had done to Lambert, he was forced to diſmiſs them without any concluſion, being as little ſatisfied with them as they were with him.

Mean while, the intereſt of the reformers began viſibly to decline at court ſince the queen's death. There were only Cromwell and Cranmer that ſupported it by their credit and merit. Cromwell, however, was accuſed of being too ſelf-intereſted, and of thinking much more of his own than of the concerns of religion. As to the reſt of the lower rank, there were few of eminent note. Shaxton, biſhop of Sarum, was proud and litigious; Latimer, biſhop of Worceſter, was deſpiſed for his weakneſs and ſimplicity; Barlow, who had been prior of Biſham, and afterwards biſhop of St. Aſaph, had no great judgment. In general, the preachers of the new religion ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with an indiſcreet zeal, and, without conſidering the king's temper, followed the motions of their conſcience, let what would be the conſequence. So, never troubling themſelves about the effects of their zeal, they publicly preached doctrines, not yet approved by the king, which very much conduced to

controul. For which Cranmer wrote Cromwell a letter of thanks, dated the 13th of Auguſt. The tranſlation had been ſent over to be printed at Paris, the workmen in England not being judged able to do it as it ought to be. It was recommended to Bonner's care, then embaſſador at Paris, and much in Cromwell's favour. It was printed in a large volume; but upon complaint of the French clergy, the preſs was ſtopped, and moſt of the copies ſeized and burnt: but ſome were conveyed out of the way, and the workmen and forms brought over to England, where it was now finiſhed. And one of theſe bibles were to be ſet up in every church, at the joint charge of the incumbent and the pariſhioners. Burnet, tom. I. p. 249. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 308.

[l] Every incumbent was likewiſe enjoined to keep a regiſter or weddings, chriſtenings and burials; and to preach one ſermon every quarter of a year at leaſt. See Burnet, tom. Collect. I. p. 180. Stow, p. 576.

[m] Lambert had been miniſter to the Engliſh merchants at Antwerp, where, being acquainted with Tindal and Frith, he became of their opinion. He afterwards kept ſchool at London, and hearing doctor Taylor preach of the real preſence, he came to him upon it, and gave him his reaſons, in writing, why he could not believe the doctrine he preached. Taylor carried theſe arguments to Cranmer, who was at that time of Luther's opinion, which he had imbibed from his friend Oſiander. Latimer was of the ſame belief. Lambert being brought before them, they ſtudied to make him retract his arguments, but all was in vain, for Lambert fatally appealed to the king; whereupon Gardiner perſuaded the king to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The king was ſoon prevailed with. So letters were written to many of the nobility and biſhops to come and hear this trial. In November, on the day prefixed, there was a great appearance in the hall. The king's guards were all in white, and ſo was the cloth of ſtate. Burnet, tom. I. p. 252.

[n] Lambert diſputed with ten, one after another, particularly the king, Cranmer, Tunſtal, and Stokeſly. Cromwell read his ſentence, declaring him an incorrigible heretic, and condemned him to be burnt; which was ſoon after executed in Smithfield, in a barbarous manner; for, when his legs and thighs were burnt to the ſtumps, there not being fire enough to conſume the reſt, two of the officers, raiſing his body up with their halberts, let him fall into the fire, where he was quickly conſumed to aſhes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 254.

[o] Chriſtopher Mount, and Thomas Paynel, in March. Herbert, p. 215, 217. Strype, p. 328.

He

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London, Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England

ANN of CLEVES,
Queen of Henry the VIII.

Holben. pinxit

T. Woodman & H. Mudlow Fec

Published as the Act directs. August 1st 1734

prejudice him againſt them, and all others who deſired to advance the reformation.

In the mean time Edward Fox, biſhop of Hereford, departing this life, the reformers thought to do a good act in procuring Edmund Bonner that ſee, who had been embaſſador in Spain, and afterwards in France, from whence he was lately recalled at the inſtance of Francis I. who was not pleaſed with him. Shortly after, they cauſed him to be promoted to the ſee of London, vacant by the death Stokeſly [p]. But they were greatly miſtaken in their choice, ſince the prelate, who was ſo much obliged to them, became afterwards one of their moſt mortal enemies.

At length, Cromwell and Cranmer, ſeeing their party decay, and that the king began to liſten to the enemies of the reformation, in ſuch a manner as made them dread the conſequences, deemed it neceſſary to ſupport their party by means of a queen, who ſhould afford them protection [q]. They had happily experienced how much Anne Bullen and Jane Seymour had helped to ſoften the king's temper towards the reformed, and they did not queſtion that, in caſe they could give him a wife of the like diſpoſition, ſhe would produce the ſame effect. For this reaſon, they turned their eyes towards Germany, and Cromwell undertook to negotiate a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleve, ſiſter to the duke of Cleve and the ducheſs of Saxony. We ſhall ſee the next year the ſucceſs of the negotiation, after a brief mention of the foreign affairs.

The emperor and the king of France's forces were too equal for either to expect any great advantages from a war they were left to wage all alone. Francis had ill taken his meaſures, in imagining that Henry would declare for him, that the potentates of Italy would endeavour to ſhake off the emperor's yoke, and that the proteſtants of Germany would embrace the opportunity of the war to eſtabliſh the liberty of conſcience to which they aſpired, and of which they were threatened to be deprieved. But nothing of all this happening, he ſaw himſelf charged alone with almoſt an inſupportable burden. On the other hand, the emperor was afraid Francis would at length unite all theſe powers againſt him, and the emperor of the Turks improve ſo favourable a juncture to invade Germany. The pope alſo feared the ſame thing, and that the coaſts of Italy would be infeſted by the infidels. This, added to the deſire of being revenged of the king of England, put him upon ſeeking means to procure a peace between the emperor and the king of France, that Henry, being left alone, might be more eaſily invaded. To this end he propoſed to the two hoſtile monarchs a meeting at Nice, where he offered to come and act as mediator. The propoſal being accepted, they all three met at that place about the middle of June, the pope conferring ſometimes with one, ſometimes with the other, without the two monarchs ever ſeeing each other during the whole negotiation. The pope had his reaſons for hindering them from conferring together but by his means. He had a mind to treat privately of a marriage between Octavian Farneſe his nephew, and Margaret the emperor's natural daughter, widow of Alexander de Medici, and indeed the project ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Mean while, as the peace between the emperor and the king of France could not be effected, by reaſon of the many difficulties which occurred, the pope obtained of the two monarchs at laſt their conſent to a ten year's truce, which was almoſt as effectual as a peace. The truce being concluded, Paul III. immediately thought of means to form a league againſt the Turks. But as ſeveral reaſons hindered the kings of France and England from coming into it, he was forced to conclude it with the emperor, the king of the Romans, and the Venetians.

When Francis had nothing more to fear from the emperor, he grew very cool to Henry, though he had extremely careſſed him ſo long as he ſtood in need of him. Henry was exceedingly incenſed, and ſhewed his reſentment, by ordering Bonner in his return from Spain to ſtop at the French court, and demand an Engliſh rebel, who was retired into France, and the arrears of his penſion, there being now four years due. Bonner, who was naturally very bold, delivered his meſſage ſo haughtily, that Francis, offended at his inſolence, ſent an expreſs to Henry to know whether he had ordered his embaſſador to uſe ſuch language, and to deſire Bonner might be recalled. Henry thought fit to comply with his demand. But it appeared he was not very angry with Bonner, ſince at his arrival he promoted him, as has been ſaid, to the ſee of Hereford, and ſhortly after to that of London.

Whilſt Henry uſed all poſſible precautions to ſecure himſelf from the attacks of his enemies, cardinal Pole was labouring with all his power, by means of his correſpondents in England, to alienate from him the hearts of his ſubjects, by publiſhing every where that he had ſubverted all religion to ſet up his own fictions. This accuſation was the moſt ſenſible wound that could be given the king, ſince he pretended, religion conſiſted not in the things he had changed, but in thoſe he had retained. This is what he ſtrove to demonſtrate to the people, becauſe he plainly perceived the general accuſation of having ſubverted religion could not but greatly poiſon their allegiance. Accordingly, Pole and his emiſſaries chiefly inſiſted upon this, in order to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom. Several have thought the cardinal had ſome private views which concerned not religion. He was of the houſe of York by his mother, and is ſaid alſo to have an inclination for the princeſs Mary, and to beſtir himſelf thus, in order to marry, and ſet her on the throne, in the room of her father. At leaſt, there is reaſon to ſuſpect his extraordinary zeal was fortified by ſome hidden views, and that, in acting for the pope, he was labouring his own advancement. But this is only conjecture. However, Sir Jeffrey Pole, near relation of the cardinal [r], privately acquainted the king, that he had correſpondence with Henry Courtney, marquis of Exeter, grandſon of Edward IV. [s]; with Henry Pole [t], lord Montague; with ſir Edward Nevil [u]; and with ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter; and that his inſtruments were a prieſt and a mariner. Upon this information, theſe perſons were apprehended, condemned, and executed [w]; but the informer was pardoned, as a reward for his intelligence. No other circumſtances of their trial are known but their correſponding with Pole, an unpardonable crime, as the king then ſtood affected to that cardinal.

During the courſe of this year, Henry eſtabliſhed ſeveral ſuffragan biſhops. He required alſo of all the religious a new oath, whereby they expreſly renounced the papal authority, and acknowledged the king's ſupremacy. There were ſome that refuſed to ſwear, but I know not in what manner their obſtinacy was puniſhed.

The pope and the emperor, being then employed in their preparations againſt the Turk, his holineſs made uſe of that pretence to put off the meeting of the council of the 1ſt of May 1540, and at the ſame time removed it from Mantua to Vicenza.

The marriage between the king of Scotland and Mary of Lorrain, being concluded this year, the new queen came to Scotland about the middle of June.

The laſt viſitation of the monaſteries tended only, as has been obſerved, to ſeek apparent reaſons to ſuppreſs them. The king had now reſolved it, and the enormities, true or falſe, of the monks, were only a cover for his revenge, and perhaps for his avarice [x]. The viſitation being over, he ſent into the ſeveral counties commiſſioners to receive the ſurrenders the abbots and priors were to make of their houſes [y]. There are extant, in the Collection of the Public Acts, many of theſe ſurrenders, which, though very involuntary, contained, however, the feigned reaſons which had moved the monks and their ſuperiors to reſign of their own accord all their lands to the king. In ſome, they were made to ſay only, they were induced thereto by juſt and reaſonable cauſes; but, in others of greater length, they were made to allege, "That what they had hitherto obſerved, conſiſted only in dumb ceremonies, and conſtitutions of the biſhops

[p] He was elected biſhop, October 20. Stow, p. 576.

[q] The emperor had ſome time before propoſed a marriage between king Henry and Chriſtiana, ducheſs of Milan, ſecond daughter of Chriſtiern, king of Denmark; but the propoſal did not take effect. See Herbert, p. 214. Hall, fol. 233.

[r] The cardinal's own brother.

[s] By the princeſs Catherine, married to the earl of Devonſhire.

[t] Another of the cardinal's brothers.

[u] Brother to the lord Abergavenny.

[w] The marquis of Exeter, and lord Montague, were arraigned on December 31, and ſir Edward Nevil, January 2; Thomas lord Audley, ſitting as high ſteward. Hall, fol. 233.

[x] Though great faults were diſcovered by the viſitors, yet it is certain that they were themſelves guilty of great acts of violence and injuſtice. They embezzled moſt part of the plate and furniture that was found in the monaſteries. Doctor London, one of the viſitors, corrupted ſeveral of the nuns belonging to Chepſtow; and generally it was cried out, that underhand and ill practices were uſed. Therefore, to quiet theſe reports, and to give ſome colour to what was done, all the foul ſtories that could be invented were publiſhed to defame the viſited monaſteries. Burnet, tom. I. p. 241.

[y] During the year 1538, there were twenty-one monaſteries ſuppreſſed, and in 1539, a hundred and one. See the names of them in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 590, &c. and Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 144, 145.

The

of Rome and other foreign potentates, who had taken no care of their inſtruction, or to reform the many abuſes which had hitherto prevailed in their houſes; but that, deſiring to live for the future according to the rule preſcribed by Chriſt, the evangeliſts, and the apoſtles, they deemed it expedient for them to be governed by the king, their ſupreme head on earth: that therefore they ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy, and ſurrendered to him their houſes, with all things belonging thereto: that they beſought him to grant to each of them a penſion for their ſubſiſtence, and an expreſs licence to take a ſecular habit, and be admitted into livings like other eccleſiaſtics." Others ſaid, "They had conſidered that chriſtianity conſiſted not in the practice of ceremonies, in wearing black, grey, or white habits, and in nodding with the head, wearing cords with great knots about their middle, and the like, wherein they had been inſtructed and ſeduced. But that the true way of ſerving God was taught in the goſpel. And therefore, deſiring for the future to walk by that good rule, they ſubmitted themſelves to the ſupreme head of the church of England, and renouncing all ſuperſtitions and foreign traditions, they reſigned their houſes to the king, with all things thereunto belonging." Others ſurrendered their houſes by way of agreement between them and the king, for the cauſes ſpecified in the deed itſelf [z]. But there are not in the Collection of the Public Acts any deeds of this kind at full length, where any of theſe cauſes may be ſeen. It can only be gathered from what ſome authors ſay, that theſe cauſes were, either the houſes were overwhelmed with debts, or the revenues had been ill managed [a], or there had been committed crimes deſerving a ſevere puniſhment, from which they were exempted on account of the ſurrender. Be this as it will, the king having reſolved at any rate to ſuppreſs all the monaſteries, the oppoſition of the abbots, priors, and monks, would have been ineffectual. Accordingly, perceiving plainly, that by fair means or force they ſhould be compelled to ſubmit to his will, the greateſt part thought it moſt prudent to do it with a good grace, and make the beſt bargain they could for themſelves. The abbot or prior, with the chief monks of each houſe, being gained beforehand either by promiſes or threats, the reſt had hardly courage enough to make a fruitleſs reſiſtance [b].

The firſt ſuppreſſion of the leſſer monaſteries was done by act of parliament. But the king was pleaſed this ſhould appear to be entirely voluntary, as if the abbots, priors, and monks, had been induced of themſelves to ſurrender their houſes. A thing however ſo notoriouſly falſe, that not a man could be ignorant how forced theſe ſurrenders were. It muſt be confeſſed, that herein Henry ſtrangely abuſed the abſolute power he had acquired over his ſubjects, of whom not one dared publicly to find fault with his conduct, and ſtill leſs openly to oppoſe his will. However, he uſed artifice to make the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries to be received with leſs concern. Whilſt the commiſſioners were receiving the ſurrenders, he called a parliament for the 28th of April. At the ſame time he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the kingdom was going to be invaded [c]. He confirmed the report, by going in perſon to viſit the coaſts, by commanding forts and redoubts to be built in ſeveral places [d], and by giving preſſing orders to fit out a fleet, and keep the troops in a readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. The intent of all theſe proceedings was, to let the people ſee that the parliament would be obliged to lay heavy taxes to reſiſt the pretended invaſion, but that the king acquiring a large revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, would have no occaſion for a ſubſidy. The yearly value of the religious houſes amounted to one hundred ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds ſterling, according to the rate they had been laſt farmed at [e]. But it muſt be obſerved, that abbots and priors, foreſeeing the impending ſtorm, had ſet the yearly rents very low, and raiſed the fines very high, that they might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt when they ſhould be turned out of their houſes [f]. The king pretended not to mind it, being on the contrary very glad the people were not acquainted with the whole profit which accrued to him from theſe ſuppreſſions. Beſides the rents of the lands belonging to the monaſteries, the king had moreover a very conſiderable ſum ariſing from the church ornaments, plate, goods, lead, bells, materials, which he thought not proper to have valued; but it may be judged of by this ſingle article, namely, that in the abbey of St. Edmundſbury alone, there was found five thouſand marks of gold and ſilver in bullion [g].

The ruin of the monks was a great occaſion of joy and triumph to thoſe who had already embraced the reformation, or who wiſhed it could be embraced without danger. But they had not cauſe long to rejoice. Henry, reſolving to ſhew that, in aboliſhing the papal authority, and deſtroying the monaſteries, he had not changed his religion, gave very ſoon an unqueſtionable proof of it. The parliament, meeting the 28th of April, immediately made, by the direction of the court, a law, entitled, "An act for aboliſhing diverſity of opinions in certain articles concerning chriſtian religion." This is the law that is more commonly known by the name of the Bloody Statute. The penalty of burning or hanging was enacted againſt thoſe,

I. Who, by word or writing, denied tranſubſtantiation.
II. Who maintained, that communion in both kinds was neceſſary.
III. Or, that it was lawful for prieſts to marry.
IV. Or, that vows of chaſtity may be broken.
V. Or, that private maſſes are unprofitable.
VI. Or, laſtly, that auricular confeſſion is not neceſſary to ſalvation [h].

By this, and ſome formers laws, which ſettled what was to

[z] The general form in which moſt of the ſurrenders begin is, "That the abbot and brethren, upon full deliberation, certain knowledge, of their own proper motion, for certain juſt and reaſonable cauſes, eſpecially moving them in their ſouls and conſciences, did freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their houſes to the king." See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 604. Burnet, tom, I. p. 238.

[a] The viſitors found ſuch depredations committed in the rich abbey of St. Albans, that an abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents being ſo low. Burnet, tom. I. p. 236, &c.

[b] Beſides promiſes and threats, the king had another way of gaining the abbots to his will. Upon a vacancy, an abbot was put in only to reſign up the houſe. For after the king's ſupremacy was eſtabliſhed, the abbots, formerly confirmed by the pope, were placed in this manner. The king granted a congé d' elire to the prior and convent, with a miſſive letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chuſe; then they returned an election to the king, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a warrant under the great ſeal, which was certified to the vice-gerent; who thereupon confirmed the election, and returned him back to the king to take the oaths; upon which the temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally picked out to ſerve his turn. Burnet, tom. I. p. 236.

[c] By ſeveral princes, who were ſtirred up by the pope and cardinal Pole. Stow, p. 576.

[d] Many of which we have at this day. He built particularly Dover-pier. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 306. Herbert, p. 217.

[e] They were given in at one hundred and fifty-two thouſand five hundred and ſeventeen pounds eighteen ſhillings and ten pence. Stephens's Hiſt. of taxes, p. 215. The number of monaſteries ſuppreſſed firſt and laſt, in England and Wales, according to Camden, were ſix hundred forty-three, together with ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hoſpitals. Herbert, p. 218.

[f] This had been the practice all along, as well as juſt before the diſſolution of the abbies. The abbots were wont to hold the leaſes low, and raiſe great fines; by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their houſe, and ſo enriched themſelves and their brethren by the ſaid fines. This turned greatly to the king's advantage. Burnet.

[g] As this was the laſt parliament the abbots were ſummoned to, it will not be amiſs to inſert the names and number of the mitred or parliamentary abbots, who, in the journals of parliament in this reign, had their writs, being twenty-eight; Abington, St. Alban's, St. Auſtin's, Canterbury, Battel, St. Bennet's in the Holm, Berdeney, Cirenceſter, Colcheſter, Coventry, Croyland, St. Edmundſbury, Eveſham, Glaſſenbury, Gloceſter, Hide, Malmſbury, St. Mary's in York, Peterborough, Ramſey, Reading, Selby, Shrewſbury, Taveſtock, Tewkſbury, Thorney, Waltham, Weſtminſter, Winchlecomb; to whom the prior of St. John may be added. Burnet, tom. I. p. 268.

[h] There was firſt a committee appointed for examining the different opinions, and drawing up articles for an agreement: conſiſting of Cromwell, the two archbiſhops, the biſhops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carliſle, and Worceſter. But having ſpent eleven days in debates, the duke of Norfolk, on the 16th of May, told the lords that the committee had made no progreſs, not being of one mind. Therefore he offered ſome articles to their conſideration, that they might be examined by the whole houſe, and a perpetual law made for the obſervation of them. Theſe were the ſix articles above. Cranmer argued againſt them three days together, though his arguments are loſt, there being nothing remaining of what paſſed in the houſe, but of what is conveyed to us in the journal, which is ſhort and defective. On the 24th of May, the parliament, for what reaſon is not known, was prorogued to the 30th; when, being met, the chancellor moved, in the king's name, that a bill might be brought in for puniſhing ſuch as offended againſt theſe articles; whereupon a bill, drawn up by the archbiſhop of York, was, after long conteſt, brought to the houſe the 7th of June; it was read a ſecond time on the 9th, and on the 10th it was engroſſed, and read the third time. When it paſſed, the king deſired Cranmer to go out of the houſe, ſince he could not give his conſent to it; but he humbly excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was bound in conſcience to ſtay and vote againſt it. On the 28th, after paſſing in the houſe of commons, it had the royal aſſent. Beſides the ſix articles, "All the marriages of prieſts are declared void; and if a prieſt lived with a woman as his wife, he was to be judged a felon; and if as his concubine, upon the firſt conviction, to forfeit all his benefices, &c. and, upon ſecond conviction, to ſuffer as a felon. The women ſo offending were to be puniſhed in the ſame manner. For the execution of this act, commiſſions were to be iſſued out to all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors and commiſſaries, and ſuch others as the king ſhall name, to hold their ſeſſions quarterly, or oftener, and to proceed upon preſentments by a jury." Burnet, tom. I. p. 257, &c.

He

be believed in matters of religion, all the ſubjects were almoſt equally liable to the pains enacted therein. Indeed, this laſt law, with thoſe that were made before, againſt the pope's authority, contained the king's belief, but not the nation's. There was hardly a perſon in the kingdom but what believed either more or leſs, and yet no one dared openly to ſwerve from it, either to the right or left. The reformed, however, were the greateſt ſufferers by it, and indeed it was levelled againſt them. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was the real author of it. He had intimated to the king, that it was the only means to hinder a league from being formed againſt him; that what he had aboliſhed, not being eſſential to religion, nor conſidered as ſuch by the generality of chriſtians, no man of ſound judgment could deem him heretical, ſo long as he maintained theſe ſix articles, which entirely diſtinguiſhed true catholics from ſectaries and innovators. This was really taking the king by his weak ſide. But, beſides this motive, the king had another which was no leſs powerful; namely, by adding this law to thoſe already made againſt the pope, he rendered his ſubjects ſo dependent upon him, that there was ſcarce a man but what was obnoxious to be called to an account. So the pope's friends and the reformed were equally in his power; conſequently they were equally concerned not to diſpleaſe him in any thing, but rather blindly to ſubmit to his will. Cranmer alone ventured publicly, and for three days together, to argue againſt the bill before it paſſed. But as ſoon as it had received the ſeal of the public authority, he ſent away his wife into Germany till better times[i].

By another act, the parliament granted to the king the lands of the religious houſes, which were ſuppoſed to have been freely ſurrendered to him. So this ſtatute was rather a confirmation of what had been done, than an ordinance for the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries[k]. As the king had intimated that he intended to employ the revenues he had acquired, in uſeful foundations, the parliament paſſed a bill for giving him power to erect new biſhoprics.

Never was parliament more devoted to the king's will. They were not ſatisfied with approving whatever the king had done, but alſo whatever he might do for the future. It was enacted this ſeſſion, that the ſame obedience ſhould be paid to the king's proclamations, or to the orders of the council during a minority, as to the acts of parliament. It was pretended, that caſes might happen where the king had not time to call a parliament, and yet it was neceſſary, for the good of the realm, that his orders ſhould be executed, otherwiſe there might be danger of falling into great inconveniences. Thus, to avoid a poſſible, but withal an uncommon, inconvenience, another much more conſiderable was run into, by giving the ſovereign a deſpotic power. For, if his orders were to be obeyed without the concurrence of the parliament, he had no occaſion to call one if he did not think it proper. It is true, there were ſome limitations in the act; as, that no perſon ſhould be deprived of life or eſtate by virtue of the king's proclamation, nor any laws or cuſtoms broken or ſubverted thereby. But theſe reſtrictions were ſo ambiguouſly worded, that it was eaſy for the king to evade them. Upon this act were grounded the great changes of religion in the nonage of Edward VI.

In this ſame ſeſſion the parliament paſſed an act to regulate the precedency of the officers of ſtate, by which Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical affairs, though a locksmith's ſon, had the precedence of all perſons next the royal family[l].

Laſtly, the parliament confirmed the ſentence of death paſſed upon the marquis of Exeter, and the reſt who had been executed for holding a correſpondence with cardinal Pole. Moreover, for the ſame reaſon, they attainted the counteſs of Saliſbury the cardinal's mother, and the marchioneſs of Exeter, without bringing them to a trial. This laſt act met with great oppoſition in the parliament, many objecting, that to condemn perſons unheard, was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable rules of juſtice. But Cromwell, having ſent for the judges to his houſe, aſked them, whether the parliament had power to condemn perſons accuſed without a hearing? The judges replied, it was a nice and dangerous queſtion; that equity, juſtice, and all ſorts of laws required, that the accuſed ſhould be heard; that however, the parliament being the ſupreme court of the realm, from which there could be no appeal, the validity of their ſentences, of what nature ſoever they were, could not be queſtioned. This was ſaying, in other words, that the parliament would therein commit an injuſtice, for which they could not be called to an account. Cromwell having reported to the parliament the opinion of the judges, the two ladies of the blood royal were condemned to die, by a ſentence which eſtabliſhed a precedent the moſt pernicious that had ever been ſeen in England, and which proved fatal to its author, as will appear. Mean while the king granted a full pardon to the marchioneſs of Exeter, and a reprieve to the counteſs of Saliſbury, who was not executed till two years after. Thus the king daily acquired ſome freſh degree of authority. It might be ſaid, he uſurped it not, ſince it was given him by the parliament, if the circumſtances of the times had not rendered the very parliament ſlaves to his will.

Cranmer had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the law of the ſix articles; and ſuch an oppoſition would have infallibly ruined any other perſon but that prelate. But the king had an eſteem for him which could not be eaſily changed, becauſe he was perſuaded the archbiſhop acted according to the dictates of his conſcience, whereas he had a quite contrary notion of the reſt of his miniſters and courtiers. Their blind compliance ſerved only to make him deſpiſe them, though he liked to reap the advantage of their baſeneſs. So having a real eſteem and ſincere affection for Cranmer, and imagining he muſt have been extremely mortified that the act had paſſed contrary to his opinion, and even apprehenſive of having diſpleaſed him by his oppoſition, he ſent the duke of Norfolk to encourage him, and aſſure him of his conſtant kindneſs. Cranmer[m] very thankfully received this teſtimony of the

[i] He married a kinſwoman of Oſiander's, the divine of Noremberg, during his embaſſy with the emperor, about the year 1532. Herbert, p. 219.

[k] This act paſſed in the houſe of peers without any proteſtation made by any of the abbots, though it appears, by the journal, that at the firſt reading of it, there were eighteen abbots preſent, at the ſecond twenty, and ſeventeen at the third. It was ſoon diſpatched by the commons, and offered to the royal aſſent. By it no religious houſes were ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted, but only the ſurrenders that either had been, or were to be made, were confirmed. The laſt proviſo in it, for annulling all exemptions of churches and chapels, had been a great happineſs to the church, if it had not been for the clauſe, "That the king might appoint others to viſit them." For many of thoſe who purchaſed theſe lands with the impropriated tithes, got this likewiſe in their grants, that they ſhould be the viſitors of the churches formerly exempted; from whence great diſorders have ſince followed; for the incumbents, being under no reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the church. This abuſe, which firſt ſprung from the ancient exemptions granted by the ſee of Rome, has not yet met with an effectual remedy. It was queſtioned, whether the lands belonging to the abbies ought to have returned to the founders and donors, by way of reverter, or to have fallen to the lords of whom the lands were holden by way of eſcheat, or to have come to the crown. The endowments of the heatheniſh temples were, in Theodoſius's time, after a mature debate, adjudged to the emperor's exchequer, upon this reaſon, that, by the will of the donors, they were totally alienated from them and their heirs. But in England it went otherwiſe; for, when the order of the knights templars was diſſolved, it was then judged in favour of the lord by eſcheat. And this muſt have held good, if thoſe alienations and endowments had been abſolute without any condition. But the endowments being generally made in conſideration of ſo many maſſes to be ſaid for their ſouls, then it was moſt juſt that, upon a nonperformance of the condition, and when the cheat which the monks had put upon the world was diſcovered, the lands ſhould have returned to the founders, and their heirs and ſucceſſors. Now, was there any grounds for the lords to pretend to them by eſcheat, eſpecially when their anceſtors had conſented and confirmed thoſe endowments? Therefore there was no need of excluding them by any ſpecial proviſo. But, for the founders and donors, certainly if there had not been a particular proviſo made againſt them, they might have recovered the lands their anceſtors had ſuperſtitiouſly given away, and the ſurrenders to the crown could not have cut off their title; but this act did that effectually. It is true, many of them were of royal foundation, and theſe would have returned to the crown without diſpute. See Burnet, vol. I. p. 262.

[l] By this act it was ordered, 1. That no perſon, of what ſtate, degree, or condition ſoever, except only the king's children, ſhall thenceforward ſit at any ſide of the cloth of eſtate in the parliament chamber (as the two archbiſhops uſed to do. See Fiddes's life of Wolſey, p. 302.) 2. That the biſhops ſhall ſit in this order, on the right hand ſide of the parliament-houſe; firſt, the two archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, then the biſhops of London, Durham, and Wincheſter, and the reſt according to the time of their creation. 3. That the lord chancellor, treaſurer, preſident of the council, and lord privy ſeal, being barons, ſhall ſit on the left ſide of the parliament-houſe, above all dukes, except the royal family. 4. That the lord chamberlain, marſhal, high admiral, lord ſteward, and chamberlain, ſhall be placed above all perſons of the ſame eſtates and degrees they ſhall happen to be of. 5. And the king's ſecretary, being a baron, ſhall ſit above all barons. See Statute 31 Henry VIII. c. 10.

[m] Burnet ſays, the king ſent for him firſt, June 28, and next day ordered the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Cromwell, to dine with him. When they were at table with him at Lambeth, they ran out much in his commendation, and acknowledged he had oppoſed the act with ſo much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even thoſe that differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid, and that he needed to fear nothing from the king. Cromwell ſaid, when complaints were brought againſt any of his counſellors, the king received them, but would not ſo much as hearken to any complaint of the archbiſhop. From that he went on to make a parellel between him and cardinal Wolſey: that the one loſt his friends by his haughtineſs and pride, but the other gained on his enemies by his mildneſs and gentleneſs. Upon which the duke of Norfolk ſaid, he might beſt ſpeak of the cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled Cromwell, who anſwered, that though he had ſerved him, he never liked his manner, and that though the cardinal had deſigned (if his attempt for the popedom had ſucceeded) to have made him his admiral, yet he reſolved not to accept it. To which the duke of Norfolk replied, with a deep oath, "That he lied," with other reproachful language. Collier ſays, Cromwell told the duke, that he (the duke) offered to ſerve the cardinal as his

king's eſteem and goodneſs. Shortly after, the king talked with him himſelf concerning the law of the ſix articles, and was pleaſed that he explained to him the reaſons which led him to oppoſe it. Nay, he ordered him to put all his arguments in writing, though, by the ſtatute itſelf, it was a crime worthy of burning. But Cranmer, truſting to the king's equity, drew up a memorial which he intended to give him. This writing, being accidentally loſt, was found by one who was going to carry it to the king, if Cromwell had not prevented him [n]. Dr. Burnet repreſents this to be an unexpected and happy eſcape for Cranmer. But ſince the king himſelf ordered him to compoſe the writing, the danger does not ſeem to be ſo great, unleſs it be ſuppoſed the king would have condemned him unheard. But this ſuppoſition deſtroys itſelf by the particular eſteem the king had for him.

Shaxton, biſhop of Saliſbury, and Latimer of Worceſter, were not treated ſo favourably. As they could nor reſolve to approve of the law of the ſix articles, they believed that in reſigning their biſhoprics they ſhould be leſs expoſed to the attacks of their enemies. But they did not come off ſo eaſily. They had no ſooner put the inſtruments of reſignation into the king's hands, but they were accuſed as having ſpoken againſt the ſix articles, and committed to the Tower.

When the parliament broke up, the king ſent commiſſioners into the ſeveral counties, to make enquiry of thoſe who were againſt the ſix articles, being determined rigorouſly to execute the ſtatute. As Cromwell and Cranmer could not but be ſuſpected in this affair, the enemies of the reformation eaſily made the king ſenſible, that to leave to them the nomination of the commiſſioners would be labouring in vain. And indeed perſons who ſtrongly oppoſed the act were very unfit to ſee it executed, as the king deſired. Some of the contrary party therefore were appointed, who diſcharged their commiſſion with ſuch immoderate zeal and paſſion, that they fruſtrated the deſigns of thoſe who employed them. In the city of London alone, there were within a few days above five hundred perſons thrown into priſon, and involved in the breach of the ſtatute. Nay, the king was ſhewn, that, contrary to his intention, the commiſſioners had laid ſnares for theſe priſoners, to oblige them to diſcover opinions, which they intended to conceal, in obedience to the laws. Beſides, ſince in ſo ſhort a ſpace, ſuch numbers were impriſoned in London, it was eaſy to judge how many there might be in all the reſt of the kingdom, and of what ill conſequence it would be to execute the law upon numberleſs perſons of all ages and ſexes. This the chancellor, who was no enemy to the reformation, repreſented to the king, and prevailed with him to pardon all the priſoners. From this time to Cromwell's death, the proceedings upon the act were ſuſpended, though it ſtill ſubſiſted, and might have been executed if the king had pleaſed. Thus every thing was regulated by the king's will; who haſtened or retarded the execution of the laws, according to the times and perſons. This gained him a blind condeſcenſion from both parties; every one having to fear his own ruin, according to the king's humour and diſpoſition. It is certain, thoſe that deſired a reformation were conſtrained to feign an approbation of many things which in their hearts they deteſted, and that Cromwell and Cranmer, who had the moſt acceſs to the king, dared to preſs him only indirectly to advance the work already begun. Hence they preſerved their credit, and were enabled to do their party ſervice. Their adverſaries took the ſame courſe, and went ſtill greater lengths in their compliance, well knowing it was the only way to gain the king's confidence. Bonner, biſhop of London, though a favourer of the pope, and perſuaded that the king had no ſpiritual authority, took a commiſſion from him, which adjudged to him both the ſpiritual and temporal power of his biſhopric, during his good pleaſure [o]. After this, the exceſſive power which the king daily acquired, muſt not be thought ſtrange, ſince every one ſtrove to ſubmit to his will. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, was one of the principal favourers of the old religon, to which he was very ſerviceable, by a profound diſſimulation. He expreſſed great zeal to execute, as well the act of the ſix articles, as thoſe made againſt the pope. He thereby maintained his credit, though the king had but little eſteem for him.

The actual ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries was begun and ended in the courſe of this year [p]. The commiſſioners, appointed for that purpoſe, ſettled every thing relating thereto. They awarded penſions to the abbots, priors, monks, and nuns, for their livelihood. They valued the plate, goods, ornaments of the prieſts, of the altars, of the churches, and ordered what buildings ſhould be demoliſhed, and what left ſtanding. I have already obſerved that the rents of all the ſuppreſſed monaſteries amounted to one hundred ſixty thouſand one hundred pounds ſterling. But if it be true that this valuation was made only upon the foot of the laſt leaſes, and that theſe were not above the tenth part of the real value, as ſome affirm, it follows, that theſe rents were worth above ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds [q], beſides the ready money which accrued to the king by the ſale of the effects [r]. Here was wherewithal to make uſeful foundations to the church and ſtate, had all theſe riches been employed that way. The king ſeemed at firſt to have formed ſuch a deſign. Nay, this is what had ſerved for the principal ground of the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries; but the greedineſs of the courtiers and favourites allowed but a very ſmall part to be expended on things uſeful and neceſſary. Henry had at firſt reſolved to erect eighteen new biſhoprics [s]; but as the money was laviſhed away, he found reaſons to reduce them to a much ſmaller number. In ſhort, he contented himſelf with founding ſix, and eſtabliſhing canons in ſome cathedrals which the monks had poſſeſſed. In all this he employed but a revenue of eight thouſand pounds. He laid out likewiſe part of the money in fortifying ſome ports, and all the reſt was ſquandered away in preſents, and other needleſs expences. For this cauſe he could not avoid the blame of having plundered the church; whereas, had he employed the beſt part of theſe lands in things uſeful to the church and ſtate, he would have gained the bleſſings of his ſubjects and their poſterity. As to the parliament, they are inexcuſable for having put into the king's hands ſuch immenſe riches, deſigned for pious uſes, without taking care how they were to be employed. This is no ſlender evidence of what has been already obſerved, that the parliaments met in this reign only to be inſtrumental in gratifying the king's paſſions, without ever examining either the motives or conſequences of what he required. Henry had alſo formed the project of founding a college for young ſtudents, that they might be qualified for the ſervice of the ſtate, either in embaſſies or other affairs of the government [t]. But this project miſcarried, with many others, becauſe the king, having ſold the lands of

his admiral, upon which the duke, ſaid that it was a lie. This troubled Cranmer extremely, who did all he could to reconcile them. But they were never afterwards hearty friends. Burnet, tom. I. p. 265.

[n] Cranmer's ſecretary having wrote out of the book in a fair hand, and returning with it from Croydon, where the archbiſhop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber carried away by Cromwell's almoner; ſo, being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to truſt the book with any one, carried it with him. Some that were in the wherry with him, would needs go to Southwark ſide to ſee a bear-baiting, where the king was in perſon. The bear broke looſe into the river, and the dogs after him. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the ſecretary alone. The bear got into the boat with the dogs about her, and ſunk it. The ſecretary ſhifting for himſelf, loſt the book in the water. But being brought to land, he ſaw his book floating upon the water. So he deſired the bear-ward to bring it to him; who taking it up, gave it to a prieſt that ſtood there, to ſee what it might contain. The prieſt, finding it to be a confutation of the ſix articles, told the bear-ward, whoever claimed it would be hanged for his pains. The ſecretary, thinking to mend the matter, ſaid it was his lord's book. This made the fellow more untractable, being a ſpiteful papiſt, and an enemy to the archbiſhop. So that he would not give it back. Whereupon the ſecretary applied to Cromwell, who was then going to court, where he expected the bear-ward would be, in order to deliver the book to ſome of Cranmer's enemies. And ſo it happened, whereupon Cromwell called to him, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him for meddling with a privy counſellor's papers. Burnet tom. I. p. 265, 266.

[o] The ſubſtance of the commiſſion was: that ſince all juriſdiction, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, flowed from the king as ſupreme head, it became thoſe, who exerciſed any power only by the king's courteſy, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of his bounty; and to declare they would deliver it up again when it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And ſince his vice-gerent could not look into all matters, therefore the king did empower Bonner in his own ſtead to exerciſe all the parts of epiſcopal authority, for which he was duly commiſſioned; and this to laſt during the king's pleaſure only. See the original in Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 184.

[p] There are fifty-ſeven ſurrenders upon record this year; and the originals of about thirty of theſe are yet to be ſeen. Thirty-ſeven of them were abbies, or priories, and twenty nunneries; among the reſt, Godſtow, Weſtminſter, St. Alban's, Waltham, Glaſtenbury, St. Peter's in Gloceſter, &c. The method uſed in the ſuppreſſion of theſe houſes may be ſeen in Burnet, tom. I. Collect. p. 151, &c. The hoſpital of St. Thomas, in Southwark, was alſo ſuppreſſed this year. See Burnet, tom. I. p. 267, 268.

[q] Some compute, that the lands taken from the monaſteries, at twenty years purchaſe, would amount, at this preſent time, to thirty millions five hundred and three thouſand four hundred pounds. Thoſe formerly belonging to the abbey of St. Alban's, being worth at this day, about two hundred thouſand pounds a year; and thoſe belonging to Glaſtenbury abbey, above three hundred thouſand pounds yearly. See Stevens's Hiſt. of Taxes, p. 188—216.

[r] The treaſure found in the monaſteries was valued at one hundred thouſand pounds. Ibid. p. 217. As for an account of the other valuable effects found there, ſee Monaſticon Anglic.

[s] On which he intended to beſtow eighteen thouſand pounds a year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 269.

[t] As this was the nobleſt deſign that ever was projected in England, it will not be amiſs to give ſome ſhort account of it. Sir Nicholas Bacon (who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt miniſters that ever this nation bred) toge-
ther

the ſuppreſſed abbies, was very loth to put to ſuch uſes the ready money raiſed by the ſale. He choſe rather to laviſh it upon his pleaſures or his courtiers, who uſed all ſorts of artifices, condeſcenſions, and baſe flatteries, to procure ſome part of theſe vaſt treaſures.

Whilſt Henry was employed in his domeſtic affairs, he had an eye however to what paſſed abroad. The emperor feigned the laſt year a firm intention to adjuſt the religious differences which occaſioned troubles in Germany. But this was only to draw money from the proteſtants, to be expended in his war with the Turk. He expected that, upon the bare hopes he was pleaſed to give them of redreſſing their grievances, they would drain themſelves of men and money, and ſo become leſs formidable. But the proteſtants would not ſuffer themſelves to be deceived to ſuch a degree. They plainly anſwered to his demand, that they could do nothing for him, without ſufficient ſecurity of being left in peace.

Henry, finding that a rupture between the emperor and the proteſtants was not very remote, ſent freſh embaſſadors to Germany, to ſtrengthen the reſolutions of the Smalcaldick league, by hopes of his coming into it, and being declared protector. But the Germans had now diſcovered his deſign, which was to amuſe them, and keep the emperor in continual fear of his uniting with them. They returned therefore the ſame anſwer as before, that the ſole intent of their league was to maintain the Augſburg confeſſion, and if the king refuſed to admit that confeſſion, it was in vain to treat of other points: that moreover, they heard with extreme grief, that he perſecuted in his realm ſuch as held the ſame opinions with them on ſundry articles of religion, and therefore, ſo long as the act of the ſix articles ſubſiſted, there was no likelihood that he really intended to join with them. Melancthon even wrote him a letter in very ſtrong, though reſpectful terms, to ſhew him the unreaſonableneſs of that ſtatute.

Henry, to whom all was obedient in England, and whoſe will was a law, was offended at the firmneſs of the German princes. On the other hand, Gardiner, who dreaded of all things the king's union with the Smalcaldick league, failed not to uſe this occaſion to divert him from it, by flattering his vanity. He repreſented to him, that it was very ſtrange petty princes ſhould pretend to be a pattern to a great monarch, and dictate to the moſt learned prince in Europe, in matters of religion. He added, that whatever the proteſtants might pretend, they would never approve of his ſupremacy in England, becauſe it would be a tacit engagement to own that the emperor had the ſame right in Germany. This was falſe reaſoning, ſince there was a wide difference between the authority which the king had over his ſubjects, and that which the emperor could claim over the ſovereigns and free cities of Germany. However, he attained his ends, that is, he begot a great coldneſs between the king and the proteſtants.

Gardiner's artifices might have been more prejudicial to the reformation, if, on the other ſide, the reformers had not raiſed a counter battery, of which they made wonderful uſe. The king was ſo jealous of his ſupremacy, that he neglected nothing to ſupport it. Indeed the abſolute power acquired over his ſubjects placed him above all oppoſition; but he wiſhed, of all things, the nation was convinced of the juſtice of that prerogative. Hence the reformers took occaſion to remonſtrate to him, that nothing but the reading of the holy ſcriptures could undeceive the people of their falſe notion of the papal authority. By this means they had already obtained, that there ſhould be a bible faſtened with a chain in every church, to be freely peruſed by all perſons. But as many ſcrupled publicly to read the ſcriptures, for fear of being ſuſpected of hereſy, Cranmer, meeting with a favourable opportunity, repreſented to the king that it was neceſſary to give his ſubjects leave to have a bible in their houſes. He inſinuated to him, that every one, having liberty to read it, would eaſily be convinced that the pope's pretended authority had no foundation in the ſcriptures. This was an innocent ſtratagem to procure the people an opportunity to inſtruct themſelves in many other articles, though the king had only one in view. Gardiner readily perceived the conſequence of the archbiſhop's requeſt, and ſeeing the king inclined to grant it, did all he could to divert it. He diſputed upon this ſubject with Cranmer in the king's preſence, who heard them very attentively. At laſt, perceiving ſolid learning in what Cranmer ſaid, and nothing but vanity in the reaſonings of his adverſary, he ſuddenly roſe up, ſaying to Gardiner, that ſuch a novice as he, was not fit to contend with an old experienced general [u]. Shortly after, he iſſued out a proclamation, declaring he was deſirous to have his ſubjects attain the knowlege of true religin in God's word; and therefore he would take care they ſhould have an exact tranſlation of the bible. He forbid, however, in order to prevent the inconveniences which might ariſe from the difference of the verſions, the ſelling of any bible but what ſhould be approved by the vicegerent [w].

About the end of this year was ſeen a freſh effect of the mutual confidence which appeared between Charles V. and Francis I. A mutiny ariſing in Gaunt, by reaſon of a tax laid upon wine by the governor of the Low Countries, the mutineers applied to the king of France to implore his protection, and even offered to ſubmit to him. But he did not think proper to accept of their offers. On the contrary, he informed the emperor of what was plotting againſt him. This ſeems very ſtrange, conſidering that hitherto he had never profeſſed much generoſity to that monarch. But the reaſon of this proceeding was, the emperor ſtill allured him with the hopes of the duchy of Milan, and ſo diverted him from the thoughts of recovering it by arms. However, the emperor's preſence in Flanders being alone capable of appeaſing the ſedition of Gaunt, he was at ſome loſs which way to get thither in time. It was dangerous going by ſea, as well on account of the ſeaſon, as becauſe he had no fleet to convoy him. The way through Italy was no ſafer, by reaſon he could not afterwards croſs Germany, without paſſing through the territories of the proteſtant princes. There remained no other way but by France, which he reſolved upon, though he had as much reaſon to ſuſpect that kingdom as Germany. But he hoped to amuſe the king by means of the duchy of Milan, as he did in effect. He ſet out therefore, and entered France with a ſmall train, upon the bare ſecurity of a ſafe conduct. Nay, he refuſed to take in hoſtage the dauphin and his brother the duke of Orleans, who came and received him at Bayonne, offering to ſtay in Spain ſo long as he ſhould be in the king's dominions. Wherever he came, the ſame reſpect was paid to him as to the king himſelf, and he arrived at Paris the 1ſt of January 1540.

Henry's marriage with Anne of Cleves, being at length concluded by Cromwell's diligence, who had been charged with the negotiation, the princeſs arrived in England about the end of the year 1539 [x], at the time the emperor was travelling through France, in his way to the Low Countries. Henry, receiving advice of her arrival at Rocheſter, went down incognito, being very impatient to ſee whether he had been deceived. But to his ſorrow, he found her very different from what her picture, drawn by Hans Holbin, had cauſed him to expect. This firſt ſight gave him ſuch an averſion for her, that he would have immediately broke off the marriage, if he had not been prevented by ſtrong reaſons [y]. The ſame conſiderations which had made him conclude it, ſubſiſted, and there were others which obliged him to conſummate it. The duke of Cleves was the emperor's

ther with Thomas Denton and Robert Carey, were ordered to make a full project of the nature and orders of ſuch a houſe, which they brought to the king in writing, the original whereof is ſtill extant. The deſign of it was, that there ſhould be frequent pleadings, and other exerciſes, in the Latin and French tongues; and when the king's ſtudents were brought to ſome ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his embaſſadors to foreign parts, and trained up in the knowledge of foreign affairs; and ſo the houſe ſhould be the nurſery for embaſſadors. Some were alſo appointed to write the hiſtory of all embaſſies, treaties, and foreign tranſactions; as alſo of arraignments and public trials at home. But, before any of them might write on theſe ſubjects, the lord chancellor was to give them an oath, that they ſhould do it truly, without reſpect of perſons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble deſign miſcarried; but if it had been well regulated, it is eaſy to gather what great and public advantages might have flowed from it. Among which it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a rabble of ill writers of hiſtory, who have, without due care and enquiry, delivered to us the tranſactions of that time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of enquiring into regiſters and papers for theſe matters; which in ſuch a houſe had been more clearly conveyed to poſterity, than can now be expected after ſuch a razure of records, and other confuſions, in which many of theſe papers have been loſt. Burnet, tom. I. p. 269.

[u] Gardiner challenged Cranmer to ſhew any difference between the authority of the ſcriptures, and of the apoſtolical canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the apoſtles. Upon which they diſputed ſome time. Burnet, tom, I. p. 270.

[w] And about the ſame time iſſued out a proclamation for uniformity in religion; which the reader may ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 354. Col. p. 295.

[x] On December 27 ſhe landed at Deal, William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton, being ſent with a fleet of fifty ſail, to bring her over. Hall, fol. 238.—This ſame month king Henry renewed his guard of fifty gentlemen penſioners, with a ſalary of fifty pounds a year; they had been diſcontinued ſince the firſt year of his reign. Hall, fol. 237. Hollingſhead, p. 948.

[y] He ſwore, when he firſt ſaw her, they had brought over a Flanders mare to him. Nicholas Wotton, doctor of law, employed in this buſineſs, gives her this character: ſhe could both write and read in her own language, and few very well; but for muſic (in which the king delighted) it was not the manner of the country to learn it. Herbert, p. 221.

Cromwell

neighbour in Flanders, and had alſo a pretenſion, as well as he, to the duchy of Guelders, after the death of the duke of that name. Conſequently, in caſe of a war between the emperor and England, that prince could give the emperor a very troubleſome diverſion in Flanders. On the other hand, his ſiſter was married to the duke of Saxony, head of the Smalcaldick league, with whom it was of great moment to the king to live in good underſtanding. But this was not all. The emperor, then in France, was labouring with all his power to diſengage Francis I. from the intereſts of England. Nay, Henry had private intelligence, that the emperor offered to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans upon that conſideration. If therefore, in ſuch a juncture, he had ſent back the princeſs of Cleves without marrying her, he ran the hazard of an entire rupture with the princes of Smalcald, at a time when he ſaw himſelf upon the point of being forſaken by the king of France, who by degrees forgot the aſſiſtance he had received from him in his moſt urgent occaſions.

[1540] So, lamenting his misfortune to be forced to marry a princeſs for whom he had conceived an averſion, he reſolved to make this ſacrifice the 6th of January 1540. But he was ſtill leſs pleaſed after his marriage than before, and from that very moment was determined to be divorced from her. He concealed his ſentiments, however, as much as poſſible, though it was eaſy for all to ſee his vexation and trouble. Cromwell, who had drawn him into this marriage, quickly felt the effects of his reſentment, though the king was very careful to hide it from him [z].

The parliament, meeting the 12th of April, Cromwell made a ſpeech to both houſes, informing them that the king ſeeing, with extreme concern, ſo great diviſion among his ſubjects in matters of religion, had appointed commiſſioners to examine the points in diſpute, that the articles of faith might be be fixed without reſpect of parties, by the word of God: that he was very deſirous his people ſhould have the knowledge of the truth; but then he was reſolved to puniſh, without mercy, ſuch as ſhould preſume to prefer their private, before the eſtabliſhed, opinions. The commiſſioners named by the king were approved of, and had orders to begin this examination without delay [a]. Two days after, the king created Cromwell earl of Eſſex [b].

During this ſeſſion, the parliament ſuppreſſed the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, who are now called knights of Malta. Their dependence on the pope and the emperor was the cauſe or pretence of their ruin. There is no doubt, the deſire of enjoying their ſpoils induced alſo the king to procure their ſuppreſſion. And, indeed, the parliament gave him all their lands, as they had given him thoſe of the abbies. Though they had large revenues, both in Ireland and England, the king allowed, however, but three thouſand pounds for their maintenance after their ſuppreſſion [c]. The affair being ended, the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of May.

A few days after there fell upon Cromwell a ſtorm, which probably had been gathering ſome time before. This miniſter had many enemies and enviers. He was ſon of a farrier or lock-ſmith; and though his birth was ſo mean, he was raiſed to great honour, even to the having the precedence of all the lords in the kingdom, except the royal family. All the nobility envied him. The whole popiſh party alſo hated him mortally, deeming him the firſt adviſer of the ſuppreſſion of the abbies, and one of the principal encouragers of the king to all the innovations he had made in religion. Among theſe, who were very numerous, the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner were the perſons that could do him moſt hurt, becauſe they had free acceſs to the king. Theſe two courtiers, perceiving the king's coldneſs for the new queen, doubted not of his ill-will to Cromwell, for engaging him in that marriage, and reſolved to make uſe of this occaſion to ruin him. They hoped, when he was removed, it would not be impoſſible to procure an agreement between the emperor and the king, and then a reconciliation with the pope, which Cromwell had always oppoſed to the utmoſt of his power. Two other things greatly contributed to the downfal of this miniſter. The king had always employed him in his correſpondence with the Smalcaldick league, and ſo long as he thought he wanted that league, he could not be without his aſſiſtance. But growing cold at length to the German princes, as I before obſerved, and knowing the dreaded union between Charles V. and Francis I. was only a chimera, and conſequently he ſhould have no need of Germany, Cromwell became leſs neceſſary. The ſecond thing which helped to ruin Cromwell was, the king fell in love with Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece. Norfolk, finding his credit conſiderably increaſed, made uſe of it to procure the miniſter's deſtruction. As ſoon as he had a fair opportunity, he repreſented to the king, "That there were many malcontents in the kingdom, and good men could not be perſuaded that a prince like him would willingly give any occaſion of diſcontent to his people: that they inferred from thence, he muſt have been ill ſerved by his miniſter, who doubtleſs had abuſed his confidence: that as the people ſeemed diſſatisfied only with regard to religion, it was natural to think, this happened through the vice-gerent's fault, whoſe conduct, perhaps, it would be proper to examine: that he was accuſed by the public of many things, which if true, rendered him the moſt guilty of all others, conſidering the favours heaped on him by the king: that beſides, though no particular fact could be proved upon him, it was however a very great crime to rob the king of the hearts of of good part of his ſubjects: that he took the freedom therefore to tell him, in order to quiet their minds, there was no better way than to ſacrifice to them ſo odious a miniſter." Theſe inſinuations, which were doubtleſs ſeconded by Gardiner and other enemies of Cromwell, produced at length the deſired effect. The king, prejudiced againſt him, reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, without knowing yet of what he was guilty. But he found in his death a double advantage: firſt, he diſcovered his reſentment againſt him on account of the marriage he had drawn him into. Secondly, he believed to make his people a ſacrifice capable of ſilencing all the murmurs [d]. This reſolution being taken, and the parliament meeting the 13th of June, the duke of Norfolk accuſed Cromwell of high treaſon at the council-board, and received orders to arreſt him [e], and ſend him to the Tower. This illuſtrious priſoner had the common fate of all diſgraced miniſters. In a moment he was forſaken by all but his friend Cranmer, who alone ventured to write to the king in his favour, though to no purpoſe.

Cromwell being in the Tower, the articles of his impeachment were drawn, conſiſting in generals, of which not ſo much as the leaſt proof was offered to be given. The king knew if his proceſs was made according to the uſual forms, he might produce warrants which would fully clear him, and which could not be diſclaimed. For this reaſon it was thought proper to bring his affair before the parliament, and cauſe a bill of attainder to be paſſed againſt him, without allowing him to make his defence [f]. In this manner had he himſelf proceeded in the affair of the marchioneſs of Exeter, and the counteſs of Saliſbury, and therefore could not think it ſtrange the ſame thing ſhould be practiſed in his caſe. The parliament, ever ſlaves to the king, deemed the impeachment juſt, though deſtitute of proof. So by an act, declaring him attainted and convicted of hereſy

[z] Cromwell aſked him next day, how he liked her; the king told him, he liked her worſe than he did. For he ſuſpected ſhe was no maid, and had ſuch ill ſmells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the marriage. This was ſad news to Cromwell, who knew how nice the king was in theſe matters, and that ſo great a misfortune muſt needs fall heavy upon him, who was the chief promoter of it. Burnet, tom. I. p. 273. Stow, p. 578.

[a] The king appointed the two archbiſhops, with the biſhops of London, Durham, Wincheſter, Rocheſter, Hereford, St. David's, and eleven doctors, to draw up an expoſition of thoſe things that were neceſſary for the inſtitution of a chriſtian man. He alſo appointed the biſhops of Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chicheſter, Worceſter, and Landaff, to examine what ceremonies ſhould be retained, and what was the true uſe of them. Theſe committees were to ſit conſtantly Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Fridays, and on other days, in the afternoon only. Burnet, tom. I. p. 275.

[b] April 17. One would think by this, that the king was not angry with him about his marriage, ſince he conferred ſo great a title on him. Henry Bouchier, earl of Eſſex, the laſt of his family, venturing to ride a young horſe, had the misfortune to be thrown, and by the fall to break his neck. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 130, 137.——On November 29, 1538. Sir Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, was created lord Audley, of Walden; and on March 9, 1539, ſir William Poulet was advanced to the title of lord St. John; on the 29th, ſir John Ruſſel, to that of lord Ruſſel; and William Parr, to that of lord Parr. Idem. p. 376, 378, 381.

[c] He allowed a thouſand pounds penſion to the prior of St. John's near London, and five hundred marks a year to the prior in Ireland (for there was but one houſe in each kingdom, with very conſiderable allowances for the knights, amounting in all to three thouſand pounds a year. The houſe in Ireland was at Kilmainan. Burnet, tom. I. p. 276. Stow, p. 579.

[d] See p. 162, Note [b].

[e] He was arreſted July 9. Hall, fol. 242.

[f] The bill was brought into the houſe of lords. Cranmer being then abſent, on the 17th of July, and read the firſt time; and on the 19th, was read the ſecond and third times, and ſent down to the commons, where it ſtuck ten days. And then a new bill, conceived by the commons, was brought up with a proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the lords bill. It ſeems they rejected the lord's bill, and ſent it up with their own, either in reſpect to the lords, or that they left it to their choice which of the two they would offer to the royal aſſent. Which was an unparliamentary proceeding. Burnet, tom. I. p. 277.

The

and treaſon, he was condemned as a traitor and heretic, the parliament leaving it to the king's choice to make him ſuffer the puniſhment of either of thoſe crimes. This joined to ſome other foregoing, as well as following inſtances, ſhew to what height the king had carried his authority, ſince to diſcover his will was ſufficient to be immediately obeyed, even by thoſe whoſe buſineſs and intereſt it chiefly was to reduce his power within due bounds. The execution of the ſentence was deferred till after the ſeſſion of the parliament.

Henry was ſo tired of his queen, that he could not bear the vexation to ſee himſelf engaged for the reſt of his life in ſo diſagreeable a marriage. He reſolved therefore to divorce her, let what would be the conſequence, eſpecially as the reaſons which induced him to marry her no longer ſubſiſted. He had all hopes of making a league with the proteſtants of Germany, and his fears of the emperor were vaniſhed, ſince he ſaw every thing tending to a rupture between him and France. He only wanted a pretence to demand a divorce, and give ſome colour to the proceedings of the clergy and parliament, of whoſe concurrence he was ſure, however ſlight the pretence might be. He found one in a pre-contract between the queen and the duke of Lorrain's ſon. But this contract was ſo ſlight, that the conſequences were to be much preſſed, to make it ſerve for the foundation of diſſolving Anne's marriage with the king. The duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorrain had formerly, it ſeems, in a treaty, agreed upon a marriage between Anne of Cleves, and the prince of Lorrain, both minors. This agreement had never been confirmed by the parties when of age. On the contrary, the embaſſador of the duke of Gueldres, who acted as mediator in that treaty, declared afterwards by an authentic inſtrument, that this article was deemed null. However, when Henry's marriage with Anne was concluded, this pre-engagement raiſed a difficulty. But the embaſſadors of Saxony and Cleves poſitively promiſed to clear that point, and put it out of all doubt, as ſoon as the princeſs ſhould arrive in England. Anne being come to Greenwich, the king, who liked her not, inſiſted upon this article, in order to ſend her back. For that purpoſe he called a council, and ſending for the embaſſadors, the explanation they had promiſed was demanded. But they had brought nothing with them, looking upon this difficulty as little material. Mean while, the council telling them that good proofs were expected and not bare words, they offered to produce within three months an authentic abſtract from the chancery of Cleves, to prove what they had alleged. This alone would not have been capable of inducing the king to proceed, if, as has been ſaid, there had not been ſtrong reaſons to cauſe him to accompliſh his marriage. So the council was of opinion, that if there were no other objection, the marriage might be lawfully ſolemnized. The abſtract from the chancery of Cleves being come, great exceptions were found to it, upon the ambiguity of the word eſpouſals, becauſe it was not expreſſed whether they were eſpouſals by the words of the preſent or of the future tenſe. But, as the king would not yet commence the affair of his divorce, he cauſed the abſtract to be kept, in order to make uſe of it when there ſhould be occaſion. Upon this, therefore, he reſolved to found his divorce.

The parliament, after a prorogation of ſome days, meeting again, Henry ſent the queen to Richmond. A few days after, a motion was made in the houſe of lords, to preſent an addreſs to the king, to deſire him to ſuffer his marriage to be tried. After what has been ſaid, it cannot be imagined any lord would be ſo hardy as to dare to make ſuch a motion, unleſs he was ſure of the king's approbation. So, the motion being aſſented to, the lords deſired the concurrence of the commons [g]; after which, they went in a body [h] to preſent their addreſs to the king. Henry proteſted to them, that he ſought only the glory of God, the good of his people, and the declaration of truth. Then he agreed that the affair ſhould be referred to the clergy, who immediately appointed commiſſioners to examine the witneſſes [i]. All that could be gathered from the king's own depoſition, and thoſe of the witneſſes, was, that there had been a pre-contract between the queen and the prince of Lorrain, which was not ſufficiently cleared: that the king having eſpouſed the queen againſt his will, had not given an inward conſent to his marriage, without which, it was affirmed, his promiſes could not be obligatory, a man's act being only what is inward; that the king had never conſummated his marriage; that the whole nation had a great intereſt in the king's having more iſſue, which they ſaw he could never have by the queen.

The king muſt have had a very ill opinion of the convocation, the parliament, and the public, to allege ſuch extraordinary cauſes of his divorce. The firſt had been diſcuſſed before the celebration of the marriage, and the council was of opinion it could be no juſt impediment. As to the ſecond, if that maxim took place, contracts would be of no uſe, ſince one of the parties might ſay, he had not given an inward conſent. This would be eſtabliſhing, without remedy, inſincerity, fraud, and perfidiouſneſs, in the higheſt degree. As to the third, the king had doubtleſs forgot what he had alleged in the proceſs of his divorce with Catherine. He then maintained, purſuant to his clergy's opinion, that the conſummation of Arthur's marriage with Catherine was not neceſſary to render it valid, but that the bare conſent of the parties made it compleat. The fourth was of no greater weight, ſince there was no neceſſity of nulling the marriage, under colour that the king was not pleaſed to lie with the queen. Beſides, he had now an heir. In ſhort, his word muſt be taken, when he ſaid, he had not conſummated his marriage; his word, who ſued for the divorce, and who uſed this argument to obtain it. Mean while, the clergy thought theſe reaſons ſolid, and paſſed a ſentence of divorce upon them; and the parliament were ſo abject as to proſtitute themſelves to the king's paſſion, and confirm the ſentence [k]. There is no diſtinction to be made here, ſince, neither in the convocation, nor in the parliament, was there one ſingle vote againſt the divorce; ſo much did every one dread to incur the king's diſpleaſure. This is a remarkable evidence of what I have often intimated, that in every thing tranſacted in England, during the latter part of Henry VIIIth's reign, the parliament and clergy ought to be conſidered only as the king's inſtruments to gratify his paſſions. To him is due the praiſe of whatever was good and uſeful, and he it is that ought to be blamed for whatever was amiſs. Mean while, the parliament and clergy are inexcuſable for not having endeavoured to ſupport the cauſe of juſtice and truth, when they believed them to be oppreſſed,

The queen was not much troubled at what had been done in her abſence, and even without her being examined. Probably, ſhe had entertained no great affection for a ſpouſe, who had never given her any token of his love. However, though the king had thought it needleſs to aſk her approbation, when he was meditating the divorce, becauſe then the clergy and parliament only were concerned, whom he knew to be at his devotion, he demanded her conſent to what had been done, thinking no doubt the better to juſtify himſelf to the world. At the ſame time he offered by letters patents to declare her his adopted ſiſter, with a penſion of four thouſand pounds a year [l], and her choice either to live in England, or return home. She agreed to all without ſollicitation, and choſe to live in England, where ſhe hoped to paſs her time more agreeably than at Cleves, in her brother's court. Beſides, it is likely ſhe believed her penſion would be more ſecure if ſhe remained in England, than if ſhe lived abroad. Every thing being thus ſettled, ſhe wrote to the duke her brother, that ſhe approved of the divorce, and deſired him to live in a good underſtanding with the king [m].

[g] The lord chancellor, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Durham, were ſent to deſire their concurrence. Burnet, tom. I. p. 280.

[h] The whole houſe of peers, with twenty commoners, on July 6. Burnet, ibid.

[i] On the 7th of July it was brought before the convocation, and the caſe was opened by the biſhop of Wincheſter, and a committee appointed to conſider of it; and they deputed the biſhops of Durham and Wincheſter, with Thirleby, and Leighton, dean of York, to examine witneſſes that day. Burnet, ibid.

[k] Sentence was given the 9th of July, which was ſigned by both houſes of convocation; and had the two archbiſhops ſeals put to it, of which whole trial the record does yet remain, having eſcaped the fate of the other books of convocation. The original depoſitions are alſo extant. Burnet obſerves, this only can be ſaid for their excuſe, that the king's reaſons were as juſt and weighty as uſed to be admitted by the court of Rome for a divorce; and moſt of them being canoniſts, and knowing how many precedents there were to be found for ſuch divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the popes had formerly done. Burnet, tom. I. p. 281.

[l] There is in Rymer a liſt of the ſeveral manors and eſtates granted her by the king for life; but it is no where ſaid, that they were four thouſand pounds a year. See tom. XIV. p. 710, &c. Biſhop Burnet ſays, it was only three thouſand pounds a year. See tom. I. p. 282.

[m] The 10th of July, Cranmer reported to the houſe of lords the convocation's ſentence, who ſent him down to the commons to report the ſame. On the 11th, the king ſent the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Wincheſter to the queen, to let her know what was done, and to make her the offers above mentioned. Next day, being the 12th of July, the bill was brought into the houſe for annulling the marriage, which eaſily went through both houſes. Burnet, tom. I. p. 282.

This grand affair being finiſhed, the parliament paſſed an act to moderate one of the ſix articles in the bloody ſtatute. This article, as the other five, made it death for the prieſts to break their vow of chaſtity; but by this laſt act, the pains of death were turned to forfeiture of goods.

All the reſt of this reign will be only a continued ſeries of ſenſible proofs of the ſlaviſh ſubjection the Engliſh nation was reduced to. But in this very ſeſſion of parliament, there are three, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence.

The commiſſioners appointed by the king, purſuant to an act of parliament, to examine the doctrines of religion, having drawn a long memorial, and ſet down certain articles as undeniable and abſolutely neceſſary, it was moved in the houſe of lords, to paſs into a law what the commiſſioners had already done, and whatever they ſhould do for the future by order of the king. This motion being received, a bill was brought in immediately, and when paſſed, ſent down to the commons, who agreeing to it, ſent it up again the next day. By this ſtatute it was enacted, that not only the memorial drawn by the commiſſioners, provided it were approved by the king, but likewiſe whatever the king ſhould enjoin for the future in matters of religion, ſhould be believed and obeyed by all his ſubjects. This was inveſting the king with the infallibility taken from the pope. Greater ſigns of ſlavery can hardly be ſeen, ſince the parliament gave the king power over conſcience, after having in a manner rendered him maſter of life and fortune. Moreover a clauſe was inſerted in this act, which under colour of limiting the king's authority, ſenſibly enlarged it, namely, "That nothing ſhould be done or determined by virtue of this act, which was contrary to the laws of the realm." Theſe contradictory clauſes in the ſame ſtatute rendered the king arbiter of the lives of his ſubjects; ſince on the one hand, they were enjoined to ſubmit to the king's will in matters of religion, without knowing however what he would pleaſe to preſcribe, and on the other, were forbid to do any thing contrary to the laws. Conſequently, in caſe the king commanded any thing contrary to the law, they were liable to be proſecuted by virtue of this ſtatute, whether againſt law they obeyed the king, or in obedience to the law refuſed to comply with his will. The acts paſſed in this reign are full of ſuch contradictions, which were not inſerted without deſign.

The parliament paſſed another bill which carried no leſs marks of ſervitude. It was enacted, that a marriage already conſummated ſhould not be annulled, on pretence of pre-contract or any other impediment not mentioned in the law of God. Without doubt the parliament had, or perhaps feigned to have, forgot that the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was annulled by reaſon of a pre-contract, and upon the ſame foundation, during this very ſeſſion, they had approved the diſſolution of his marriage with Anne of Cleves. It is true, the king declared, it was not conſummated. But Catherine, of Arragon, proteſted the ſame thing with reſpect to her marriage with prince Arthur, and yet it was decided, that a party concerned ſhould not be believed, even upon oath, when there were preſumptions to the contrary. Theſe were real contradictions, but not minded by the king. His aim was to legitimate the princeſs Elizabeth by virtue of the former branch of the act, and to remove, by the latter, the impediments in the canon law to his intended marriage with Catherine Howard, who was couſin-german to Anne Bullen [n].

Before the parliament broke up, the clergy of the province of Canterbury, aſſembled in convocation, offered the king a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, of all eccleſiaſtical preferments, to be paid in two years, in acknowledgment (as they ſaid in their addreſs) of his care to free the church of England from the tyranny of the pope. The king gladly accepted their preſent, which was readily confirmed by the parliament. But this was not ſufficient for the king's occaſions. In a few days, he demanded alſo an aid of money of the commons. Though for ſome time the parliament had been wont to ſubmit, without examination, to the king's pleaſure, this demand met with ſome ſort of oppoſition in the lower houſe. And, indeed, it could not but ſeem ſtrange, conſidering the king was in peace with all the world, and beſides, he could not be imagined to have already conſumed the money procured by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. Some of the commons repreſented, that if in time of peace, and within the ſpace of one year, the king had ſpent ſuch immenſe ſums, there was nothing more to do but to give him all the lands in the kingdom, which too would not ſuffice for the expence of few years. But theſe ſpeeches had no great effect. It was anſwered by the king's party, that he had laid out vaſt ſums in ſecuring the coaſts [o], and that the keeping his ſubjects in peace and plenty coſt him more than the moſt burthenſome war. Theſe reaſons, though very weak, paſſed for inconteſtable, and the commons granted the king a ſubſidy, as large as if he had been actually engaged in a dangerous war [p]. This is a third proof of the parliament's ſlavery. Mean while, the people could not conceive what was become of all the money the king had lately received, and which ſhould have ſupplied his neceſſities for many years.

This parliament, which had given the king ſo great teſtimonies of a boundleſs compliance, was diſſolved the 24th of July. But the king was pleaſed firſt to requite his ſubjects with a free and general pardon, as it was called, though the exceptions limited the benefit to few perſons. All thoſe were excluded, who had been condemned for denying the king's ſupremacy, or for tranſgreſſing ſome one of the ſix articles of the bloody ſtatute, and even thoſe who were only accuſed of theſe crimes which were then unpardonable. The counteſs of Saliſbury, cardinal Pole's mother, and Thomas Cromwell, were excepted by name.

As Cromwell's execution had been deferred, he was in ſome hopes of obtaining his pardon, and the more as having written to the king a very ſubmiſſive letter, he was ſo moved with it, that he cauſed it to be thrice read. But the ſollicitations of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſeconded by thoſe of Catherine Howard, who acted in their favour, rendered the endeavours of the priſoner fruitleſs. The king ſigned a warrant to cut off his head the 28th of July [q], about ſix weeks after his condemnation. As Cromwell left a ſon, of whom he was very fond, he would ſay nothing on the ſcaffold that might do him a prejudice. He contented himſelf with ſhewing, that he willingly ſubmitted to the ſentence the law had paſſed on him. He prayed for the king's proſperity, and declared he died in the profeſſion of the catholic religion [r]. Theſe laſt words were variouſly interpreted, according to the paſſions and prejudices of the two parties in matters of religion. Though it was certain Cromwell had lived in the opinions of the Lutherans, the contrary party maintained, he recanted at his death; and that by the catholic religion was to be underſtood the old religion, profeſſed in the kingdom before all innovations. The others pretended, theſe words ought to be taken in a more general ſenſe, and at moſt to ſignify only the religion which was then eſtabliſhed. However, the care Cromwell took when he came to die, to ſay nothing that might offend the king, turned to his ſon Gregory's advantage, who was this year created a peer of the realm, by the title of lord Cromwell. The office of vice-gerent, enjoyed by the father, died with him, no one deſiring a poſt ſo obnoxtious to envy, and ſo fatal to the firſt profeſſor. Beſides, the duke of Norfolk and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who were then in great credit, took care not to ſollicit the king to fill a place, which would engage the perſon who held it, to uſe all his intereſt to hinder a reconciliation with Rome [s].

[n] By other ſtatutes it was enacted, 1. That phyſicians in London ſhall be diſcharged from watch and ward, and not ſerve the office of conſtable, or any other. That the preſident, and four fellows of the college, ſhall ſearch and examine the wares and drugs of apothecaries; and that they may practiſe ſurgery. 2. By another, the barbers and ſurgeons were made one company. 3. And by another it was ordered, that a court of firſt fruits and tenths, (conſiſting of a chancellor, treaſurer, two auditors, two clerks, a meſſenger, and an uſher) ſhould be erected. 4. As alſo a court of wards. This laſt was aboliſhed 12 Car. II. See Statut. 32 Hen. VIII.

[o] In building havens, bulwarks, and other forts, for the defence of the coaſts. Burnet, tom. I. p. 284.

[p] A tenth, being two ſhillings in the pound of lands, and twelve-pence of goods; and four fifteenths. Hall, fol. 241. Stow, p. 579.

[q] Which it ſeems was done very barbarouſly. Hall, fol. 242.

[r] His words were, "I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any ſacrament of the church." Hall, fol. 242.

[s] Thomas Cromwell, from being but a blackſmith's ſon at Putney, found means to travel into foreign countries, to learn their language, and to ſee the wars, being a ſoldier in the duke of Bourbon's army at the ſacking of Rome. Whence returning, he was received into cardinal Wolſey's ſervice; and after his fall, the king voluntarily, (for his fidelity to his old maſter) took him for his ſervant. He obtained ſucceſſively the office and dignities of privy counſellor, maſter of the jewel houſe, clerk of the hanaper, principal ſecretary of ſtate, juſtice of the foreſts, maſter of the rolls, lord privy ſeal, baron, the king's vice-gerent in ſpirituals, knight of the garter, earl of Eſſex, great chamberlain of England, &c. Herbert, p. 225. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 370. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 363. As his extraction was mean, his education was low; all the learning he had, was, that he had got the new teſtament in Latin by heart. His miniſtry was in a conſtant courſe of flattery and ſubmiſſion, but by that he did great things that amaze one who has conſidered them well. The ſetting up the king's ſupremacy, and the rooting out the monaſtic ſtate in England, conſidering the wealth, numbers, and zeal of the monks, were bold undertakings, and executed with great method. But in the end, an unfortunate marriage, to which he adviſed the king, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to deſtroy

Some days after Cromwell's death [t], was ſeen at London a fight, which very much perplexed both parties. This was a company of people condemned and executed all together; ſome for denying the king's ſupremacy, others for maintaining the Lutheran doctrines. Among theſe laſt were Robert Barnes doctor of divinity, Thomas Gerard parſon of Honylane, and William Jerom vicar of Stepney. Theſe three being impeached before the parliament, were condemned to be burned, upon a general accuſation of ſowing hereſy, perverting the ſcriptures, and maintaining errors deſtructive of religion, without the act's mentioning any particulars, and in all appearance, without the parliament's examining the proofs. By the ſame act were condemned to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment four men, one of whom was accuſed of maintaining the papal authority, another for holding correſpondence with cardinal Pole, a third for deſigning to ſurpriſe Calais, a fourth for harbouring a rebel [u], and laſtly, three more convicted of denying the king's ſupremacy [w]. All theſe were burned or hanged at the ſame time and place. It is to be preſumed, they were not admitted to ſpeak for themſelves, ſince Barnes, after a declaration of his faith to the people, aſked the ſheriff whether he knew why he was to ſuffer. The ſheriff anſwering, he did not, he turned to the ſtake and ſaid, the puniſhment he was going to ſuffer plainly taught him the crime of which he was ſuppoſed to be guilty. He prayed however for the king, and even for Gardiner whom he ſuſpected to be the author of his death. The biſhop endeavoured to clear himſelf by a printed apology, but had the misfortune not to be believed [x].

On the 8th of Auguſt, Catherine Howard, the duke of Norfolk's niece [y], was declared queen, the king having privately married her ſome time before. She was ſo devoted to the duke her uncle, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, that ſhe was entirely guided by their counſels. As ſhe had a great aſcendant over the king, very likely ſhe would have induced him to give himſelf over to the guidance of theſe two miniſters, who were preparing to procure by her means great alterations in religion, had not her fall, which will be preſently related, confounded their projects. However, they improved as much as poſſible ſo favourable a juncture, to ſtrike at the reformation and the reformed. Certainly Cranmer was then in a very dangerous ſituation. He could not doubt that the authors of Cromwell's ruin, deſired his deſtruction with the ſame ardour, nay, were privately working it. Complaints of him were already heard in ſeveral places, and even a member of parliament [z] ſaid openly in the houſe, he was the protector and head of the innovators. Theſe things would have doubtleſs taken effect, had his enemies had a little more time to prepare all their plots. But as they knew the king had a real eſteem for him, they intended to proceed by degrees, plainly perceiving they could not, without danger to themſelves, preſs his ruin ſo directly as Cromwell's. Beſides, there was but one article which gave them any advantage upon Cranmer, namely, religion, in which too he had been very cautious, well knowing that the way to advance the reformation under ſuch a prince as Henry, was not directly to oppoſe his will.

The change produced at court, by Cromwell's diſgrace, and the new queen's advancement, was quickly perceived. The commiſſioners, appointed to draw up a declaration of the chriſtian doctrine, having preſented their work to the king, he ordered it to be immediately publiſhed [a]. Though the declaration corrected ſundry abuſes, the popiſh party had ſo prevailed, that inſtead of promoting, it ſenſibly obſtructed the reformation, as it is eaſy to ſee by the abſtract doctor Burnet gives of it in his hiſtory of the reformation of England. However, as ſeveral principles were laid down which might be of great uſe in a more favourable juncture, the reformers were glad, in hopes theſe principles would ſerve one day to deſtroy the errors advanced in the declaration. On the other hand, the popiſh party thought they had gained much, becauſe they ſaw doctrines laid down, to which probably the reformers would never conſent, and hoped this oppoſition would draw the king's indignation upon their whole party. As for themſelves, having always had an abſolute compliance for the king, they intended to purſue the ſame courſe, in order to put him entirely into the diſpoſition they deſired. Other commiſſioners, who were ordered to reform the miſſals, made ſo ſlight alterations, that excepting a few razures of thoſe collects, in which the pope was prayed for [b], there was nothing changed, nor was it neceſſary to reprint the maſs books. Thus, by the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, ſupported by the new queen, archbiſhop Cranmer, and thoſe of his party, ſaw a ſtorm approaching, which probably would overwhelm them all. Perhaps it was very fortunate for them, that the king was diverted ſome time by others affairs, from his attention to what concerned religion.

The emperor's paſſage through France ſeemed at firſt to create a ſincere reconciliation between him and Francis. During his ſtay at Paris, he poſitively promiſed to give the duchy of Milan to the duke of Orleans. But when Francis preſſed him to ſign an inſtrument of inveſtiture, he anſwered, ſuch an act would be looked upon as extorted, if dated in France, and that it was more honourable for him and the king too, that it ſhould be ſigned in ſome town of Flanders. Afterwards, when he was out of France, he found ſome freſh excuſe not to perform his promiſe. Mean while, he ſubdued the Gantois, and puniſhed them ſeverely for the trouble they had given him of a journey to Flanders. After that, when Francis claimed his promiſe, he clogged it with ſuch reſtrictions, that it was eaſy to perceive he had no mind to part with a country, by which Spain had a communication with his other dominions in Italy and Germany. Francis, vexed to be thus deceived, turned out of favour chancellor Poyet, and conſtable Montmorency, who had adviſed him to take the emperor's word.

About the end of the year 1540, there were ſome beginnings of a quarrel between Francis and Henry, which ended at length in a war. Francis ordered a fortreſs to be built at Ardres, and a bridge to be made over to the Engliſh pale. But the governor of Calais not ſuffering this encroachment, ſent a detachment of his garriſon and beat down the bridge. The French rebuilt it, and the Engliſh demoliſhed it a ſecond time. Whereupon the king of France ordering marſhal de Biez to raiſe troops in Picardy, Henry reinforced the garriſon of Calais [c], and repaired the fortifications. Mean while the two kings, willing to avoid a rupture upon ſo ſlight an occaſion, agreed to ſend commiſſioners [d] upon the ſpot, with powers to adjuſt the difference. But the confe-

what himſelf had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the deſign of breaking it, when the king had told him of it. And then, upon no other viſible ground, but becauſe Anne of Cleves grew more obliging to the king than ſhe was formerly, the king ſuſpected that Cromwell had betrayed his ſecret, and engaged her to a ſofter deportment, on deſign to prevent the divorce, and did upon that diſgrace and deſtroy him. He carried his greatneſs with wonderful temper and moderation, and was thankful to mean perſons of his old acquaintance. Burnet, tom. I. p. 284. Stow, p. 580. Hollingſh. p. 952.

[t] July 30. Hall, fol. 243.

[u] Theſe four were, Gregory Buttolph, Adam Damplip, Edmund Brinholme, and Clement Philpot, who were attainted for aſſiſting Reginald Pole, adhering to the biſhop of Rome, denying the king's ſupremacy, and deſigning to ſurpriſe the town of Calais. Derby Gunnings, was alſo attainted for aſſiſting Fitzgerald a traitor in Ireland. Burnet, tom. I. p. 297.

[w] Thomas Abeli, Richard Fetherſton, and Edward Powell. Hall, fol. 243. Stow, p. 581.

[x] At the ſame time was attainted and executed the lord Hungerford. His crimes were, keeping a heretical chaplain, applying to a conjurer to know how long the king was to live, and practiſing beſtiality. Herbert, p. 225. Hall, fol. 243.

[y] She was daughter of Edmund Howard (third ſon of Thomas duke of Norfolk, ſon of John firſt duke of Norfolk) by Joyce daughter of ſir Richard Culpeper of Hollingburn in Kent. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 272.

[z] Sir John Goſtwick, knight of the ſhire for Bedfordſhire. Burnet, tom. I. p. 285.

[a] It was publiſhed with a preface, written by thoſe who had been employed in it. Firſt, the true nature of faith is ſtated. After this, there followed an explanation of the apoſtles creed, with practical inferences. From that they proceeded to examine the ſeven ſacraments. Then followed an explanation of the ten commandments, which contains many good rules of morality. After that, an explanation of the lord's prayer was added. Then followed an expoſition of the angel's ſalutation of the bleſſed virgin, and the ave-maria explained. The next article is about free-will, which they ſay muſt be in man. After this they handled juſtification; next, good works are explained, which are ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. The method they followed was this (as appears in ſome authentic writings) firſt, the whole buſineſs they were to conſider was divided into ſo many heads, or queries, and theſe were given to ſo many biſhops and divines, and, at a prefixed time, every one brought in his opinion, in writing, upon all the queries. When their anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an extract of the particulars in which they agreed or diſagreed; which the one did in Latin, the other in Engliſh. As this was the way that was uſed concerning the ſeven ſacraments (as may be ſeen Collect. N. 21. vol. I. of Burnet's Reformation) ſo it is reaſonable to believe they proceeded with the ſame maturity in the reſt of their deliberations, though the papers are loſt. Burnet, tom. I. p. 286, &c.

[b] And of Thomas Becket's office, and the offices of other ſaints, whoſe days were by the king's injunctions no more to be obſerved. So the old books ſerved ſtill. But, in queen Mary's time, care was taken that poſterity ſhould not know how much was daſhed out or changed. For as all the pariſhes were required to furniſh themſelves with new complete books of the offices, ſo the daſhed books were every where brought in and deſtroyed. Burnet, tom. I. p. 294.

[c] He ſent fifteen hundred workmen, to wall and fortify Guiſnes, and five hundred ſoldiers to defend them. And alſo Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, William Fitzwilliams, earl of Southampton, and John lord Ruſſel, were ſent over with two hundred horſe. Hall. fol. 243.

[d] The Engliſh commiſſioners were Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and ſir Edward Karne. Herbert, p. 226.

The

rence producing no good effect, each provided for his defence in case of an attack.

It was this year that the famous jesuitical order was founded by a bull of Paul III. dated the 27th of September [e].

[1541] The uneasiness the emperor had given Henry for some time was now almost vanished, since Francis had been disappointed in the affair of Milan. Henry knew sufficiently that prince's temper and character, to foresee without much difficulty that he would soon break with the emperor. A war between these two monarchs could not but be advantageous to Henry. It would of course procure him quiet, and enable him to preserve an equality of power between them, which was the firmest foundation of his own and his kingdom's security. So fearing nothing from the pope or the emperor, or the king of France, or his own subjects, whose attempts must be in vain without a foreign aid, he confined himself wholly to his domestic affairs. He had chiefly two things in view. The first was, to preserve and even enlarge the authority he had acquired; the second, to take care that no alterations should be made in religion, but such as he himself judged reasonable. These were the two affairs which wholly employed him. As he was positively bent upon these two points, and the parliament durst not oppose his will, it may be easily judged that none of his ministers had the courage to contradict him in any thing. So it was himself alone that ordered every thing according to his fancy, his council only approving his motions. However, there were in the council, as well as in the kingdom, two opposite parties with respect to religion. But every one had always his eyes upon the king, to try to discover his thoughts, for fear of combating his opinion.

Archbishop Cranmer was at the head of the party who wished for a greater reformation. He was still very much esteemed by the king, especially on account of his integrity. But sincerity, which he professed, rendered him unfit for political affairs, in a court, where, instead of hearkening to reason, justice, and equity, the king's inclination only was to be considered.

Chancellor Audley was a person of good sense. He served the reformers, when he could without danger. But he was too much a courtier to insist upon what he judged reasonable, if the king was against it.

The duke of Norfolk was as eminent for his merit as for his birth. He was reckoned a good general, but was still a better courtier. Ever submissive to the king's will, he outwardly approved whatever he was pleased to command him. But in private, he grieved at all the late innovations in religion, and could not endure either the reformation or the reformed. He would have been glad to see the king reconciled to the pope, but the small hopes of their reconciliation made him very cautious how he offended so unforgiving a master. Nevertheless, as the king was not always in the same disposition, the duke found frequent occasions to serve his party, especially in the punishment of those who disliked the six articles, and were so hardy as publicly to shew it. In a word, he was as head of the favourers of the pope, and the old religion. But he carefully concealed from the king his inclination for the former; and, as for the latter, he shewed his zeal only in supporting what the king had retained.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was in the same sentiments, and behaved in the same manner. But he was very far from being so much esteemed by the king, who made use of him, however, because he was pliant and dexterous, and had an extensive knowledge of foreign affairs. As this knowledge rendered him of greater insight than the rest of the ministers, he sometimes engaged the king in proceedings, the consequences whereof might be advantageous to his party, and of which the king himself did not always know the motive. By a blind submission to the king's will, he kept himself in some degree of favour, being convinced himself, and having also convinced his friends, that compliance was the only means to procure a revocation of what had been done against the pope.

Bonner, bishop of London, was also one of the heads of the same party, but, however, always ready to sacrifice every thing to his fortune. He was naturally bold, passionate, and exceſſively cruel, as he plainly shewed upon many occasions. As he was of very little merit, he supported himself by courting those who were in favour, and by making the king's will the rule of his actions.

Queen Catherine blindly followed the directions of the duke of Norfolk, her uncle, and used what power she had over the king, to support the credit of the enemies of the reformation.

Such was the situation of the court, when the king, freed from his foreign affairs, was wholly employed in his domestic concerns. The kingdom, however, was in profound tranquility, because the terror with which the people were seized, silenced all contradiction. In December, the last year, he began the foundation of the new bishoprics, by converting the abbey of Westminster into a bishop's see [f]. In this year, 1541, he founded three more, Chester [g], Gloucester [h], and Peterborough [i], and the next year Oxford [k], and Bristol [l]. These foundations, and some others of little consequence, were the only charitable uses to which he applied the immense riches acquired by the suppression of the abbies [m]. His courtiers magnified these pious acts, whilst others took notice of the little proportion between seven or eight thousand pounds a year, employed in these uses, and what was acquired by the ruin of near seven hundred religious houses.

Mean while, Henry had a mind to shew his zeal for religion, as if his sole aim was to procure the eternal salvation of his people. The book of The Exposition of Christian Faith being printed, he prefixed an ordinance, declaring all those to be heretics, who believed more or less than was contained in that book [n]. However, as it was not possible that all should conform to it, and it does not appear, any person suffered upon that account in the course of this year, it is likely the king had intimated that he desired not his ordinance to be rigorously executed.

Whilst Henry was congratulating himself upon triumphing over the pope, and enjoying a tranquility which the court of Rome had in vain attempted to disturb, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon what passed between the emperor and the king of France, and upon the preparations in Turkey. The war between the emperor and Francis was going to be renewed, but very unseasonably for the emperor, when Soliman was preparing to invade Hungary, on occasion of the death of John de Zapol, competitor of the king of the Romans. These two princes, after long contending for the crown of Hungary, being at last tired of war, agreed that Zapol should hold, during his life, what he possessed with the title of king, but after his death the crown should descend to Ferdinand. Zapol dying, and leaving a son called Stephen, under the guardianship of his mother, Ferdinand expected that the treaty should be executed, and would have taken possession of all Hungary. But young Zapol's mother implored Soliman's protection, which he readily granted, intending to improve this dissention, to become master of Hungary, and penetrate afterwards into the Imperial territories.

The emperor seeing Hungary threatened with a powerful

[e] The founder of this order was Inigo (or Ignatius) de Leyola of Guipuscoa in Spain. He was born 1492, the very year the Indies were discovered, and Granada taken by Ferdinand. He lived obscurely till he came to twenty-nine years of age, and then turned soldier in the wars of Navarre 1521, where being hurt in the knee, the pain thereof seems to have wakened devotion in him to a religious life; for as soon as he recovered he went to our lady of Montserrat, and offered his sword and dagger; then giving his clothes to a poor man, took upon him a shirt and miserable habit, which he girt about him with a rope of rushes; and in these arms (as Sandoval terms them) he watched one whole night before our lady, and so went to an hospital three leagues off, and there attended sick persons, whence he travelled to the Holy Land; being returned, and in his thirty-third year, he began to learn grammar at Barcelona, which in two years he attained. Then he went to the university of Alcala, and so to Salamanca, where being opposed and persecuted, he left all and came to Paris, and there studied till he had found divers others, with whom he agreed to return in pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Thus about 1536 going to Venice, he stayed till his companions overtook him, and went from thence to Rome, where he obtained of Paul III. the foundation of the jesuits order 1540. Herbert, p. 226.

[f] With a deanery and twelve prebends, with the officers for a cathedral and a choir. Of which Thomas Thirleby was the only bishop. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 705.

[g] August the 4th, out of the monastery of St. Werburg at Chester, with a deanery and six prebends. Rymer, ibid. p. 718.

[h] September the 3d, out of the monastery of St. Peter's at Gloucester, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 724.

[i] The 4th of the same month, out of Peterborough abbey, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 731.

[k] September the 1st, out of the abbey of Osney at Oxford, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 754.

[l] June the 4th, out of St. Austin's at Bristol, with a deanery and six prebends. Ibid. p. 748.

[m] The priories at most cathedrals, as Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Worcester, Carlisle, Rochester, and Ely, were also converted into deaneries and colleges of prebends. As all this came far short of what the king had once intended, so Cranmer's design was quite disappointed. For he had projected, that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a great number of students, to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion; whom the bishop might transplant out of this nursery, into all the parts of his diocese. Burnet, tom. I. p. 300, 301.

[n] He added a sort of a preface about two years after the book was first published. Idem. p. 293.

George

invaſion, which might be of fatal conſequence to Germany, uſed all his art to pacify the proteſtants, without giving them however any ſatisfaction, endeavouring only to amuſe them, and obtain ſome aſſiſtance againſt the Turk. On the other hand, he laboured to perſuade Soliman, that he was in perfect union with the kings of France and England, that the dread of a general league of the Chriſtian princes might divert him from his deſign. Wherefore he tried to amuſe Francis, with putting him in hopes he would give the Low Countries to his ſecond ſon, and erect them into a kingdom. At the ſame time he gave the Ottoman Port to underſtand, this affair was in a manner concluded. Francis fell not into the ſnare. But hearing from all parts that the emperor's miniſters every where gave out, the negotiation was upon the point of concluſion, he reſolved to ſend an embaſſador to Venice, and another to Conſtantinople, to undeceive the emperor of the Turks and the ſenate of Venice. He choſe for theſe embaſſies Rincon and Fregoſa, who ſet out in order to paſs through Italy. But the marquis of Guaſto, governor of Milan, receiving advice that they were to embark at Turin, and go down the Po, cauſed them to be ſo narrowly watched, that they were murdered in the boat. Francis made great noiſe about the aſſaſſination, but the emperor gave him no ſatisfaction. This was a freſh occaſion of the rupture between the two monarchs.

About the ſame time, the emperor called a diet at Ratiſbon for the 5th of April. As it was then no proper juncture to diſturb the proteſtants, the diet reſolved at laſt to grant them a ſecond delay, which was called the interim, that they might continue quiet, and more readily engage to furniſh ſupplies againſt the Turks.

In the mean time the king of the Romans ordered Buda, capital of Hungary, to be inveſted, in hopes of taking it before the Turks ſhould arrive. But the ſiege proving more difficult than was expected, the Turks had time to relieve it, and give the Germans battle, over whom they obtained a ſignal victory. Shortly after, Soliman, coming to Hungary, made his entry into Buda, and under colour of taking young Zapol under his protection, became maſter of the city, and great part of the kingdom.

Mean while the emperor, having ended the diet, inſtead of marching into Hungary to aſſiſt the king his brother, took the rout of Italy, and embarking at Portovenere with an army of twenty thouſand men, ſailed for Africa to make war upon Barbaroſſa, who had made himſelf king of Algiers. This proceeding gave occaſion for many ſpeculations. It was ridiculed at the French court, as if, inſtead of fighting the Turks, he had ſought a pretence to fly from them. But as the African expedition was projected the beginning of the year, and the troops were now on the coaſt of Italy, it is certain he would not have had time to relieve the king of the Romans if he had attempted to march his army into Hungary. However, he landed his army near Algiers the 22d of October. But two days after, a ſudden and violent ſtorm deſtroyed part of his fleet. This accident obliged him to re-embark the beginning of November, after having loſt good part of his troops and ſhips. It is pretended, Francis, out of mere generoſity, would not proclaim war againſt him whilſt employed in this expedition. It is however difficult to believe that Francis, who actually held intelligence with Soliman, and afterwards ſcrupled not to make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Turks, ſhould ſcruple to interrupt the empeperor's deſigns againſt the infidels of Africa.

Henry ſaw with pleaſure that the king of France and the Turks were going to find the emperor employment, which would hinder him from thinking of England. But though he was eaſy in that reſpect, he was however in ſome pain with regard to the king of Scotland, who, though his nephew, had no reaſon to love him, and could eaſily aſſiſt the Engliſh malcontents, who were very numerous in the northern counties. Henry was afraid alſo, that a religious zeal would carry that prince to undertake ſomething againſt him, becauſe he began to ſuffer himſelf to be governed by the churchmen, who, under colour of perſuading him to deſtroy hereſy, ſtrongly attached him to the pope's intereſt. The reformed had now been burned many years in Scotland. But theſe puniſhments cauſed there the ſame effects as elſewhere, that is, they encreaſed, inſtead of leſſening the number, and yet the clergy were ſtill obſtinately bent to root them out with fire and ſword. James V. was a prince much addicted to his pleaſures, and very greedy of money. Beſides, he had ſeveral natural ſons whom he could not enrich as he wiſhed, becauſe he had exhauſted his treaſure in needleſs expences. There were two parties in his court, whereof the one favoured the king of England and the reformed, and the other, chiefly conſiſting of churchmen, was entirely againſt Henry, and continually ſtrove to induce the king to extirpate all who ſwerved from the old religion. The former endeavoured to perſuade him to imitate the king of England, his uncle, and ſecure a large revenue by the ſuppreſſion of the abbies. The latter repreſented to him, that, by ſtrictly executing the laws againſt heretics, he would raiſe, by forfeited eſtates, above a hundred thouſand crowns a year. After ſome conſideration, James cloſed with the laſt advice, and ſuffering the clergy to take their own courſe, there followed in Scotland a violent perſecution [o].

Henry, perceiving the king, his nephew, to be thus governed by perſons wholly addicted to the court of Rome, feared he would at laſt be led to unite againſt him with the pope and emperor. This apprehenſion ſeemed to him the more juſt, as he could hardly rely any longer on the aſſiſtance of the king of France, who was wont to direct the court of Scotland, becauſe that ancient ally was grown extremely cold to him. Whereupon he reſolved to uſe all his art to gain the king, his nephew, and perſuade him to break, like him, with the pope. To this end he ſent embaſſadors to deſire an interview at York, not queſtioning that in an amicable conference he ſhould have eloquence enough to perſuade him to what he pleaſed. James accepted the overture, and promiſed to come to York, where Henry went, and expected him. But the Scotch eccleſiaſtics, and their whole party, ſo beſtirred themſelves to prevent this interview, the conſequence whereof they perceived, that they ſucceded at laſt, and prevailed with the king to find ſome pretence to be excuſed.

Mean while, Henry, who knew nothing of this change, impatiently waited at York for the day appointed for the interview. In the interval, he iſſued out a proclamation, that all who had been aggrieved for want of juſtice by any of his former miniſters, ſhould come to him and his council for redreſs. His aim was to throw all paſt miſcarriages on Cromwell, and put his ſubjects, particularly the northern people, in hopes of better times [p]. But whilſt he was preparing for the king of Scotland's reception, he received letters of excuſe that he could not have the honour of waiting upon him. He was extremely provoked, and this refuſal, which he deemed an affront, ſoon after cauſed a breach between the two kingdoms. But his vexation at this affair was not comparable to the unexpected affliction he met with upon his return to London.

Since his laſt marriage, he daily bleſſed God for the happineſs he enjoyed with his queen, and, upon all occaſions, publicly teſtified his extreme ſatisfaction: nay, during his journey to York, deſiring to give God thanks in a manner ſuitable to the ſentiments of his heart, he ordered his confeſſor [q] to draw up a particular thankſgiving, and prayed him to join with him in the ſame. All this ſhewed his eſteem and tender affection for the queen, who ſeemed to have the ſame fondneſs for him. But, when he came to London, he heard things which it would have been well for him never to have known. Whilſt he was at York, one John Laſſels came to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who remained at London, and told him that his ſiſter, an old ſervant of the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, under whoſe care the queen was brought up, ſaid to him, that the queen had been very lewd before and ſince her marriage, and that two men, among others, namely, Dirham and Mannock [r], had often enjoyed her. Cranmer, communicating the ſecret to the lord chancellor, and other privy counſellors, it was agreed that the archbiſhop ſhould inform the king of it, as ſoon as he returned to London, though they were not ignorant of the danger they expoſed themſelves to, if the accuſation could not be proved. But on this occaſion it was no leſs dangerous to be ſilent.

[o] George Buchanan, the famous Scotch hiſtorian, was in danger at this time, and would have died with the reſt, had not he eſcaped out of priſon. See his hiſtory of Scotland, l. 14. The ſharpneſs of his poems againſt the clergy was the cauſe of his confinement. He went beyond ſea, and lived twenty years in exile, and was forced to teach ſchool moſt part of the time. In his writings there appears not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a great vigour of mind, and quickneſs of thought. His ſtile is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are ſo ſolid (beſides his immortal poems) that he is juſtly ſtiled the beſt of our modern authors. Burnet, tom. I. p. 211.

[p] In April this year there broke out a new inſurrection in Yorkſhire, which was ſoon ſuppreſſed. During this progreſs, the places the king paſſed through made their ſubmiſſion to him, thanking him for his pardon, and made him the following preſents: Stamford 20l. Lincoln 40l. Boſton 50l. Lindſey 300l. Keſteven, and the church of Lincoln 50l. The chief perſons of Yorkſhire 900l. The archbiſhop of York, with three hundred prieſts, 600l. The mayors of York, Newcaſtle, Hull, 100l. a piece. Hall, fol. 244.

[q] The biſhop of Lincoln, on Nov. 1. Herbert, p. 228.

[r] Two of the ducheſs of Norfolk's domeſtics. Ibid.

Cranmer not knowing how to execute his commiſſion, choſe to ſet it down in writing, and put it in the king's hands [s], deſiring him to read it in private. Henry took it at firſt for a calumny, reſolving in himſelf to puniſh the authors ſeverely. Nay, it was with this view only that he was pleaſed thoroughly to examine the matter, though with all poſſible ſecrecy, for fear of vexing the queen. He ordered therefore the lord privy-ſeal to examine Laſſels in private. Laſſels boldly ſtood to what he had ſaid upon his ſiſter's report, who alſo confirmed what ſhe had told her brother. Upon theſe depoſitions, ſome pretence was uſed to arreſt Dirham and Mannock, who diſcovered in their examination more circumſtances than were deſired. They confeſſed, not only that they had lain with the queen, but alſo that three court ladies, her confidents, were commonly eye-witneſſes to her lewd practices. One of the three was the lady Rochford, who accuſed the lord Rochford her huſband of a criminal commerce with queen Anne Bullen his ſiſter [t]. They farther depoſed, that the king being at Lincoln, one Colpeper, by the lady Rochford's means, was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven o'clock in the night, and ſtaid there till four in the morning, and that when he went away the queen gave him a gold chain and a rich cap. Moreover the queen had taken Dirham into her ſervice, which ſhewed ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of life. The queen at firſt denied all. But in a ſecond examination ſhe confeſſed [u], that before marriage ſhe had proſtituted herſelf to ſeveral men. This confeſſion ſhook the king's reſolution, who, lamenting his misfortune, could not forbear burſting out into tears. In ſhort, after Dirham, Mannock, and Culpeper, were condemned to die [w], he was pleaſed the queen's impeachment ſhould be brought before the parliament, which met the 16th of Jan. the next year 1542.

[1542] The commiſſioners [x] named by the parliament to examine the queen, reported, that the facts ſhe was accuſed of were ſufficiently proved. Whereupon both houſes declared her guilty, and petitioned [y] the king that ſhe might be puniſhed with death, together with the lady Rochford, accomplice of her lewd practices, the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, the lord William Howard and his lady [z], the counteſs of Bridgwater, five other women, and four men, for miſpriſion of treaſon, in concealing what they knew of the queen's vicious life. Here again may be obſerved, the ſervileneſs of the parliamant, who did not dare to condemn the queen and her accomplices, without knowing whether the king would be pleaſed to ſuffer them to be puniſhed. They did not proceed in this manner with regard to Anne Bullen and the lord Rochford, becauſe the king's authority was not arrived to that height, as at the time I am ſpeaking of. The king conſenting they ſhould be puniſhed, they were condemned to die by an act of attainder. There was alſo a very extraordinary clauſe in the act, declaring, "That whoever knew any thing of the incontinence of a queen, ſhould reveal it, under the pains of treaſon: that if the king or his ſucceſſors ſhould intend to marry a woman, as a virgin, if ſhe, not being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and all who knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon: that if the queen, or the princeſs of Wales, ſhould procure any, by meſſages or words, to know her carnally; or any other, by meſſages or words, ſhould ſolicit them, they, their counſellors, and abbettors, are to be adjudged high traitors."

Henry giving his aſſent to the act, by his letters patents [a], the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill the 12th of February. The queen ſtood to what ſhe had confeſſed, concerning the miſcarriages of her former life before ſhe was married; but denied upon her ſalvation, that ſhe had ever defiled the king's bed. As for the lady Rochford, ſhe died unlamented by all. But her death and infamy ſerved at leaſt to raiſe again the reputation of the lord Rochford her huſband, and of queen Anne Bullen, whoſe death ſhe procured by her evidence, which her own condemnation cauſed to be univerſally ſuſpected.

The extreme ſeverity of the parliament to the queen's relations was much cenſured by the public. It was thought unnatural to puniſh a grandmother for not diſcovering her grand-daughter's incontinence [b]. Accordingly the king moderated the ſeverity, by pardoning her and moſt of thoſe who were condemned, ſome of whom however remained long in priſon. As for the laſt clauſe, which made it treaſon for a woman, courted by the king, not to reveal the loſs of her virginity, it was turned into ridicule. People jeſtingly ſaid, the kings of England for the future could only marry widows, there being no reputed maid who would run the hazard of being attainted of treaſon, in caſe the king happened not to like her [c].

This affair being ended, the parliament confirmed [d] an act paſſed in Ireland, whereby that iſland was erected into a kingdom. From thenceforward the kings of England inſerted among their titles, that of king of Ireland, whereas before they were ſtiled only lords [e].

Before the parliament broke up, the king began in ſome meaſure to ſhew his intention to ſeize the colleges and hoſpitals as he had done the abbies. But the execution of this deſign was very difficult. By the local ſtatutes of moſt of them, the governors, preſidents, or any of the fellows, had no power to ſurrender the lands belonging to their houſes, without the conſent of the whole ſociety. So it was not eaſy to gain whole bodies of men, who were ſo much concerned to keep the revenues on which they ſubſiſted. It is true, the king had prevailed with ſome, who were not bound, by ſuch expreſs ſtatutes, to reſign their houſes to him. But, as he had his eye upon all, an expedient was to be found, for the reſt to follow this example without breaking their oath. To that end, all the local ſtatutes of colleges and hoſpitals were annulled by act of parliament, and the governors, preſidents, and fellows, were no more to be ſworn to the obſervance thereof. This obſtacle being removed, a few more were ſurrendered to the king. But this affair was not entirely finiſhed till 1545, by a much ſhorter method.

Whilſt the king's affairs were thus tranſacting in the parliament, the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time, where much divided about the new tranſlation of the bible that was going to be publiſhed. Many affirmed, it was full of faults, and to ſuffer it to be read before it was reviſed would be very injurious to the people. Gardiner moved this diſ-

[s] November 2. Herbert, p. 228.

[t] In an original letter ſent from divers of the council to William Paget our embaſſador then in France, wherein all the circumſtances of the affair are ſet forth at large, it appears, that there were three ſundry women one after another, that had lain in the ſame bed with them when Dirham lay with the queen. One of theſe women the queen had taken into her ſervice as well as Dirham. See the letter in lord Herbert. p. 228. Compl. Hiſt.

[u] To the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who took the confeſſion of the ſame in writing ſubſcribed with her hand. Herbert, p. 229. This confeſſion is extant in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. III. Collect. p. 171. whereby it appears that ſhe confeſſed more than enough.

[w] Dirham and Culpeper were executed at Tyburn, December 10. Hall, fol. 245.

[x] Cranmer, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Weſtminſter, examined the queen, January 28. How much ſhe confeſſed to them is not very clear, neither by the journal nor the act of parliament, which only ſays, "She confeſſed," without mentioning the particulars. Burnet, vol. I. p. 312. Journals of parliament.

[y] The bill for her attainder was read January 21, for the firſt time; and for the ſecond and third times, Feb. 6, and 8. Journals of Parl.—— The act paſſed in both houſes began with petitioning the king: 1. Not to be troubled, ſince it might ſhorten his life. 2. To pardon every thing ſpoken againſt the queen. 3. That the queen and her accomplices might, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 313.

[z] Rapin, by miſtake, ſuppoſes theſe to be her father and mother, whereas they were her uncle and aunt. Her father was the lord Edmund Howard. As the family of the Howards ſpread themſelves into ſeveral branches, in order to prevent confuſion, it will be proper to inſert here a ſhort genealogical account of that family, which ſhall be carried on in due time. Sir Robert Howard (temp. Hen. VI.) married Margaret daughter and coheir to Thomas de Mowbray duke of Norfolk; by whom he had John, created duke of Norfolk, June 28. 1 Ric. III. and ſlain afterwards at Boſworth fight, who married, 1. Catherine, daughter of William lord Molins, by whom he had Thomas created earl of Surrey, 1 Rich. III. and reſtored to the ſame title 4 H. VII. and to that of duke of Norfolk 5 Hen. VIII. 2. Margaret, daughter of ſir John Chedworth. The ſaid Thomas married, firſt, Elizabeth daughter and ſole heir to ſir Frederick Tilney, by whom he had Thomas the third duke of Norfolk, ſir Edward knight of the garter and high admiral, and Edmund father of Catherine, fifth wife of Henry VIII. His ſecond wife was Agnes, ſiſter and heir of ſir Philip Tilney, by whom he had William, created baron of Effingham, March 11. (1 Mary) and Thomas, who died in the Tower in 1537, where he was confined about Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen of Scotland. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 265—278.

[a] Which he was empowered to do by this act. He did it Feb. 11.

[b] It was not her parents (as Rapin repeats here again by miſtake) but her grandmother, the old ducheſs of Norfolk (under whom ſhe had been bred) that people thought was cruelly dealt by, for not telling the king her grand-daughter was a whore, which would have been inconſiſtent with the rules of juſtice or decency. Her parents ſeem to have been dead before now, ſeeing there is nothing ſaid of her father ſince 12 Henry VIII. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 272.

[c] This part of the act was afterwards repealed in the firſt parliament of Edward VI.

[d] January 23, as appears by the journals.

[e] Among other acts, theſe that follow were alſo then made: 1. That perſons, who, by privy tokens and counterfeit letters, deceitfully obtain any money, goods, or chattels, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment (except death) as ſhall be appointed by thoſe before whom they are convicted. 2. That no perſon, except what has lands, tenements, fees, annuities, or offices, to the yearly value of one hundred pounds, ſhall keep or ſhoot with any gun. 3. That no man ſhall be juſtice of aſſize in the county where he was born, or dwelleth. 4. By another, the court of ſurveyors of the king's lands is ſettled. And 5. the puniſhment of thoſe that are guilty of murder, or bloodſhed, within the verge of the king's court. Statut. 33 Hen. VIII.

Gardiner

pute, in hopes the reviſal would take up ſome time, and the king in the mean while alter his mind [f]. His party was ſo numerous, that he would have carried his point, if Cranmer, who perceived his deſign, had not moved the king to refer the peruſing of the tranſlation to the two univerſities, where he had much more intereſt than in the convocation. Several biſhops ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and ſome even entered a proteſtation againſt it [g]. But all ſignified nothing, ſince the king declared it to be his pleaſure: nay, he granted, the 12th of March, a privilege to a London bookſeller [h] to print the bible in Engliſh. This gives occaſion to preſume, the univerſities reviſed not the tranſlation, ſince it was impoſſible they ſhould have examined it in ſo ſhort a ſpace.

The king wanted money for the war with Scotland, on which he was entirely bent, but durſt not aſk the commons. Not that he doubted of ſucceſs, but was afraid of alienating the hearts of his ſubjects, who were much more tender of matters of intereſt than of all others. He wiſhed the commons would voluntarily offer him money, without being aſked. It was in order to gain their affection, that he commanded a ſheriff to he impriſoned for arreſting a member of parliament [i], and offered to leave it to them to puniſh him as they thought fit. On the other hand, he every where borrowed money to let them ſee his neceſſity [k]. But for once the commons feigned not to underſtand this language, being unwilling to introduce the pernicious cuſtom of granting the king ſubſidies unaſked. Beſides, as they were yet ignorant of the deſign of a war with Scotland, they ſaw no occaſion to offer him money. So the parliament broke up without granting the king any thing, except the act concerning the colleges and hoſpitals, which was a ſeed, the fruit whereof he was to gather in due ſeaſon.

The war with Scotland being reſolved, Henry ſent ſir William Paget to France, to ſound Francis I. and try to hinder him by ſome treaty from aſſiſting the king of Scotland. The embaſſador's inſtructions were, to demand of the king of France, that the treaty of perpetual peace between France and England ſhould be renewed. Francis eaſily perceived there was ſome hidden myſtery in the overture. As he knew Henry was diſpleaſed with the king of Scotland, he did not doubt that he deſired the peace to be renewed, on purpoſe to inſert in the new treaty ſome article to tie up his hands, and prevent him from aiding his ally. He anſwered therefore, that it was needleſs to renew the treaty, the conditions whereof the king of England had not performed. The embaſſador replied, there was no ſort of terms in the treaty of peace, and conſequently his maſter could not be accuſed of breaking them. But this diſpute was entirely founded on a miſtake. The embaſſador underſtood by the treaty of peace, a private treaty of one ſingle article, namely, that there ſhould be a perpetual peace between France and England. But Francis meant ſome other treaties ſigned the ſame day, and which belonged to the firſt, though this was written apart. It was this ſeparate treaty which Henry wanted to renew, imagining he ſhould thereby hinder Francis from aſſiſting the king of Scotland. But Francis did not deſign that, under this pretence, Henry ſhould be ſuffered to cruſh an antient ally of France, and France not be able to oppoſe it. On the contrary, he deemed it a manifeſt breach of the peace, to attack his allies without any juſt cauſe. Mean while, as neither would mention the king of Scotland, though both had him in their thoughts, Francis, to embarras Henry, demanded, purſuant to the former treaties, his aſſiſtance to recover the Milaneſe. Henry required on his part, that Francis, according to his promiſe, ſhould aboliſh the papal authority in France. Theſe reciprocal demands were more apt to produce a breach than a renewal of the treaties. Beſides the Engliſh had already begun hoſtilities, by ſeizing ſome French ſhips which were ſuppoſed to be pirates, and the French had detained ſome Engliſh veſſels by way of repriſal. So the embaſſador having taken his leave without effecting any thing, reported to his maſter, that the king of France was ill-inclined to him; that is, he would not, without oppoſing it, ſuffer the king of Scotland to be oppreſſed. This was the meaning of Francis being ill-affected to England, he being at that time very far from wiſhing a war with the Engliſh, ſince he was juſt going to begin another which he much more deſired.

Francis was ſo provoked at all the emperor's artifices, that to proclaim war againſt him, he only ſtaid to ſee him ſo embroiled with the Smalcaldick league, that there ſhould be no more hopes of agreement. To foment the diſſention, he had ſent embaſſadors to the diet aſſembled at Spire, in February, under colour of clearing himſelf from the pretended calumnies he was aſperſed with, and particularly from the imputation of making an alliance with the Turks. His embaſſadors complained to the diet, in very ſtrong terms, of the murder of Rincon and Fregoſa, pretending that Rincon was ſent to Conſtantinople, only to diſſuade Soliman from his deſign of carrying war into Germany. However, in the ſequel of their diſcourſe, they would have perſuaded the German princes, that it was their intereſt to fortify their frontier towns, and abandon Hungary to the Turks. So their preſence at the diet having produced no great effect, they returned very diſſatisfied.

Shortly after their departure, the pope's nuncio offered to the diet, in his maſter's name, a council at Trent. The catholics gladly accepted the offer, and thanked the nuncio. But the proteſtants rejected it, becauſe they would not have a council called by their adverſary, and in a ſuſpicious place, ſince the city of Trent belonged to the king of the Romans. The diet, however, ended to the emperor's and Ferdinand's ſatisfaction, after having unanimouſly reſolved to give them a powerful aſſiſtance, under the conduct of the elector of Brandenburg.

Though the proteſtants refuſed the pope's offer, Paul III. called a council at Trent for November following, by a bull of the 22d of May. But this was only to amuſe the world. He knew that when a war between the emperor and France was going to commence, there would be obſtacles enough to hinder the council from aſſembling.

And indeed, at this very time, Francis I. was bringing five armies into the field, to attack the emperor in five places at once; namely, in Rouſillon, Luxemburg, Piedmont, Flanders, and Brabant. But the ſucceſs anſwered not his expectations. The great effort he made this year to invade his enemy, ſerved only to diſable him to do the like again when he came himſelf to be attacked. The dauphin beſieged Perpignan in vain. The duke of Orleans, his brother, took Luxemburg and Montmedy; but theſe places were retaken before the end of the campaign. As for the other three armies, they performed nothing conſiderable.

Whilſt Francis was vainly endeavouring to be revenged of the emperor, Henry came to a final reſolution to make war upon Scotland. He had been in hopes, that in the expected conference with the king, his nephew, he ſhould perſuade him to renounce the papal authority, and was extremely concerned to ſee himſelf diſappointed. This affair ſeemed to him of the utmoſt importance, becauſe not having much to fear from abroad, where the naval forces were not comparable to his, Scotland was the only country which could give him any uneaſineſs. From thence alone could the Engliſh malcontents receive any ſuccours, and he remembered, with terror, the danger he ſhould have run when the rebels were in arms in the north, had they been ſupported by a Scotch army. In this war, therefore, upon Scotland, his aim was not to make conqueſts, but to bend the king of Scotland to his will by force, ſince he could not do it by fair means. This he deemed abſolutely neceſſary, in order to procure a ſettled peace. At the time of the northern rebellion, the junctures were very favourable to him; for, being then in ſtrict union with France, king James could not engage to ſupport the Engliſh malcontents without Francis's conſent, who, inſtead of approving ſuch a deſign, would have rather diverted him from it. But affairs were now upon another foot, ſince Henry could no longer rely upon the king of France's friendſhip. It is true, that prince was not much to be feared, whilſt at war with the emperor; but he conſidered that the equality of theſe two monarch's forces would probably oblige them to make peace very ſoon, and this peace, in which no doubt the pope would interpoſe, neceſſarily be to his prejudice; nay, it was a queſtion, whether it would not occaſion a league againſt him, and the king of Scotland join in it. In that caſe, England could be invaded in the north with the more eaſe, as the northern counties were moſt inclined to rebel. It was there-

[f] Gardiner had a ſingular conceit. He fancied there were many words in the New Teſtament of ſuch majeſty, that they were not to be tranſlated, but muſt ſtand in the Engliſh bible as they were in the Latin. A hundred of theſe he put into a writing which was read in convocation. His deſign was viſibly to make the tranſlation unintelligible to the people. Some of theſe words were, eccleſia, penitentia, contritus, juſtitia, juſtificatio, idiota, elementa, baptizare, martyr, ſacramentum, ſimulachrum, gloria, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 314.

[g] All the biſhops of the province of Canterbury, except Ely and St. David's, proteſted againſt it. Burnet, p. 315.

[h] Antony Marlar. Rymer, tom. XIV. p. 745.

[i] George Ferrers, member for Plymouth. Hollingſh. p. 955.

[k] Stow ſays, he took in May a loan of money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty pounds or upwards in the book of ſubſidy, p. 583.

The

fore of very great conſequence to Henry to gain the king of Scotland to his intereſt, ſince, being ſecured from that ſide, an invaſion was not much to be feared, which he looked upon as impoſſible, conſidering the ſuperiority of his naval forces.

He had intended to make uſe of two ways to gain the king of Scotland in the propoſed conference. The firſt way was, to ſhew him that it was in his power to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion of the crown of England after his ſon Edward, or remove him from it, ſince, by the act of parliament made for that purpoſe, he could call to the ſucceſſion his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, or exclude them for ever. In the former caſe, king James could not pretend to the crown till after the poſterity of theſe two princeſſes was extinct; but, in the latter caſe, he came immediately after prince Edward. As therefore to gain two degrees, was a conſiderable advantage for the king of Scotland, Henry hoped he would not be ſo unwiſe as to ſlight it. The ſecond way he deſigned to make uſe of to win that prince, was, to lay before him the advantages which would accrue to him in caſe he renounced the pope, as well by reaſon of the facility this would give him to ſucceed to the crown of England, if there ſhould be occaſion, as by the riches he would acquire in ſuppreſſing the monaſteries of Scotland. As James was very greedy of money, Henry did not queſtion ſucceeding by this ſecond means, though the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He was therefore extremely vexed to ſee himſelf diſappointed of his hopes, by the king his nephew's refuſal to meet him at York. He found the new queen had too great an influence over him, and even ſuſpected it to be the effect of the intreagues of the pope, the emperor, and perhaps the king of France. So, deſpairing to ſucceed in his project by fair means, he reſolved to try to accompliſh it by force.

Scotland was little able to reſiſt England without the aſſiſtance of France. But Francis was ſo employed, that there was no likelihood of his interpoſing in the quarrel. Henry hoped therefore, if he could gain at firſt ſome advantage, he ſhould render the Scots leſs intractable, and more eaſily diſpoſe the king his nephew to hearken to his propoſals. Thus the war he intended to wage with Scotland was properly deſigned to oblige the Scots to a compliance with his deſires, and not founded upon caprice only, or to be revenged of the affront he received, as the hiſtorians pretend. However, as he could not diſcover the real motives without doing himſelf a prejudice, he pretended a violation of the truce, James's denial of ſome land of ſmall value lying on the frontiers, and his reception of ſome Engliſh rebels. But as all this was not very capable of deceiving the world, he bethought himſelf of reviving the old pretenſions of the kings of England to the ſovereignty of Scotland. To that purpoſe, he ſet out a long declaration, in which was inſerted the memorial largely ſpoken of in the reigns of Edward I. and Henry VII. containing the pretended proofs of the homage Scotland had formerly paid to England. The declaration was however ſo ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it plainly appeared, Henry was willing to have it in his power to quit his pretenſions without injuring his honour. It is entirely needleſs to repeat the contents of the memorial. It will ſuffice to obſerve, that the Engliſh writers ſpeak of it as if the ſovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland was there demonſtrated, and the bare citation of it ſufficient to carry the cauſe. Doctor Burnet, though a Scotchman, ſeems to give into this opinion univerſally ſpread in England, ſince he ſpeaks of this memorial in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, without making any remarks. Perhaps he did not think proper to combat the ſentiments of the Engliſh, without any neceſſity, in reſpect to his hiſtory.

Henry publiſhed not this declaration till his army was juſt entering Scotland. His deſign was to ſurpriſe the Scots, which he believed the more eaſy, as there appeared to be no juſt cauſe of breach between the two kingdoms. However, king James, hearing that ſoldiers were raiſing in England, put himſelf in a poſture of defence, in caſe he ſhould be attacked. In the mean while, he ſent two embaſſadors [l] to the king his uncle, to ſee to content him, if poſſible, or at leaſt to gain time till the king of France could aſſiſt him. The embaſſadors were long detained at the court of England, upon frivolous pretences, and whilſt Henry was making his preparations, he gave them no anſwer. Nay, they were not ſuffered to return but with the army which was to enter their country, under the command of the duke of Norfolk [m], and where they were as priſoners. Two other embaſſadors of Scotland, who were going to London, meeting the Engliſh upon their march, were alſo detained till the army arrived at Berwick.

Mean while, king James, hearing the duke of Norfolk was marching towards the north at the head of twenty thouſand men, ſent a body of ten thouſand to the frontiers, under the command of George Gordon, expecting the reſt of the troops who were marching from ſeveral parts to join him. But Gordon could not hinder the duke of Norfolk from entering Scotland, about the end of October [n], and ravaging the country north to the Tweed. After this ſhort expedition, the Engliſh army retired to Berwick; the ſeaſon, which was now very bad, prevented them from advancing any farther. In the mean time, king James ordered the lord Maxwell to march with fifteen thouſand men, whilſt the Engliſh were retiring to Berwick. The Scots pretend, upon the news of Maxwell's march, the Engliſh retreated in ſuch confuſion that they might have been eaſily defeated, if Gordon had ventured to attack them, and that the king was extremely angry with him for this diſappointment. However, James, heading his army in perſon, held a council of war, and appeared fully reſolved to give battle, let what would be the conſequence. But he was alone of that opinion. On the contrary, the danger to which the kingdom would be expoſed, in caſe of a defeat, was ſtrongly repreſented to him. In ſhort, as he would not alter his reſolution, the generals and nobles told him, they would not obey him, if, without any neceſſity, he obſtinately expoſed the kingdom to ſo manifeſt a hazard. This oppoſition threw him into a fury; he ſwore he would puniſh their diſobedience, and called them all traitors, ſince they hindered him from obtaining, as he thought, a certain victory. Cardinal Beaton inſpired him with this notion, by telling him, it was impoſſible for ſuch heretics as the Engliſh to conquer him. The truth is, James was a little diſturbed in his mind, ever ſince he had unjuſtly put to death a nephew of the duke of Albany, whoſe apparition was ever preſent to his imagination. So, being extremely troubled to be thus diſobeyed, he left the command of the army to the lord Maxwell, with orders to march towards the enemy, and remained himſelf within diſtance to join him, in caſe there was occaſion to fight. But, a few days after, as he was extremely incenſed with his generals, and greatly miſtruſted them, he gave a commiſſion in form to Oliver Sinclair, his minion, to command the army. The new general, very unfit for ſuch a poſt, repairing to the camp, cauſed his patent to be publicly read, at which all were offended. This bred ſuch diſcontent among the troops that they began to diſband, when a body of five hundred Engliſh horſe appeared on a hill, where they were poſted to watch the motions of the enemy. This ſight encreaſed the confuſion among the Scotch troops, who imagined the whole Engliſh army was approaching to give battle. In this condition, being without a general, ſince Maxwell's commiſſion was revoked, and none would obey Sinclair, they choſe to retire in a fright, which permitted them not to look back and obſerve the ſmall number of their enemies. The Engliſh horſe, ſeeing them fly with ſuch precipitation, cloſely purſued them, and, without meeting any reſiſtance, ſlew great numbers, took priſoners ſeven lords, two hundred gentlemen, eight hundred ſoldiers, with four and twenty pieces of ordnance [o]. Never was victory ſo eaſily won. Among the chief priſoners were the earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis, the lords Maxwell, Somerville, Oliphant, Gray, and Oliver Sinclair, the king's favourite.

The news of this rout threw king James into a diſmal melancholy, to which he was already too much inclined. He fancied his generals and nobles had betrayed him, and, in that belief, reſolved to put moſt of them to death. His vexation was ſtill encreaſed, upon hearing that a herald, ſent by the duke of Norfolk, was murdered by an Engliſh refugee. He immediately feared the ill conſequences of ſuch an accident, after his late misfortune. So, imagining it would be impoſſible to free himſelf from his preſent embarraſſment, he could not withſtand his immoderate grief, which brought him to his grave the 14th of December 1542. His death happened ſeven days after the birth of a princeſs, called Mary, of whom his queen was delivered, and who was his only heir. A little before, he loſt two ſons in one day.

Henry, not knowing what paſſed in Scotland, had ordered the Scotch priſoners to be brought to London, where they

[l] The biſhop of Orkney, and James Liermouth, maſter of his houſhold. Hall, fol. 254.

[m] The duke was accompanied with the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and ſir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe to the king, ſir John Gage, comptroller to the houſhold, &c. Ibid.

[n] October 21. Ibid.

[o] The battle or rencounter happened on November 25. Idem. fol. 225.

Being

London, Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England.

MARY,
Queen of Scots.

I. Oliver pinx. *Goldar sc.*

Published as the Act directs July 10th 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

arrived the 19th of December [p]. The next day [q] they were conducted through the city from the Tower (where they had been confined) to Weſtminſter, where the king was pleaſed to ſee and talk with them. He expoſtulated with them, for having, by their pernicious counſels, perſuaded their king to quarrel with him, and told them they juſtly bore the puniſhment of a war raiſed by themſelves. Nevertheleſs, as he intended to make uſe of them to procure ſuch a peace as he deſired, he ended his diſcourſe with ſome obliging expreſſions, and granted them more liberty, by putting them in the cuſtody of ſeveral noblemen. The earl of Caſſilis had the good fortune to fall into the hands of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to receive from him, during his ſhort ſtay at London, ſuch inſtructions as induced him to embrace the reformation when he returned to his own country.

A few days after [r], the news of the birth of Mary, princeſs of Scotland, and of the king, her father's death, arriving together, Henry thought it a favourable juncture to unite Scotland to England, by marrying his ſon Edward to the new queen of Scotland. He cauſed the captive lords to be ſounded, and finding them inclined to ſecond the overture, ſet them at liberty, on condition they would give hoſtages for their return in caſe the project of the marriage did not ſucceed. This condition being accepted, they were conducted to Newcaſtle, from whence they returned into their country. We ſhall ſee preſently what was the event of this project.

The parliament of England, meeting the 22d of January, granted the king a ſubſidy [s], as well for his charges in the war with Scotland, as for his other occaſions. By that was meant a war with France, of which there was no longer room to doubt, ſince the king was upon the point of concluding a league with the emperor. The union which was going to be formed between theſe two monarchs, was like to be ſo favourable to the adherents of Rome and the old religion, that they queſtioned not but the deſtruction of the reformation in England was approaching. However, at this very time they had the mortification to ſee an act of parliament paſſed, which much checked their hopes. The act moved, and at length obtained by Cranmer, ran, that lords, gentlemen, merchants, might have in their houſes an Engliſh bible, with ſome other religious books, mentioned in the act, for the inſtruction of their families. But it was expreſly forbid to print, ſell, buy, or keep, any other religious books, and to preach or ſpeak againſt the ordinance of the year 1540. There was alſo a very conſiderable clauſe in the ſtatute, that the offenders, if eccleſiaſtics, ſhould not be condemned to be burnt till the third offence; and the puniſhment of the laity, not extend beyond forfeiture of goods and chattels [and perpetual impriſonment.] Moreover, the act allowed the party accuſed to bring witneſſes for his own purgation, which had never been practiſed before in the caſe of hereſy. Laſtly, it was enacted, that the accuſed ſhould be tried within a year at fartheſt after the indictment. But, on the other hand, the law of the ſix articles was confirmed, and the parliament left it in the king's power to annul or alter the act at his pleaſure. By this laſt clauſe the king ſtill continued to be maſter of the lives of the reformed, ſince by repealing this act he could proſecute them upon the former ſtatutes [t].

A fortnight after, the parliament broke up, Henry concluded with the emperor a league, which, however, was not publiſhed till June. It was not the intereſt of England that the king ſhould join with the emperor to render him more powerful. He was already but too potent. On the contrary, it would have been much more proper, in order to keep the balance even, to have aſſiſted France. At leaſt, it is undeniable, that a neutrality would have been advantageous to the Engliſh. But the king's paſſion ran counter to the nation's intereſt. He was extremely diſſatisfied with Francis upon ſeveral accounts. In the firſt place, he obſerved in him a great indifference for his concerns, ever ſince he had not wanted his aſſiſtance. Secondly, he perceived at length that all his promiſes to renounce, like him, the papal authority, tended only to amuſe him. He knew Francis, on ſeveral occaſions, had blamed his conduct with reſpect to religion, and ridiculed his marriages. In the next place, he paid neither the yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns, nor that of ten thouſand for the ſalt of Brouage, though bound by divers treaties. As for the debt of two millions, Francis indeed could produce acquittances for good part of that ſum, but then Henry had received no money, the acquittances being in lieu of the ſuccours he had voluntarily promiſed to lend him in his former wars. However, there was a round ſum ſtill left unpaid, and the debtor never endeavoured to ſatisfy him. Moreover, Henry had preſented the king of France with what was due to him from the emperor, ſolely on condition he would perform the treaties, and complained, Francis had not been punctual. But what moſt offended Henry was, the obſtacles Francis had raiſed him in Scotland by means of a faction, which openly oppoſed his deſigns. Here was a ſufficient cauſe for a breach, if the nation's intereſt had been the ſame with the king's. But in ſuch an oppoſition, ſeldom does it happen that the people's advantage prevails over the ſovereign's. Henry reſolved, therefore, to make the king of France ſenſible that it was worth his while to have ſhewn a greater regard for him, and to that end, choſe to be reconciled with the emperor, and join in a league with him.

Charles V. deſired nothing more earneſtly. He plainly ſaw that, with the aſſiſtance of England, he ſhould ſoon bring the king of France to reaſon, and deſtroy all his hopes of recovering Milan by arms. His conſtant fear of Henry's uniting with France and the German proteſtants, cauſed him to conſider the alliance with England as what would enable him to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. He found his account much better in hindering Francis from ſetting foot again in Italy, and in ſubduing the proteſtants, than in executing or rather in trying to execute the pope's ſentence againſt Henry, an undertaking which, probably, would not have ended to his honour. Beſides, the death of queen Catherine, his aunt, had much leſſened, and it may be entirely ſtifled, his deſire to revenge her. So, at the very time he was complaining to all the princes of Europe that Francis had private intelligence with the infidels, he ſcrupled not to court the alliance of an excommunicated king, who, according to the principles of the Romiſh church, ought not to have been looked upon with leſs horror than the Turk. One ſingle difficulty retarded the concluſion of this alliance. The emperor would have Mary, queen Catherine's daughter, acknowledged for legitimate, which Henry obſtinately refuſed. Nay, he could not grant it without condemning his divorce with Catherine, and all his proceedings upon that occaſion. He promiſed however, that purſuant to the power granted him by parliament, he would give Mary a place in the ſucceſſion, but would never conſent this article ſhould be inſerted in the treaty. The emperor's friends in England adviſed him to be ſatisfied with this verbal promiſe, apprehenſive as they were that the league, from whence they expected great advantages, would be delayed by this obſtacle. Bonner, biſhop of London, who had been ſent into Spain for the negotiation, willingly and ardently endeavoured to accompliſh it, in hopes that an union between the emperor and the king, would re-eſtabliſh religion in England upon the ſame foot as before the divorce.

The treaty was therefore concluded at London the 11th of February 1543. It contained a league for England only with what Henry held in Picardy; and on the emperor's part, for the provinces of the Low Countries under his dominion [u], without any mention of Spain or Germany. The league was to this effect:

That the emperor and the king of England ſhould ſend embaſſadors to the king of France, to declare to him, that by his ſollicitations only the Turks had invaded Chriſtendom. That therefore the two confederate monarchs exhorted him

[p] Being conducted by ſir Henry Savil, and ſir Thomas Wentworth. Herbert, p. 234.

[q] Two days after, viz. the 21ſt. Hall, fol. 255. Stow, p. 583.

[r] December 22. Hollingſhead, p. 959.

[s] This ſubſidy was as follows: every perſon worth in goods 20l. and upwards, paid two ſhillings; from 20l. to 10l. ſixteen-pence; from 10l. to 5l. eight-pence; from 5l. to 20s. four-pence. And for lands, fees, and annuities, they paid according to this rate: they that were worth 20l. and upwards, paid three ſhillings in the pound; from 20l. to 10l. two ſhillings; from 10l. to 5l. ſixteen-pence; and they that were worth from 5l. to 20s. paid eight-pence in the pound; all theſe were doubled on ſtrangers. The clergy alſo granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound; and every prieſt, having but an annual ſtipend, was to pay ſix ſhillings and eight-pence. Theſe ſeveral ſubſidies were to be paid in three years. Stow, p. 585.

[t] In this parliament, an act was made for authoriſing the county and city of Cheſter to ſend each two repreſentatives in parliament, which they uſed not to do before; and another, for empowering perſons, that are not common ſurgeons, to miniſter medicines, notwithſtanding the Statute 3. Hen. VIII.

[u] The places and dominions, mentioned on king Henry's part, are the kingdoms of England and Ireland, the iſlands of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, and Man; the caſtle and earldom of Guyſnes, and the towns of Calais and Berwick; and, on the emperor's part, are named, the kingdom of Spain [regna Hiſpaniarum] the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zealand, Hanow, Artois, Limburg, Luxemburg, Namur, Friefeland; the countries of Dureſſel, Utrecht, and Mechlin. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 769, 770.

to break his alliance with the Infidels, to hold them for enemies, and renounce his correſpondence with them. That they demanded moreover, he ſhould ſatisfy the damages done to Chriſtendom, by his calling in thoſe cruel enemies. That he ſhould give over the war he had begun in ſeveral places, that the emperor might apply himſelf to the defence of Chriſtendom. That he ſhould cauſe the town of Maran, taken by the Turks, to be reſtored to king Ferdinand, and to the emperor, Caſtro-novo, which they had beſieged with the aid of twelve French gallies. That he ſhould repair the loſſes the Germans had ſuſtained by the Turkiſh invaſion. Laſtly, that he ſhould ſatisfy the king of England for whatever he owed him, and give him ſecurity for the payment of the hundred thouſand crowns.

After theſe preliminaries, the two confederate monarchs agreed, that they would not make peace or truce but upon theſe conditions; that Francis ſhould pay the king of England whatever was due to him; and for ſecurity of the annual penſion, ſurrender into his hands the earldom of Ponthieu, Boulogne, Montreuil, Ardres, and Terouenne, free from all homage, for which however Henry ſhould conſent that the yearly revenues thence ariſing ſhould be in lieu of the penſion. Moreover, that Francis ſhould reſtore to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy.

That if the king of France ſhould delay but ten days to accept theſe conditions, the two confederate monarchs ſhould proclaim war againſt him, with a declaration that they would never make peace till the king of England was in poſſeſſion of Normandy, Guienne, and the kingdom of France; and the emperor, of Abbeville, Amiens, Bray, Corbeil, Peronne, Ham, St. Quinty, and the whole duchy of Burgundy.

Laſtly, They agreed, that each ſhould take the field, and invade France with twenty-five thouſand men, of whom five thouſand ſhould be cavalry [w].

Theſe were vaſt projects. But theſe princes were too wiſe to imagine that with twenty-five thouſand men each they were able to conquer France. It is likely therefore, they agreed in the treaty to bring into the field ſo ſmall a number of troops, only to engage Francis to make preparations accordingly. And indeed we ſhall ſee hereafter, that they invaded France with above a hundred thouſand men.

One of the chief reaſons why Henry joined in a league with the emperor was, to find the king of France ſo much employment at home, that it ſhould not be in his power to break his meaſures for the union of Scotland with England, by a marriage between Mary and prince Edward. Henry had this affair extremely at heart, and very juſtly, as it is eaſy to imagine. But unhappily for him, there was a queen dowager in Scotland of the houſe of Lorrain, and a cardinal archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who being both devoted to France and the pope, laboured with all their power to defeat his projects. As the affairs of Scotland will be very ſoon intermixt with thoſe of England, it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſee what paſſed in that country after the death of James V. without which it would be very difficult to underſtand what will be ſaid hereafter.

After the deceaſe of James V. Scotland was in a very ill ſituation. The late king had not ſettled the regency during his daughter's minority. The next heir to Mary was James Hamilton earl of Arran, a perſon of mean genius, a lover of books and eaſe, but little capable of managing the public affairs, and ſtill leſs thoſe of war [x]. He had ſhewn ſome inclination for the new religion, and thereby rendered himſelf as much ſuſpected and odious to the clergy, as agreeable to thoſe who bad embraced the reformation. The queen dowager, ſiſter to the cardinal Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe, had an extreme averſion to the reformed. This averſion was cheriſhed by cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, a violent and cruel man, who had already given ſeveral proofs of his barbarous temper towards thoſe who embraced the new religion. Moſt of the lords who, by their counſels, could have ſupported the ſtate in ſuch a juncture, were either ſlain in the late rout, or in the hands of the Engliſh. But though they had been alive or in Scotland, it would have been very difficult to ſucceed. There had long been ſuch a diviſion among the nobles, that what one moved was ſure to be oppoſed by another. This was the conſequence of the factions raiſed by the kings of France and England in the kingdom, and which were continued by different opinions in religion. To all theſe evils was added that of a war againſt a powerful neighbour, who had juſt gained a very conſiderable advantage, and could eaſily improve the conſternation all Scotland was under.

Amidſt this confuſion, cardinal Beaton, ſeeing none able to withſtand him, formed the deſign of ſeizing the regency. To that end, he forged a will for the late king, wherein he was appointed regent or viceroy during Mary's minority, with three counſellors or aſſiſtants, of whom the earl of Arran was one, and cauſed it to be publiſhed till the parliament ſhould meet and confirm it. Mean while, he ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to gain proper perſons to ſupport him, as well among the people as among the great men. The queen dowager was the firſt that declared for him.

But whilſt the cardinal was labouring to ſtrengthen his party, the friends and relations of the earl of Arran were earneſtly ſolliciting him, not to yield the regency to one who had no right to it. They repreſented to him, that the will on which the cardinal grounded his pretenſions, was a forgery, becauſe the late king never valued him ſo as to commit the regency to him in prejudice of the princes of the blood: that it was a contrivance to deſtroy the Hamiltons with their whole party, and hinder the progreſs of the reformation: that the cardinal was known to be a man of ill principles, of little or no conſcience, cruel and ſuperſtitious, and if once he had the power in his hands, the flames of perſecution would be quickly kindled all over the kingdom, not only againſt the reformed, but againſt all in general who would not blindly ſubmit to his orders; that infallibly the princes of the blood, and the chief of the nobles, would be firſt ſacrificed to his ambition and jealouſy. The earl of Arran was of a peaceable temper, and without ambition. If he had followed his own inclination, he would have left the cardinal quietly to enjoy the authority he had uſurped. But his friends having in a manner forced him by their remonſtrances to proſecute the right due to his birth, he reſolved to demand the regency, and ſhew the forgery of the pretended will on which the cardinal reſted.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the priſoners, who had been releaſed, came to Scotland, and with them Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, and William Douglas, his brother, who had been fifteen years exiles in England. By their arrival, the earl of Arran's party was conſiderably ſtrengthened, whereas the cardinal loſt many followers, who had joined with him more out of fear than affection. It was publicly ſaid, that the earl of Arran's right was indiſputable, though the king had capriciouſly diſpoſed of the regency in favour of the cardinal, which, however, was incredible. The parliament meeting in March, the will was examined, and the forgery being detected, the cardinal was removed, and the earl of Arran declared regent with almoſt unanimous conſent. It was not without reaſon that moſt of the lords and nobles were deſirous to free themſelves from the dominion of cardinal Beaton. Before the parliament met, a paper was found, written with the king's own hand, wherein were ſet down the names of three hundred lords and gentlemen, whom he had reſolved to diſpatch. As moſt of the proſcribed perſons were of the reformed religion, or favoured the reformation, it was not doubted, that the cardinal had greatly contributed to put the king upon this barbarous reſolution, by repreſenting to him that thoſe who had refuſed to fight againſt the Engliſh, were ſecret friends of the king of England, and favourers of the new opinions. It is certain many of the nobility were of the reformed religion, or well-wiſhers to the reformation. The earl of Arran was of this number, and upon that account was ſo well ſupported when he demanded the regency, becauſe thoſe of the new religion intended to make him their protector. But this was an ill choice, the earl's inactive and timorous temper rendering him very unfit to ſupport the party who put themſelves under his protection.

Whilſt the parliament was ſitting, Henry ſent an embaſſador [y] to Scotland, to propoſe the marriage of prince Edward, his ſon, with the young queen, according to the agreement with the captive lords. The embaſſador was furniſhed with a good ſum of money to facilitate the negotiation; Henry knowing, by experience, how effectual that means was in Scotland. The queen and cardinal Beaton uſed all their credit and addreſs to cauſe the overture to be rejected. But as their party was too weak to balance the king of England's, the cardinal made it his buſineſs to confound all the conferences held upon this occaſion, by long ſpeeches, affected diſputes, invectives againſt the contrary party, with deſign to raiſe quarrels, which would obſtruct the concluſion of the affair.

[w] And alſo each of them ſhould fit out ſhips, with two or three thouſand armed men. Rymer, p. 775.

[x] This is Buchanan's character of him. Rapin.

[y] Sir Ralph Sadler, his ſecretary. Herbert, p. 234.

William

His artifice being at laſt perceived, he was confined to a room till the debates were ended. The moment the cardinal no longer appeared, the king of England's propoſal was accepted without much difficulty, and the parliament appointed embaſſadors to go and treat at London with the king concerning a peace and the marriage. George Douglas, the earl of Angus's brother, and ſome other lords[z], were charged with the negotiation, which ended at length in two treaties, concluded at London the 1ſt of July 1543. The firſt, was to ſettle a good and firm peace between the two kingdoms. The ſecond, for the marriage of prince Edward with the young queen of Scotland. Henry did all he could to have Mary put into his hands. But the Scotch embaſſadors not conſenting, it was at laſt agreed, ſhe ſhould not be brought into England till ſhe was ten years of age: that in the mean time the parliament of Scotland ſhould appoint four lords[a] to take care of her education, and Henry might add a fifth of his own nation, to convey his advices to the governors[b]: that the parliament of Scotland ſhould give the king ſix hoſtages of diſtinction for ſecurity that the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

This affair being ended, the cardinal had a little more liberty granted him, by being given in cuſtody to the lord Seaton. But that lord, ſuffering himſelf to be corrupted by his priſoner, afforded him means to make his eſcape. As ſoon as he was at liberty, he uſed all his art to break the treaties with England, wherein he was powerfully aſſiſted by the queen dowager. As they were both firmly attached to France and the old religion, they could not ſee, without extreme grief, the alliance lately concluded with a prince whom they looked upon as a heretic, and whoſe intereſts had for ſome time been contrary to thoſe of Francis I. They plainly perceived this alliance was capable of producing great alterations, as well in church as ſtate, and would infallibly deſtroy the antient union between France and Scotland. To prevent this, the cardinal aſſembled at his houſe the heads of the clergy, and repreſenting to them that religion was in danger, he obtained a large contribution to aſſiſt him to ſupport it. This money ſerved to maintain his creatures, and gain ſome of the contrary party. In a word, he ſo well caballed, that he quickly put things in extreme confuſion. By his ſollicitations and intrigues he ſo managed, that the priſoners who had been releaſed, reſolved not to go and redeem their hoſtages. The earl of Caſſilis alone could not be prevailed with upon any conſideration to break his word. In ſhort, the cardinal's party being grown very numerous by his liberalities, ſtrongly oppoſed the ſending the hoſtages promiſed to the king of England by the treaty. Beſides that, the cardinal reſolving at any rate to ſet the two nations at variance, cauſed the Engliſh embaſſador to be highly affronted by ſome of his party, and his ſervants to be inſulted. But the embaſſador knowing how deſirous the king his maſter was that the treaties ſhould be executed, bore all with patience for fear of raiſing an unſeaſonable quarrel, which he ſaw to be the cardinal's view. Thus the cardinal had brought things to ſuch a ſtate, that the regent, who wanted reſolution, tried in vain to ſtop theſe violent proceedings, ſince his commands were openly diſobeyed.

At laſt, the day being come that the three hoſtages were to be delivered, the Engliſh embaſſador demanded them of the regent, complaining withal of the affronts he had received. The regent told him, "He was very ſorry any diſreſpect had been ſhewn to his perſon and character, and would give him at a more convenient ſeaſon what ſatisfaction he deſired, but at preſent it was no proper juncture. That he was himſelf witneſs of the troubles raiſed by the cardinal, and how contemptible the authority of the government was rendered by that prelate's cabals: as for the hoſtages, it was no longer in his power to put them into his hands, ſince the cardinal and his whole party were againſt it, who were now grown too ſtrong to be compelled." The embaſſador was ſufficiently convinced of the truth of what the regent ſaid; and as he ſaw little appearance of a change in favour of the king his maſter, he contented himſelf with ſummoning the priſoners to return to England according to their promiſe. But in that he ſucceeded no better. They refuſed to return, though they were releaſed only upon parole. The earl of Caſſilis alone[c], abhorring the perfidiouſneſs of his fellow priſoners, ſet out for London, and put himſelf into the king's hands. This action met with its due reward. Henry very civilly received the earl. He commended his faithfulneſs, and, making him rich preſents, diſmiſſed him without ranſom. Mean while, finding his party in Scotland was neither very ſtrong, nor firm enough to his intereſt, he reſolved to proclaim war with that kingdom. He might eaſily have ſubdued it ſome months before, if he would have taken advantage of the conſternation of the Scots, after their defeat and the death of their ſovereign.

The queen and the cardinal having accompliſhed their deſign with reſpect to a rupture with England, conſidered of means to procure the government of the kingdom, by ſupplanting the earl of Arran, head of the contrary faction. Indeed, they did not much fear the earl, as they had lately ſhewn. But he bore the title of regent, and very poſſibly, by the counſels of the able men of his party, and the king of England's aſſiſtance, he might find means in the end to make himſelf formidable. The war Henry had proclaimed againſt Scotland afforded them an opportunity to execute their project. They repreſented to the king of France, "That it was almoſt impoſſible for Scotland to maintain a war againſt England without a powerful aid from him: that the earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, favoured the Engliſh, and inſtead of oppoſing them, would certainly make uſe of them to eſtabliſh his authority and compleat the queen's projected marriage: that probably this marriage would break the old alliance between France and Scotland, and produce a ſtrict union between Scotland and England: that he might plainly ſee how much he was himſelf concerned in a war, which, as it would infallibly be unſucceſsful, would cauſe him to loſe Scotland: that indeed they perceived how difficult it was for him to aſſiſt them, when he wanted all his forces againſt the emperor: but they had deviſed an expedient to gain time, in breaking the meaſures of the contrary party. The expedient was, that he ſhould ſend over Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, who was in France, that they might oppoſe him to the Hamiltons, whoſe ſworn enemy he was, becauſe they had killed his father: that this lord, being in Scotland, would be immediately acknowledged for head of the party againſt the regent, and by the aſſiſtance they were ready to lend him, would become ſo ſuperior, that it would not be poſſible for the regent to execute his deſigns in favour of England." The better to perſuade the earl of Lenox to come to Scotland, they put him in hopes of marrying the queen dowager, and of being placed on the throne in caſe the young queen died before ſhe was married. They told him, this would be ſo much the eaſier, as before the birth of Mary, the late king had deſigned him for his ſucceſſor, though farther removed than the earl of Arran, becauſe he looked upon Arran as a baſtard, by reaſon of the unlawfulneſs of his father's marriage. Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect. Francis I. glad to ſtrengthen his party in Scotland, without being forced to ſend great ſupplies, ſent away the earl of Lenox with all ſpeed, promiſing him his protection.

Mean while, the regent, having ſome notice of this project, reſolved to ſupport himſelf by becoming maſter of the queen's perſon, then in the caſtle of Linlithgow[d]. But as he was not ſecret enough, the cardinal, who was informed of it, came to Llinlithgow, well attended, in order to hinder the queen's removal. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived from France, and after ſaluting the regent, withdrew to his own houſe, where he aſſembled his friends, to conſult with them what was to be done. He acquainted them with the motives of his return, and the hopes given him of being put in poſſeſſion of the regency, the queen mother, and the throne, if the young queen happened to die. The friends he conſulted being all enemies to the regent, unanimouſly adviſed him to improve the preſent opportunity; and each made him an offer of his perſon, his eſtate, his vaſſals, and his friends. So the earl, being determined to purſue his point, drew together four thouſand men, and putting himſelf at their head, came to the queen, under colour of guarding her againſt the attempts of the regent, for fear ſhe ſhould be delivered to the enemies of the kingdom. Indeed, the earl of Arran had reſolved to ſecure her, and was preparing to execute his deſigns. But when he found himſelf prevented, and conſidered the queen could not be got out of the hands of the earl of Lenox, without coming to an open war, he ſent to treat of an agreement. Lenox conſented, on condition the queen ſhould for the future be educated in Stirling

[z] William earl of Glencairn, William Hamilton, James Liermouth, and Henry Balnavis. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 781.

[a] The number is not ſpecified in Rymer, it is only ſaid ——certos ejuſdem regni [viz. Scotiæ] Barones—See p. 793.

[b] The king might ſend a nobleman and his wife, with other perſons, not exceeding twenty, to wait on her. And for performance of the marriage, ſix noblemen were to be ſent from Scotland for hoſtages. Rymer, ib. p. 794. Burnet, vol I. p. 323.

[c] Gilbert Kennedy.

[d] Under her mother's care. Buchanan.

William

caſtle, and four neutral lords, whom both parties could equally truſt, appointed to guard her, and take care of her education. The four lords [e] being choſen and approved of, the queen was removed to Stirling caſtle, where, a few days after [f], ſhe was crowned.

The regent, ſeeing the party of his enemies daily gathered ſtrength, believed himſelf unable to withſtand the ſtorm which was forming againſt him. So his courage and reſolution failing him when moſt wanted, he choſe to give way to the torrent, rather than ſtrive in vain, as he thought, to reſiſt it. Perſuaded as he was that he ſhould be too weak to oppoſe the queen-mother and the cardinal, he believed he ought to alter his meaſures, and ſtrictly unite with them. But even here he met with difficulties which he could not ſurmount, without acting againſt his conſcience. He had hitherto almoſt openly profeſſed the new religion. But the queen and the cardinal, as they could not reſolve to be reconciled to him, ſo long as he was engaged in the party of the reformed, managed him ſo well, that at laſt they perſuaded him to abjure in the church of the Franciſcans at Stirling. By this action he loſt all his old friends, and was reduced to depend upon the oppoſite party, with whom the cardinal had more power than himſelf. From thenceforward he was wholly guided by the counſels of that prelate, who was the true regent, whilſt the earl that bore the name was only the ſhadow.

When the queen and the cardinal were poſſeſſed of the government, they were at a loſs about the earl of Lenox, to whom they were no longer willing to perform their promiſe. So their chief care was to be rid of that lord, who greatly embarraſſed them. They agreed, therefore, to deſire the king of France to recal him, and, whilſt an anſwer was expected, the queen ſhould continue to cheriſh his hopes, but withal ſhould uſe ſundry artifices to delay her marriage, concerning which he began to be very urgent with her. This project was executed as it had been reſolved. The queen for ſome time amuſed her lover, who, not ſuſpecting what was contriving againſt him, ſpent his time in procuring her diverſions, imagining, that would haſten his marriage; but the queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to defer it. This behaviour at laſt bred in him ſuſpicions, which were confirmed by ſome friend of greater penetration, or better informed, than himſelf. He heard the queen and the cardinal had wrote to the court of France, that nothing could be more prejudicial to the king's intereſt than his ſtay in Scotland, ſince they had gained the regent to their ſide.

Lenox was ſo provoked at being thus mocked, that he ſwore to be revenged, and, without taking leave of the queen and the cardinal, retired to Dunbarton. In the mean while, Francis, who was not yet informed of the alterations in Scotland, ſent thirty thouſand crowns to the earl of Lenox, to be diſtributed among thoſe of the party, or to gain ſome of their adverſaries. By theſe means the court of France had long maintained a faction in Scotland, whilſt the court of England oppoſed her by the ſame methods. The money arriving when Lenox was at Dunbarton, he ſent part to the lords who had the care of the young queen, and gave ſome to his own friends. But the cardinal had none, though he had flattered himſelf with having the beſt ſhare, and expected it with impatience. He was ſo very angry, that he perſuaded the regent to raiſe an army and ſurpriſe Glaſgow, where Lenox was retired with his money. The preparations which were making at court, though under other pretences, giving the earl of Lenox ſuſpicion they were deſigned againſt him, he reſolved to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. It was not difficult for him to draw forces together. The cardinal had many enemies, and the regent had loſt his friends, ſince they had been forſaken by him. So the regent's levies were made very ſlowly, whilſt the earl's viſibly encreaſed. Within a few days, he raiſed ten thouſand men, and ſent the cardinal word [g] he would ſave him the trouble of coming to Glaſgow. The cardinal received the defiance with a ſeeming contempt, and pretended to purſue his enterpriſe. But it was not his intention to come to a battle. He did not ſufficiently rely on the regent's experience, who was no warrior. Beſides, he foreſaw that, by prolonging the time, he ſhould oblige his enemy to diſmiſs his troops, becauſe he wanted wherewithal to keep them long on foot.

What the cardinal had foreſeen came paſs. The earl of Lenox, finding himſelf deſtitute of money, and ſeeing the deſertion was great in his army, was forced at laſt to accept a peace that was offered him. He came to Edinburgh, where he was outwardly reconciled with the regent and the cardinal; after which they went together to Stirling. But a few days after, having notice that the court had ill deſigns againſt him, he privately withdrew, and, returning to Glaſgow, furniſhed the biſhop's palace with a garriſon and ammunition, and ſhut himſelf up in Dunbarton. There he was informed, that the king of France had been ſo prejudiced againſt him, that there was no hope of obtaining his aſſiſtance for the future. Such was the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland when Henry reſolved to renew the war againſt that kingdom. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in England.

In July, Henry married his ſixth wife, the lady Catherine Parr [h], widow of John Nevil, lord Latimer, verifying what was only ſaid in railery upon the act paſſed in 1541, that the king muſt marry a widow. The new queen was a favourer of the reformed. But ſhe was to proceed with great caution, not to offend a huſband, whoſe abſolute will it was, that none ſhould believe but what was believed by himſelf. For that reaſon ſhe durſt not, juſt after her marriage, intercede for three proteſtants who were burnt at Windſor [i], at the inveſtigation of Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter. This prelate never miſſed an opportunity to exaſperate the king againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the act of the ſix articles. But he ſhewed not the ſame zeal againſt thoſe who were ſtill attached to the pope. This affair, however, went farther than he deſired, ſince it occaſioned the diſcovery of a plot, formed to ruin ſeveral families at Windſor, upon falſe accuſations. The king was ſo offended at theſe diabolical practices, that he would have the affair thoroughly examined. The event was, that the contrivers of the plot [k] were carried on horſeback, with their faces to the horſe-tails, and then ſet in the pillory. It is ſaid, Gardiner had a great ſhare in the project. But he was a very crafty man, who knew how to conceal the hand that gave the blow, when he thought it dangerous to ſhew it.

It was eaſy for the enemies of the reformation to perceive that Cranmer moſt obſtructed the execution of their deſigns, and they ſhould never ſucceed ſo long as he was in favour with the king. Whereupon they reſolved to apply themſelves before all things to his deſtruction, after which, they imagined, the ruin of his whole party would follow of courſe. There were in this undertaking two contrary things, whereof one ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, and the other rendered the execution very difficult. The firſt was, the king ſeemed fully bent not to ſpare thoſe who were called heretics, that is, thoſe who did not entirely conform themſelves to the declaration of faith lately publiſhed. Now every one knew the archbiſhop was of this number, though he uſed great caution not to give his enemies any advantage either by word or deed. The ſecond was, the king's ſingular eſteem for the archbiſhop, againſt whom ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts had been made. Notwithſtanding this, his enemies thought, if he could convince the king that Cranmer's opinions were very different from his, it would in ſome meaſure incenſe him. After that they hoped the king would require of him, as of the reſt of his ſubjects, a blind ſubmiſſion, and that Cranmer's oppoſition would deſtroy the king's affection for him. The buſineſs therefore was to inſpire the king with ſuſpicions, which ſhould induce him to examine what were the archbiſhop's opinions upon religion. To that end, no occaſion was loſt to hint to the king, that it was in vain to puniſh heretics whilſt the chief ſupporters were ſuffered to live unmoleſted. Henry, perceiving Cranmer was aimed at, made no anſwer. He hoped his ſilence would demonſtrate, it was in vain to try to incenſe him againſt that prelate. But at laſt, theſe inſinuations were ſo often repeated, that he ſeemed to give ear to them, in order to know their intent. He hearkened therefore to whatever was ſaid againſt Cranmer, and deſired to have the intended articles of accuſation, with the names of his accuſers. The duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and their party, believed the archbiſhop ruined, ſince the king was pleaſed to examine his conduct. But they took care not to make themſelves parties, their deſign being

[e] William Graham, John Erſkin, John Lindſey, and William Levingſton. Buchanan, l. 15.

[f] Auguſt 21. Buchanan, l. 15.

[g] From Leith, where he was. Buchanan.

[h] Daughter of ſir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, on July 12. Stow, p. 584.

[i] July 28. Their names were Anthony Pelſone, a prieſt, Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging man, and Henry Filmer, a taylor. John Marbeck, another ſinging man, was alſo condemned, but pardoned afterwards. He was the firſt that compiled an Engliſh Concordance. Hall, fol. 256. Burnet, tom. I. p. 326.

[k] Dr. London, prebend of Windſor, and William Symonds. Ibid.

He

to appear unconcerned, to ſtrike the ſurer. They cauſed therefore the accuſation to be drawn by ſome prebendaries of Canterbury, and certain Kentiſh juſtices of the peace, whom they perſuaded to be his accuſers. The articles being put into the king's hands, he went in his barge to Lambeth, the archbiſhop's palace, on the other ſide of the Thames. Cranmer hearing the king was coming, haſtened down to his ſtairs to receive him, and by his order went into the barge. When the king was alone with him, he lamented the growth of hereſy in the kingdom, and told him, he was endeavouring to find out the chief encouragers of it, to puniſh them according to the utmoſt rigour of the law, about which he was come to aſk his advice. Cranmer anſwered, without any concern, that his zeal was laudable; but entreated him for God's ſake to conſider well what hereſy was, leſt, inſtead of puniſhing heretics, he fought againſt God. After ſome converſation upon the ſubject, the king told him at laſt, he was the man who was accuſed of being the protector and chief encourager of the heretics, and then gave him the articles of accuſation againſt him. Cranmer, peruſing them, fell on his knees, and freely owned to the king, he was ſtill of the ſame mind as when he oppoſed the ſix articles; but that he had done or ſaid nothing againſt them. Then he humbly deſired to be tried by the laws, becauſe he was ſure he ſhould never be convicted of tranſgreſſing them. Whereupon the king aſked him, whether it was true that he was married. Cranmer confeſſed it, but ſaid he had ſent away his wife to Germany upon the paſſing of the act of the ſix articles. Henry, who had long ſeen about him only ſuch as diſſembled their ſentiments, was charmed with the archbiſhop's candour and ſincerity. Inſtead of being diſpleaſed with his confeſſion, he could not forbear admiring his ſteadineſs, which made him dare the greateſt danger he had ever been in, and that he ſo wiſely allied it with an inviolable regard for the laws. Wherefore he gave him a very ſenſible proof of his eſteem and affection, in diſcovering to him the plot his enemies had laid againſt him, naming his accuſers, and ordering him to proceed againſt them. Cranmer excuſed himſelf, but the king told him poſitively he would be obeyed, and that he ſhould name his judges himſelf. If Cranmer had been vindictive, he had a fair opportunity of being revenged on thoſe who would have ruined him, and particularly on Gardiner, chief contriver of the plot, as appears in letters under his own hand. But he ſhewed ſo great backwardneſs to puſh the affair, that at length the king was tired with preſſing him, ſince he did it ſo unwillingly. Mean while, he had not the leſs value for him. Shortly after, one of his ſecret enemies, known for ſuch by the king, though he himſelf had no ſuſpicion of him, deſiring his aſſiſtance in a ſuit he had at court, he went immediately and ſpoke to the king in his behalf. The king ſurpriſed to ſee him ſpeak for that perſon, aſked him if he knew him well; and upon his anſwering, that he took him for his friend; "No, (replied the king) he is your mortal enemy, and I command you when you ſee him next to call him knave." Cranmer modeſtly anſwered, ſuch language did not become a biſhop; but the king inſiſted upon his compliance. Nevertheleſs Canmer found means to be excuſed, and the king, content with admiring his goodneſs, would not preſs him any farther. Thus the plot contrived for the archbiſhop's ruin, ſerved only to endear him the more to the king, and demonſtrate to his enemies how dangerous it was to attack him.

The 23d of December the king created the lord Parr, the queen's brother, earl of Eſſex [l], and conferred on ſir William Parr her uncle, the title of lord Parr, of Horton, with the office of chamberlain to the queen [m].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the war between the emperor and the king of France was carrying on in ſeveral places. In the beginning of the campaign, Francis had ſome advantages in the Low Countries, where he took Landrecy, Emery, Bapanume, Maubeuge, and Luxemburg. But the emperor arriving about the end of the ſummer with a ſtrong ſupply of Spaniſh troops, Francis, being inferior in number, was obliged to keep at ſome diſtance. This gave the emperor an opportunity to inveſt Landrecy, of which however he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, upon Francis's finding means to throw in ſuccours. But he made himſelf amends by taking Cambray.

At the ſame time Barbaroſſa, admiral of the Turks, coming to Marſeilles the beginning of July with a hundred and ten Turkiſh gallies, found there the earl of Enghein, of the houſe of Bourbon, with twenty-two French gallies. After their junction, they went together and attacked Nice the 10th of Auguſt, and on the 20th became maſters of the town. But the caſtle made ſo brave a defence, that the Turkiſh admiral retired and wintered in Provence, from whence he returned to Turkey the beginning of the ſpring. I ſhall ſay nothing of the war in Piedmont, becauſe it produced no remarkable event [n].

During the whole campaign, Henry aſſiſted the emperor only with a ſmall body [o] of troops, commanded by ſir John Wallop [p]. But they both formed vaſt projects for the next year. They intended to enter France, the one by Champagne, the other by Picardy, each at the head of forty thouſand men, and to join about Paris. To execute this project it was neceſſary to act with union and good underſtanding. So Henry could not diſpenſe with performing his promiſe to the emperor, to give the princeſs Mary a place in the ſucceſſion.

[1544] The parliament meeting the 14th of January 1544, immediately paſſed an act, ſettling the order of thoſe who could pretend to the crown after the king's death. I have frequently obſerved, that the parliament was held in ſubjection, and did nothing but what the king pleaſed. Several inſtances have been ſeen, but none more flagrant than the following. In this act prince Edward was ranked firſt, with his iſſue. In the ſecond place, the heirs male by the king's preſent or future marriage with their iſſue. In the third place, the princeſs Mary and her line. Laſtly, the princeſs Elizabeth and her heirs. But there was no mention of the king's divorces with the queens, mothers to theſe two princeſſes. So, notwithſtanding the acts which approved and confirmed theſe divorces, and were never repealed, the parliament ſeemed to conſider theſe princeſſes as legitimate, though before they had been declared baſtards, and as ſuch, excluded from the ſucceſſion. On the other hand, to convince them, they were indebted to the king their father for this favour, the act made them liable to ſuch limitations or conditions, as the king ſhould pleaſe to declare by his letters patents, on pain of forfeiting the right which was granted them. Moreover, in caſe of diſobedience on their part, or if they died without heirs, the parliament gave the king power to ſettle the crown on any other by his letters patents, or his laſt will ſigned by his own hand. Was not this conſidering theſe two princeſſes as baſtards, ſince their right to the ſucceſſion was made to depend on the king their father's pleaſure? Without pretending to queſtion the right of the king and repreſentatives of the nation to ſettle the ſucceſſion as they pleaſe. I cannot forbear remarking, that this right was carried on that occaſion as far as it can be ſtretched. Suppoſing theſe two princeſſes baſtards, the parliament empowered the king to call them to the throne, contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of the realm ſince the conqueſt. On the other hand, ſuppoſing them legitimate, they left the king free to exclude them from the ſucceſſion, contrary to the ſame laws and cuſtoms, ſince it was in his breaſt to impoſe on them conditions impoſſible to be performed. This was a power no king of England had ever enjoyed, and which ſhews this act flowed not ſo much from the parliament as from the king himſelf. To palliate in ſome meaſure theſe contradictions, care was taken not to mention in the act, the king's divorces with Catherine and Anne. Only every one was free to gueſs the motives of the act, which was not very difficult, ſince there was no other than that of complying with the king's will. By a clauſe in the ſtatute, all perſons were obliged to take a new oath againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, which whoſoever refuſed, or ſhould break any of the articles of the act, was to be adjudged a traitor.

By another act, paſſed this ſeſſion, the title of king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and ſupreme head of the church of England and Ireland, was united for ever to the crown of England.

By another it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be indicted on the ſtatute of the ſix articles, but upon a preſentment by the oaths of twelve men, before commiſſioners, appointed by the king: that no perſon ſhould be impriſoned but upon an indictment; and laſtly, the preſentment ſhould

[l] He had married Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Bourchier, earl of Eſſex. Stow, p. 585.

[m] Alſo ſome of the Iriſh nobility that came and ſubmitted to king Henry, June 3, were, on July 1, advanced to the following honours: namely, William Boruck, or Bourk, alias Macwilliam, was created earl of Clanreckard, and baron Dunkeilyn. Mawer Obrien, earl of Tomon, or Thomond, and baron Inſykwyne. And Conaught Obrien, baron of Ibrackayn. Sir Connought O'Neal came alſo and made his ſubmiſſion to king Henry, and was created earl of Tyrone, September 1. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XIV. p. 797—800. Tom. XV. p. 7. Hall, fol. 247, 256.

[n] This year, the firſt caſt pieces of iron (both cannons and mortars) that ever were made in England, were made at Buckſtead in Suſſex, by Peter Baud, Ralph Hoge, and Peter van Colen. Stow, p. 584. Hollingſhead, p. 960.

[o] Six thouſand men. Hall, fol. 256.

[p] Sir Thomas Seymour was marſhal, and ſir Richard Cromwell captain of the horſe. Hall, ibid. They departed from Calais July 22. Stow, p. 585.

be made within forty days after the pretended offence was committed, otherwiſe it ſhould be rejected [q]. Hereby the eccleſiaſtical courts were tied up, in ſome meaſure, from oppreſſing the ſubject on pretence of hereſy, ſince the ſame privileges were allowed for that crime as were enjoyed by the Engliſh with reſpect to all other offences.

Laſtly, the parliament granted the king a ſubſidy, in a manner unheard of before, by enjoining that thoſe who had lent him money ſhould be obliged to forgive the debt [r]. However unjuſt this act was with reſpect to the particular perſons who had lent the money, the parliament was not ſorry the king deſired it, in order to put a ſtop to the cuſtom of loans, which in time would have rendered parliaments uſeleſs.

The power formerly granted the king was alſo revived during life, of appointing commiſſioners to examine all canons and conſtitutions eccleſiaſtical, and to make the neceſſary alterations, which the king had hitherto neglected [s].

Before the end of the ſeſſion, Thomas Wriotheſly, great friend of the old religion, was made lord chancellor, in the room of the lord Audley deceaſed [t].

In the beginning of the year, Francis I. ſent into Piedmont the earl of Enghien, who was but two and twenty years old, to take the command of the army in the room of Boutiers, who had not been very ſucceſsful. The young prince, engaging the marquis of Guaſto at Ceriſoles, obtained the 14th of April a ſignal victory over him, which coſt the Imperialiſts ten thouſand men, beſides the wounded and priſoners. In the conſternation the marquis of Guaſto was under, after the loſs of the battle, he would have found it very difficult to keep Milan for the emperor, if the earl of Enghien had not been ſtopped in the midſt of his career by expreſs orders. As the king of France was informed that the emperor and the king of England were to join and invade him in the center of his dominions, with an army of eighty thouſand foot and twenty-two thouſand horſe, he deemed it more neceſſary to provide for the defence of his kingdom than to think of making conqueſts in Italy. For that reaſon he ordered the earl of Enghien to ſend him twelve thouſand men of his army. This diminution diſabled the young prince to reap any other advantage from his victory than the taking of Carignano, which he reduced to the king's obedience.

Mean while, the formidable armies which were to invade France, not being yet ready, Henry reſolved to uſe part of his troops to finiſh the affair of Scotland, which he had ever at heart. Though he had declared war againſt Scotland, it was not to make conqueſts, but ſolely to compel the Scots by the terror of his arms to agree to the marriage of their queen with the prince, his ſon. He could not conceive that, in their preſent circumſtances, they could flatter themſelves with the hopes of ſucceſs in a war ſo unequal and capable of ruining Scotland in one ſingle campaign. But cardinal Beaton, an obſtinate man, if ever there was one, who governed in the regent's name, choſe rather to expoſe the kingdom to become a prey to the Engliſh than conſent to a peace, which could not be made without ruining his fortune. So Henry, ſeeing it was neceſſary to preſs him more cloſely, reſolved to ſend into Scotland part of the troops deſigned againſt France. The lord Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, and ſir John Dudley, lord Liſle, high admiral, were appointed for the expedition. Seymour led the army to Newcaſtle, where the admiral arrived with a fleet and two hundred tranſport ſhips, in which the troops were embarked. The earl of Hertford, landing near Leith [u], took that town without difficulty, and then marched directly to Edinburgh, of which he became maſter with the ſame eaſe. The regent and cardinal had not provided for their defence, imagining the king's threats would be without effect. The city of Edinburgh was ſacked and burnt, but the Engliſh attacked not the caſtle, for fear of being engaged in too long a ſiege. After that, they returned to Leith, and, burning the town, retired to Berwick the 18th of May [w]. If Henry had reſolved to improve his advantages, he would have ſubdued all Scotland, conſidering the great conſternation of the Scots upon the invaſion. But two reaſons prevented him: the firſt, that he wanted his troops to ſend them to France, where he intended alſo to go in perſon: the ſecond, that his aim was only to let the Scots ſee what they were to expect, if they did not ſpeedily reſolve to execute the treaty for their queen's marriage, and he ſcarce doubted but this method would ſucceed. Mean while, it muſt have been thought very ſtrange, that he ſhould court the young queen of Scotland for the prince, his ſon, in ſo extraordinary a manner, and the world was of opinion, either he had done too much, or did not do enough.

Though Henry had withdrawn his army out of Scotland, he had not however relinquiſhed his project of harraſſing the Scots till they ſhould agree to the marriage. To this end he improved an opportunity that offered, to give the regent and the cardinal freſh diſturbances. The earl of Lenox, as I ſaid, having quitted the court, was retired to Dunbarton, the governor whereof was devoted to him, but found himſelf greatly embarraſſed. His friends in France had informed him, that the king was exceedingly incenſed againſt him, and accuſed him of having laviſhed away the money ſent him to maintain the war againſt the Engliſh. This was in effect what had been hinted to Francis by the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, who were ſeconded by the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Guiſe; and in this manner the French hiſtorians repreſent it. The earl, willing to clear himſelf, had ſent a man into France to acquaint the king with all that had paſſed in Scotland ſince his arrival, and with the preſent ſituation of affairs. But the king, prepoſſeſſed by the cardinal of Lorrain, refuſed to give the meſſenger audience, nay, was going to order him to priſon. The earl, ſeeing himſelf thus forſaken, both by the king of France and thoſe who had at firſt joined him in Scotland, ſent to the king of England to know whether he would take him into his ſervice, with the earl of Glencairn, his intimate friend. Henry received the overture more favourably than the two lords durſt have expected. He promiſed them his protection on certain conditions, which he would ſettle with them, if they would ſend ſome truſty perſon to England. Whereupon the earl of Glencairn came himſelf to Carliſle with the biſhop of Cathneſs, brother of the earl of Lenox, and two others. In a few days after their arrival, they concluded with the king's commiſſioners [x] a treaty, wherein the earl of Lenox and Glencairn promiſed,

I. That they would cauſe the pure word of God to be preached in their territories.

II. That they would hinder, to the utmoſt of their power, the young queen from being carried out of Scotland, and do their endeavour to deliver her into the hands of the king of England.

III. That they would aſſiſt the king with all their forces, to procure him [y] the direction of the government of Scotland, and the title of protector of the realm.

IV. That the biſhop of Cathneſs and Hugh Cunningham ſhould be given in hoſtage to the king of England.

The king promiſed on his part:

1. That his army ſhould not oppreſs their lands.

2. That he would conſtitute the earl of Lenox regent of the kingdom, provided he would do nothing without his expreſs conſent.

3. That he would give him, out of the revenues of the crown, what ſhould be reaſonable to ſupport the dignity of regent.

4. That in caſe the young queen ſhould die, he would

[q] Here is a miſtake. The preſentment was to be made within a year after the offence committed. And if any preacher or reader ſhould ſpeak any thing in his ſermon or reading, contrary to any matter contained in the ſix articles, he muſt be complained of within forty days, unleſs a juſt cauſe were given why it could not be ſo ſoon. See the act. This act had clearly a relation to the conſpiracies mentioned in the former year, both againſt the archbiſhop and ſome of the king's ſervants.

[r] Nay, thoſe who had got payment, either in whole or in part, of the ſums ſo lent the king, were to repay what they had received, to the exchequer. There was ſuch an act paſſed in the 21ſt year of the king's reign. Burnet, tom. I. p. 330.

[s] There were thirty-two commiſſioners appointed, ſixteen of the clergy, and the ſame number of the laity. The bill for examining theſe laws was read, for the firſt time, January 18; and for the ſecond, third, and fourth times, the 19th, 22d, and 24th, of the ſame month, and paſſed March 6. Upon mention of this bill's being read the fourth time, it is obſerved in the journals of the houſe of lords, that bills of moment have been uſually or often read four times. See Jour. Procer. Burnet, tom. III. p. 161; and Statut. 35 Hen. VIII. In this ſeſſion of parliament there was a very good act made for the preſervation of timber and woods, which ought to be better obſerved. See ibid. c. 17.

[t] The lord Audley died April 30, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſly was created baron of Tichfield, Jan. 1, this year. Hall, fol. 257. Stow, p. 585. Sir William Petre, Cranmer's great friend, was about this time made ſecretary of ſtate. Burnet, tom. I. p. 331.

[u] May 4, Buchanan, l. 15. They ſet out from London in March. Hollingſh. p. 961.

[w] See an account of the villages they plundered and burnt, in Hall, fol. 258; and Hollingſh. p. 963.

[x] Thomas lord Wharton, warden of the Weſt Marches, and ſir Robert Bowes, maſter of the requeſts. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 23.

[y] The poſſeſſion of Jedburgh, Kelſo, Roxburg, Hume caſtle, the Hermitage, the Mers, and Teviotdale. Ibid. p. 24.

Which

ſupport the earl of Lenox in obtaining the crown againſt the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

5. That he would give the earl of Glencairn a yearly penſion of a thouſand crowns.

6. That he would conſent that Margaret Douglas, his niece, ſhould eſpouſe the earl of Lenox, provided ſhe were willing.

The treaty was ſigned at Carliſle the 17th of May, whilſt the Engliſh army were quitting Scotland, and retiring to Berwick.

Some days after, the earl of Lenox came to the court of England, where the foregoing treaty was confirmed the 26th of June, with the following additional articles:

That the earl of Lenox ſhould ſurrender to the king the caſtle of Dunbritton and the iſle of Bute.

That if he married Margaret Douglas, he ſhould aſſign her an honourable dower.

That the king engaged on his part, to aid him with five hundred men, to give him a penſion of ſeventeen hundred marks [z] for himſelf, and one of a hundred marks for George Striveling, governor of Dunbritton.

In conſequence of this treaty, the earl of Lenox came to Dunbritton with thirteen ſhips and about ſix hundred men. Upon his arrival, he went to the caſtle with a few followers, to try to perſuade the governor [a] to deliver the place to the king of England. But the governor, preferring his duty to his affection for the earl, refuſed to admit the Engliſh. This attempt failing, Lenox ravaged the iſles of Arran and Bute, where he met with no oppoſition. Then he made a deſcent upon Kintyre, and, after plundering ſome villages, ſailed to Briſtol, where he expected the king's return, who was now in France.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran and cardinal Beaton proſecuted with the utmoſt rigour the earl of Lenox's friends, and confiſcated their eſtates. But a freſh invaſion of the Engliſh, who, though few in number, took Jedborrough, Kelſo, and Coldingham, cauſed them to ceaſe theſe proceedings, and raiſe an army to enable them to repulſe their enemies. The Scotch army, amounting to eight thouſand men, being ready to march, the queen dowager, the regent, and the cardinal, led them to Coldingham, where the Engliſh, when they retired, left a garriſon. But whilſt they were employed in the ſiege, the regent having advice that the Engliſh were marched from Berwick to relieve the town, was ſeized with ſuch a panic, that, ſpeedily mounting his horſe, he fled alone to Dunbar. This haſty flight threw the whole army into ſuch a conſternation that there was no hindering the ſoldiers from diſbanding. The earl of Angus alone reſolved to ſtay with a few men and carry off the artillery, which was going to be deſerted. The Scots being diſperſed, the Engliſh ravaged without mercy, Teviot, Merch, and Lauderdale, compelling the inhabitants to ſwear allegiance to the king of England. Buchanan adds, that the earl of Angus reviving the regent's courage, they aſſembled ſome troops, and cauſing the Engliſh to fall into an ambuſh, ſlew eight hundred [b] of their men and took a thouſand priſoners. But there is nothing like this in the Engliſh hiſtories.

Whilſt the king of England was acting againſt Scotland, till all was ready to begin the war in France, the emperor was at Spire, where he had called a diet to try to obtain ſome aſſiſtance from the princes of Germany. The proteſtants at firſt ſcrupled very much to aſſiſt him, whilſt he left them expoſed to the inſults of their enemies; but the moment they obtained a decree that they ſhould not be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, they granted whatever was required. This was all they deſired, and it was deemed a ſignal favour to grant it, even with ſuch limitations and ambiguous clauſes as would one day render it fruitleſs. So the diet broke up about the end of May, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the ſtates of the empire. The pope alone was offended at the decree in favour of the proteſtants, and to hinder them from long enjoying the toleration granted till the council ſhould meet, he fixed the opening of the council of Trent to the 25th of March 1545.

Whilſt the emperor was at Spire, he ordered Luxenburg to be inveſted, which ſurrendered about the end of May. Then he headed his army in perſon to begin the execution of the projects concerted with Henry. Since the concluſion of the treaty in February laſt year, whereby they were each to bring into the field but twenty-five thouſand men, they had agreed to encreaſe the number of their troops, to invade France with two armies, which together were to make above a hundred thouſand men, and to join them about Paris. The emperor's firſt exploits, till the king of England's arrival, were the taking of Commercy and Ligny in le Barrois. After that he entered Campagne, and beſieged St. Didier the 8th of July. This place, though weak, held out above ſix weeks, and then was taken by a falſe intelligence carried to the governor.

The war with Scotland having prevented Henry from being ready ſo ſoon as he had promiſed, it was about Whitſuntide before he embarked part of his army for Calais, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk [c]. As for himſelf, he ſtill remained in England with the reſt of his troops till the middle of July [d]. When the duke of Norfolk was beyond ſea, he joined the count de Bure, who commanded ten thouſand men of the emperor's troops, and they jointly beſieged the town of Montreuil. This was probably with the emperor's conſent, who at the ſame time laid ſiege to St. Didier. He was in hopes that place would detain him but few days, and then he ſhould march to Paris, whilſt Henry was advancing to join him. Had this project been executed according to agreement, Paris, and all the country as far as the Loire, would have been in great danger, ſince Francis had not above forty thouſand men. But the emperor was prepoſterouſly bent upon the ſiege of St. Didier, which detained him above ſix weeks. In the mean time, Henry arriving at Calais [e] with the reſt of his army, found that the emperor's deſign was to leave him to march alone to Paris, and keep the king of France employed, whilſt he purſued his affairs in Campagne. So, perceiving that inſtead of marching to the rendezvous, the emperor was employed in a ſiege, he ordered likewiſe Boulogne to be inveſted, and came himſelf to the ſiege the 26th of July. By this means their project was ſuſpended, whilſt they ſeparately amuſed themſelves with the taking of towns. This error proved the ſafety of France. From thenceforward theſe two princes mutually charging one another with non-performance of agreements, had no longer any confidence in each other. And therefore the emperor, by indirect means, cauſed a peace to be offered to Francis, whilſt Henry more openly granted a ſafe conduct for French embaſſadors to come and treat with him at a league from his camp.

Mean while the emperor, having at laſt taken St. Didier, about the middle of Auguſt, ſent to Henry to march towards Paris, as was agreed. Henry anſwered, that ſince he had given the emperor time to take St. Didier, it was but reaſonable the emperor ſhould ſtay till he had taken Boulogne, which could not be long. After the taking of St. Didier, the emperor advanced to Chathau-Thierri, and filled Paris with terror and confuſion. But Henry's anſwer convincing him, it would be very difficult to execute their projects during the reſt of the campaign, he renewed his private negotiation with Francis, which had been ſuſpended. Shortly after, he concluded with Francis a ſeparate peace, ſigned at Crepy the 19th of September, not only without including Henry, but even without acquainting him, for fear of prevention.

Henry was not much ſurpriſed at the emperor's proceedings. He ought not to have expected leſs from ſuch a friend, who was reconciled to him only in order to do his own buſineſs. It is certain, Charles V. no more than Maximilian and Ferdinand, his paternal and maternal grandfathers, never pretended much to ſincerity, nor was integrity his principal virtue. Henry complained of his breach of faith. But it was eaſy to allege ſundry reaſons, little capable however of balancing the oath he had taken, to conclude neither peace nor truce without the conſent of his ally. But theſe oaths

[z] Which made ſix thouſand eight hundred Scottiſh marks. Rymer, p. 31.

[a] His own lieutenant.

[b] Two hundred. Buchanan. l. 15.

[c] Who was accompanied by John lord Ruſſel, captain of the van guard. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 43; and Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, marſhal; John Vere, earl of Oxford; the lord Grey of Wilton, lord Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, ſir Francis Bryan, &c. Herbert, p. 244.

[d] Before his departure, he appointed queen Catherine regent of the kingdom; and named for her aſſiſtants, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriotheſly, the earl of Hertford, the biſhop of Weſtminſter, and ſir William Petre. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 39.

[e] July 14. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was captain of the middle ward; and had with him Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain; Henry Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, the marſhal; ſir John Gage, comtroller of his houſhold, and ſir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe, &c. Hall. The ſhip wherein the king was conveyed over had ſails of cloth of gold, Herbert, p. 245.

The

are generally ſo ill kept in moſt leagues, that they ſeem to be conſidered only as a ſort of form, not much to be relied upon. Happily for Henry, Boulogne had capitulated the 14th of September, before the treaty of Crepy was ſigned [f].

The emperor thought himſelf very politic in eaſing himſelf of the burden of the war, and leaving Francis and Henry embroiled. Indeed, it was a great advantage, had it not been acquired by breach of faith. Immediately after the concluſion of the treaty, he ſent orders to the count de Bure to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, which obliged Henry alſo to recal the duke of Norfolk. In the ſituation of Henry's affairs, he had nothing to do but retire, for fear the dauphin, who was advancing by long marches, ſhould oblige him to fight with great diſadvantage, or retreat with precipitation. Beſides, that the dauphin was at the head of forty thouſand men, he would have found the Engliſh army much leſſened, as well by their loſſes at two ſieges as by the numerous garriſon they were forced to leave at Boulogne. So, having well ſtored that place, and left admiral Dudley governor, Henry departed for England the 30th of September, whilſt his troops were returning to Calais.

The dauphin came a few days after [g], but did not think proper to purſue the Engliſh, who were too far before him, and too near Calais, for him to expect to overtake them. He contented himſelf therefore with trying to ſurpriſe Boulogne, the breaches whereof the Engliſh had not time to repair. He was very like to have ſucceeded in his attempt. The French were now maſters of the lower town, where all the Engliſh ordnance lay, when a ſally from the upper town compelled them to retreat in diſorder. Marſhal Montluc, in his commentaries, ſpeaks of this action in a different manner from the Engliſh hiſtorians, though he agrees with them that the French were repulſed. Some days after [h], a conference was held at Calais, to try to procure a peace between the two kings. But the aim of the French being to perſuade the Engliſh to reſtore Boulogne upon the bare hopes of a peace, it is not ſtrange the conference ſhould be fruitleſs.

Henry, at his return to England, took great care to put in a poſture of defence the places on the Thames, and on the ſouthern coaſt [i], imagining Francis would not fail to invade him the next year. At the ſame time he ſent into Scotland the earl of Lenox, who took Dumfries.

This year, moſt part of the colleges, collegiate churches, and hoſpitals, were ſurrendered to the king [k] by acts and deeds, ſeemingly voluntary, but which were no more ſo than thoſe ſigned by the abbots and priors, when they reſigned their monaſteries [l].

[1545] In the beginning of the year 1549, the marſhal de Biez encamped near Boulogne, in order to raiſe a fort at Portet [m] to command the harbour of Boulogne. But the earl of Hertford, who had ſucceeded Dudley, ſallying out with a body of troops, diſlodged the marſhal from his poſt, and forced him to defer his project till another time.

Mean while Francis was making great preparations againſt England, in hopes of retaking Boulogne, and even Guiſnes and Calais, in order to expel the Engliſh entirely out of France; to that end he equipped in the ſeveral ports of France one hundred and fifty great ſhips, and ſixty ſmaller ones [n], with ten hired of the Genoeſe. Moreover, he had ordered five and twenty gallies to be brought from the Levant, in imitation of Lewis XII. who, on the like occaſion, had ſent for four from thence. At the ſame time, he prepared to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men, with whom he intended to join twelve thouſand landſquenets, levied in Germany. His deſign was to attack Boulogne by land, and ſo block it up by ſea that it ſhould be impoſſible for the Engliſh to relieve it. To execute this project, he ſent a reinforcement to the marſhal de Biez, ordering him to build at Port the fort he had been forced to leave unfiniſhed, being unwilling to approach Boulogne before the fort was in a ſtate of defence. The marſhal putting him in hopes the work would be finiſhed by the middle of Auguſt, he came about the end of June to Havre de Grace, to give orders for an expedition by ſea. His gallies and ſhips arriving ſhortly after, he commanded the fleet to ſail towards England. But, in ſeeing it depart, he had the vexation to behold one of the largeſt, called the Grand Carracon, burnt before his face, ſhe having taken fire whilſt the anchor was weighing.

Admiral Annebaut, who commanded the fleet, arrived the 18th of July at the Iſle of Wight, in ſight of Portſmouth, where lay the Engliſh fleet, of ſixty ſhips only. Notwithſtanding the diſproportion between the two fleets, the Engliſh approached the French; but, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, retired behind the ſands, with deſign to draw the enemies after them. The French admiral, conſulting how they might be attacked, was told it was impoſſible, becauſe the channel, which led to the place where they lay, was ſo narrow, that hardly four ſhips could ſail a-breaſt. That beſides, there was no venturing among the ſands without pilots. Theſe difficulties obliged the admiral to content himſelf with provoking the Engliſh to fight, by means of the gallies, in order to draw them from their poſt. At firſt the gallies, favoured by a great calm, annoyed the Engliſh ſhips; but, a land-breeze ariſing, deprived them of their advantage, and cauſed them to row off, for fear of being run down by the large ſhips. The Engliſh did not purſue them very far, their deſign being to draw the enemies among the ſands, with which they were unacquainted.

At laſt the French, ſeeing the Engliſh would not loſe the advantage of their poſt, landed in three places in the iſle of Wight. But all this ended only in burning ſome villages. It was moved, in a council of war, to fortify and keep the iſland. But it was judged impracticable, chiefly by reaſon of the time which ſuch a project would neceſſarily require. The admiral, therefore, was ſatisfied with ordering a deſcent on the coaſt of Suſſex [o], imagining the king, who was at Portſmouth, would ſend out his fleet to aſſiſt the country. But he was miſtaken. The Engliſh fleet ſtill lay behind the ſands, and the deſcents which the French made in three ſeveral places gained them no conſiderable advantage, becauſe the coaſts were well guarded. In the mean while, the Engliſh fleet, daily encreaſing, conſiſted now of a hundred ſail. So, Annebaut, ſeeing little hopes of making great progreſs, retired towards France, after having watered at the iſle of Wight, not without loſing ſome ſoldiers and officers.

Some days after, a ſouth wind blew the French back towards the coaſt of England, and put their fleet in confuſion, which the Engliſh reſolved to improve, if the wind continued favourable. And indeed the two fleets engaged for two hours. But, as the wind was very changeable, each endeavoured to gain it, without engaging, however, too far. At laſt, they parted without much loſs on either ſide: and thus ended the greateſt effort France had ever made at ſea.

The attempt to fight the Engliſh fleet, or to ravage the coaſt, was not, however, the principal motive of this powerful armament. The taking of Boulogne was the king of France's chief end, and the fleet was properly intended only to block up that place by ſea. But, as the landſquenets were not yet arrived, and the fort, marſhal de Biez was building, not finiſhed, Francis was vexed to ſee the time proper for executing his deſigns inſenſibly ſlide away. At length, hearing the landſquenets were on the borders, he ſent to view the fort, which, contrary to his expectation, and marſhal de Biez's promiſe, was yet very far from being finiſhed. Beſides, it was built in a different place from what was appointed, and did not command the harbour. The marſhal alleged, if it had been built at Portet, the garriſon would have wanted water. But he affirmed, the fort he was raiſing at Outreau would be finiſhed in eight days. Whereupon, the king ſent him his whole army, of which he gave him the command, and remained himſelf at Chateau-Montier, about ten leagues from Boulogne.

The marſhal de Biez lay encamped near the fort till it was finiſhed, his deſign being to throw in ten thouſand men to awe the garriſon of Boulogne, whilſt he beſieged Guiſnes; but the engineer had ſo ill contrived his work, that, after

[f] The reader may ſee a very full account of the ſiege of Boulogne, in a journal of it, extant in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 52, &c. and Herbert, p. 245. Compl. Hiſt.

[g] Oct. 7. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 57.

[h] Oct. 12. The Engliſh commiſſioners were the earl of Hertford and ſir William Paget. Rymer's Fœd, tom. XV. p. 57.

[i] Graveſend, Tilbury, Dover, Portſmouth, &c. Herbert, p. 249.

[k] There were in the kingdom ſeveral colleges, chapels, chantries, hoſpitals, and fraternities, conſiſting of ſecular prieſts, who enjoyed penſions for ſaying maſs for the ſouls of thoſe who endowed them. Now the belief of purgatory being left indifferent by the doctrine ſet out by the biſhops, and the trade of redeeming ſouls being condemned, it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe prieſts were generally ill affected to the king's proceedings, ſince their trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many were dealt with to make reſignation; and twenty-four of them did ſurrender this year. Burnet, tom. I. p. 338.

[l] Alſo this year king Henry reformed the public offices, and put out a form of proceſſion, with a litany in Engliſh. Burnet, tom. III. p. 164.

[m] A little creek of the ſea, half a mile from Boulogne. The marſhal encamped there January 26, with fourteen thouſand men. The earl of Hertford diſlodged him, though he had only four thouſand ſeven hundred men. Herb. p. 249.

[n] Our king ſent out about a hundred. Theſe ſhips on both ſides were only merchantmen, hired for this war. Burnet, tom. I. p. 332.

[o] Near Brighthelmſtone and Newhaven. Stow, p. 589.

In

much time ſpent in it, he was forced almoſt to begin again. This occaſioned a delay, which broke all the meaſures that were taken. Mean while, the king haſtened the work the more, as he knew that ten thouſand landſquenets, and four thouſand horſe, raiſed for the ſervice of England, where marching for Picardy. In ſhort, the marſhal, perceiving the ſeaſon would be too far advanced before his fort could be put in a ſtate of defence, pretended to have certain advice that the king of England deſired to land a ſtrong army at Calais, to relieve Boulogne by land; this is at leaſt what du Bellai imputes to him in his memoirs. However, the marſhal leaving the fort unfiniſhed, encamped on mount Lambert, to be ready to oppoſe the ſuccours. But the Engliſh appeared not. As for the landſquenets ſent for by Henry from Germany, they returned home, becauſe they received not on the borders the money they were made to expect. Mean while, the French army continued encamped, without undertaking the ſiege either of Guiſnes or Boulogne, though Francis had made ſo great an effort for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, the duke of Orleans died at Chateau-Montier, to the great grief of the king his father, who, by his death, ſaw the peace with the emperor very much ſhaken, ſince it was properly founded upon that prince's life, as will quickly appear.

The French army being encamped on mount Lambert, within cannon-ſhot of Boulogne, there were ſkirmiſhes every day, in the ſpace between the mount and the town. In one of theſe conflicts, the duke d'Aumale, known afterwards by the name of the duke of Guiſe, was wounded with a lance, which entering at the corner of his eye, came out behind his head. The wound, though deemed mortal by all, was however cured by the great ſkill of Ambroſe Paré, the king's ſurgeon, who was even forced to draw out with pincers the head of the launce which remained in the wound. The ſcar in the duke's face, gained him the ſirname of Balafré [or Gaſhed.]

The ſeaſon was now ſo advanced, that the ſiege of Boulogne was not practicable. So Francis was forced to be contented with ordering the marſhal de Biez to ravage Terre d'Oye, belonging to the king of England. But the ſudden rains made the country ſo watry, that the marſhal was ſoon obliged to retire with his army. Indeed the inhabitants were great ſufferers, becauſe the garriſon of Calais, which ſhould have protected them, was unable to reſiſt ſo numerous forces. On the other hand, Briſſac, afterwards marſhal of France, defeated a body of two thouſand Engliſh. Theſe were all the damages Henry ſuſtained during the campaign, from an army of above two hundred thouſand men, which had put his enemy to a prodigious expence. In all likelihood, this expence, and the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, contributed moſt to the peace which was ſoon after concluded.

Beſides that France was exhauſted, Francis had ſtill another motive to make peace with England. He was apprehenſive of being ſoon compelled to renew the war with the emperor. By the treaty of Crepi, it was agreed that the duke of Orleans ſhould marry one of the daughters, either of the emperor or of the king of the Romans, and on account of the marriage, ſhould have the duchy of Milan, or the earldom of Flanders. In conſideration of ſo advantageous a ſettlement for the duke his ſon, Francis had reſigned above twenty places, which he held in Piedmont or Montferrat, and relinquiſhed the intereſts of his brother-in-law the king of Navarre. So the hopes of the advantages this marriage was to procure vaniſhing by the death of his ſon, Francis was to find ſome other way to obtain them, or break a treaty now become uſeleſs. For this reaſon, being deſirous to know the emperor's intentions, he ſent admiral Annebaut to Antwerp, to offer him to renew the treaty of peace upon other conditions, ſince the death of the duke of Orleans had rendered thoſe of the treaty of Crepi of no effect. But the emperor plainly intimated, that by the death of that prince, he believed himſelf freed from his engagement; when he told the embaſſador, he would not attack the king of France, if he was not firſt attacked. Francis eaſily judged by this anſwer, he ſhould infallibly have a war with the emperor. This, added to the little progreſs he had made during the laſt campaign, made him deſirous of a peace with England. But as he was unwilling to ſue for it, he applied to the princes of the Smalcaldick league, who offered to become mediators. This mediation ſeemed the leſs precarious, as the proteſtants themſelves were highly concerned to procure a peace between the two kings. They ſaw themſelves upon the brink of being attacked by the emperor, ſince he had made peace with France, and knew moreover he was negotiating a truce with the Turks. Nothing therefore could be more for their advantage, than a good underſtanding between France and England, that both kings might be able to protect them. They ſent therefore to France, Chriſtopher de Veninger, John Bruno of Nidepont, and John Sturmius; and to England, Lewis Bambach, and John Sleidan, to perform the office of mediators between the two kings, in the name of the league. Theſe embaſſadors meeting the plenipotentiaries of France and England between Ardres and Guiſnes[p], preſently found it was not eaſy to make peace. Francis inſiſted that Henry ſhould reſtore Boulogne, and Scotland be included in the peace. But Henry abſolutely rejected both theſe articles. Whereupon a truce only was negotiated, but with no better ſucceſs, becauſe Henry would never agree that the Scots ſhould be compriſed in the treaty. This appears in the ſecret inſtructions ſent to ſir William Paget, one of the Engliſh embaſſadors [q], and inſerted in the Collection of the Public Acts. We find alſo in his inſtructions, that ſir William Paget attempted to bribe Bruno, one of the German mediators, with the offer of a conſiderable penſion, and in all appearance, the mediator hearkened to his propoſals. Mean while, to obtain the better terms, Henry feigned a deſire to be reconciled with the emperor, and even ſent in embaſſy to him the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter. But this was only to give a jealouſy to Francis.

Cranmer took the advantage of Gardiner's abſence to advance the reformation, which he knew that prelate would oppoſe with all his power. Some vacant biſhoprics were, by his means, given to perſons who favoured the reformation, and he had thereby among the biſhops a much ſtronger party than ever [r]. Nay, he found means afterwards to obtain the king's conſent to ſome alterations advantageous to religion. But Gardiner, who was then at Bruges with the emperor, having notice of it, ſent the king word, that the pope and the emperor being joined in a league againſt the proteſtants of Germany, the leaſt innovation in England, with reſpect to religion, would be apt to induce them to give the king of France all the ſatisfaction he could deſire, to engage him in their league, in order to act altogether againſt him. This cauſed Cranmer to find more difficulty than he expected.

In Auguſt this year Cranmer loſt a good ſupport by the death of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who had always continued in the height of favour [s]. He was Cranmer's friend, and would have willingly agreed to a farther reformation. But he was too much a courtier to attempt directly to oppoſe the king's will. However, as Henry was not always in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to religion, this lord did the reformed good ſervice, when he ſaw the king in a favourable ſituation.

The war with Scotland was faintly continued on both ſides. Henry's deſign was only to terrify the Scots, and induce them to execute the treaty concerning their queen's marriage. On the other hand, the Scots had no thoughts of invading England. Nevertheleſs Francis, who, as was obſerved, had formed vaſt projects againſt England, ſent betimes to the regent an embaſſador, called la Broſſe, to aſſure him of his protection, and a powerful aid, which was inſtantly to depart. Beſides that a diverſion in Scotland could not but be advantageous to him, he was alſo excited by the Lorrain princes, who were deſirous to ſupport the queen their ſiſter. So cauſing the Seigneur de Lorge, count of Mongommeri, to embark with five thouſand men, he ordered him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Scots to make a powerful diverſion on the frontiers of England. Mongommeri arriving in Scotland the 2d of July, joined his troops with the Scots, and both making together fifteen thouſand men, advanced towards the Tweed. For ſome days ſeveral parties paſſed the river, and did ſome da-

[p] In November. Herbert. p. 251.

[q] The other embaſſadors were Cuthbert, biſhop of Durham, and Dr. Tregonel. Hall, fol. 260.

[r] Lee, archbiſhop of York, dying, Robert Holgate, biſhop of Landaff, was promoted to that ſee, Kitchen being made biſhop of Landaff, who turned with every change. Heath was tranſlated from Roche ſter to Worceſter, and Henry Holbech was made biſhop of Roche ſter. Day, a moderate man, upon Sampſon's tranſlation to Litchfield and Coventry, was made biſhop of Chiche ſter. Burnet, tom. I. p. 333.

[s] He died Auguſt 24, and lies buried in St. George's chapel at Windſor, by the door of the choir near the place where Henry VI. is interred. He had four wives. His third was Mary, daughter of Henry VII. and widow of Lewis XII. of France. He had a ſon by her, who died before him, and two daughters. His two other ſons, by his laſt wife, died without iſſue, 5 Edward VI. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 300.

mage to the Engliſh. But the French general could never perſuade the Scots to venture with the whole army beyond the Tweed. On the contrary, upon the news that the earl of Hertford was advancing at the head of twelve thouſand men, they haſtily retired, and preſently after diſbanded as uſual. This is all that paſſed in Scotland worth notice during the campain of 1545.

The parliament of England meeting the 23d of November, the convocation continued for two years the ſubſidy given the king for ſix ſhillings in the pound. At the ſame time the parliament ſuppreſſed, by an act, all the colleges and hoſpitals, and gave their lands to the king. The motive, or rather pretence of this ſuppreſſion was, the abuſe of theſe foundations. The parliament deſigned it alſo towards the expenee of the king's wars with France and Scotland. But this not ſufficing, the commons granted him moreover a large ſum [t], and as they were aſſembled only for that purpoſe, they were diſmiſſed the 24th of December. Before the ſeſſion ended, the king came to the houſe of lords in great ſolemnity, and made a fine ſpeech; ſaying, among other things, that never had prince a greater affection for his people, or was more beloved than himſelf. He added many ſuch expreſſions, which, though very far for the moſt part from the truth, were however received by the people with loud acclamations [u].

During this year, the German proteſtants began to feel the effects of the emperor's late peace with France, and of the truce he was going to conclude with the Turk. Hitherto they had been uſed a little gently. But the emperor, coming to Worms, where the diet of the empire was held, plainly declared to them, he could not any way diſpenſe with their ſubmitting to the council which was to meet at Trent. This convinced them there was in reality a deſign to reduce them by force, and the more, as a certain rumour was ſpread of a league between the pope and the emperor, which could not but be againſt them. Their ſuſpicions were farther confirmed by a ſermon preached by a certain Franciſcan before the emperor, to whom he repreſented in very ſtrong terms that he could not diſcharge the duty of a good emperor, unleſs he laboured to the utmoſt of his power to extirpate the Lutherans. They knew alſo the emperor had written to the king of Poland to excite him againſt them. Moreover, he ſummoned the archbiſhop of Cologne to appear before him within thirty days, becauſe he had embraced the reformation, and tried to introduce it into his dioceſe. All this ſhewed plainly what they were to expect. Nevertheleſs, as the emperor had not yet concluded the truce with the Turk, and as his affairs were not quite ready, he ordered that a new diet ſhould be held at Ratiſbon the following January. But, the better to amuſe the proteſtants, he decreed that the divines of both parties ſhould come to Ratiſbon a month before the diet, and hold a free conference, that ſomething might be afterwards ſettled in matters of religion. The Roman catholics did not like the conference, and the proteſtants were ſtill leſs pleaſed with it, becauſe they foreſaw that the ſtiffneſs of the divines of both ſides, on the points which would be the ſubjects of their conference, would give the emperor and the diet a pretence to refer the deciſion to the council of Trent. The diet breaking up the 18th of Auguſt, the emperor returned to the Low Countries. Some time after, he received advice that the truce with the Turks was concluded. He then ſaw himſelf at full liberty to make war upon the proteſtants, and, under that pretence, to ſet about the execution of his project to become maſter of the empire.

It was properly at the inſtance of the proteſtants only, that the council was to meet: but it was very far from being ſuch a council as they had required. They expected it to be held in Germany, in an unſuſpected place; and it was convened at Trent, a city belonging to the king of the Romans, whom they juſtly conſidered as their enemy. Their deſign was to combat the papal authority, and it was the pope who was to preſide by his legates. They intended to ſhew that the Romiſh clergy had corrupted religion, both in doctrine and diſcipline, and it was the Romiſh clergy who were to aſſiſt as judges. Nay, it was uncertain whether they ſhould be allowed to produce their reaſons. Mean while, it was pretended, that, out of great condeſcenſion, a council was called for their ſakes, and at their ſolicitation. It is therefore no wonder they ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to ſuch a council, which they as much feared, as they deſired one free and impartial. So the emperor and the proteſtants acted directly contrary to their firſt proceedings. The proteſtants rejected a council, after deſiring it with great earneſtneſs, and the emperor, after amuſing them many years on that account, preſſed with all his power the meeting of the council of Trent, the authority whereof he intended to make uſe of to oppreſs them. The pope would have been glad to have had no council at all, but, finding he was too far engaged with the emperor to recede, had fixed the opening to the 15th of March. After that, he put it off, becauſe on that day there were too few biſhops at Trent. But he had a much ſtronger reaſon. He was very glad to wait the event of the diet of Worms, in hopes that vigorous reſolutions would be taken there againſt the proteſtants, which would engage both parties in an open war, and furniſh him with a pretence, either to delay the opening of the council, or to remove it to ſome town in Italy. But the emperor, who had now formed his plan of making uſe of the council's authority to proceed againſt the proteſtants, cauſed the pope at laſt to order it to be opened at Trent the 13th of December. That day the legates (meeting in the cathedral) declared, the council was aſſembled for three cauſes; to deſtroy hereſy, to reform diſcipline, and to ſettle a laſting peace between chriſtian princes. This firſt ſeſſion was properly held only for the opening of the council. There were ſo few prelates at Trent, that it would have been ridiculous for ſo ſmall a number of perſons to pretend to make decrees upon the articles for which the council was called.

The proteſtants, ſeeing a council opened quite different from what they had required, eaſily perceived no good was to be expected from it. They had the more reaſon to fear it, as the kings of France and England being at war with each other, there was no hopes of aſſiſtance from them. Mean while, though the German mediators had not ſucceeded in their negotiation, the peace between France and England was not more remote. The reaſon was, both kings were equally concerned to end a war, which only did them damage, without a poſſibility for either to expect any conſiderable advantage. The war continued, however, during the winter of the year 1546. The earl of Surrey, ſon of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded at Boulogne, having intelligence that the French were conducting a convoy to the fort of Outreau, ſallied out [w] with part of the garriſon to intercept it. But he ſucceeded ſo ill, that, inſtead of taking the convoy, he was himſelf defeated, and forced to retreat in great diſorder. This news extremely troubled the king, who was not wont to receive the like. Whether he thought it owing to the earl's imprudence, or ſuſpected him of ſome hidden deſign, he recalled him immediately, and ſent the lord Gray to command in his room. A few days after, he ordered the earl of Hertford to depart, with about ten thouſand men, for fear the French ſhould ſeize ſome poſt, and cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais; and indeed that was their deſign. But the earl of Hertford, preventing them by two days only, poſted himſelf at Ambleville, where he run up two forts, which ſecured the communication. The French, having miſſed their aim, encamped on mount Lambert; and, as the two armies were not far from each other, there were ſkirmiſhes every day, but which decided nothing. It was equally the intereſt of both kings to run no hazard, for fear of breaking off the negotiation of the peace, which was treating between Ardres and Guiſnes.

Francis wiſhed for a peace, becauſe his exchequer was drained by his great and continual expence, from the beginning of his reign, and particularly by the naval armament of the former campaign. Beſides, as he was entering into a war with the emperor, he wanted ſuch a friend as the king of England. In fine, he perceived that, after his fruitleſs efforts to retake Boulogne, it would be very difficult to recover that place by force. Henry was no leſs deſirous of peace, for ſeveral reaſons. He was grown ſo fat and corpulent, that it was a trouble for him to move. Nay, he had occaſion for an engine, with pullies, to lift him up and down ſtairs. This made him extremely uneaſy, and gave him a diſtaſte for buſineſs, ſo that he attended to affairs with ſome reluctance. In the next place, he had no farther thoughts of making conqueſts in Picardy. His ſole aim was to procure what was due to him before Boulogne ſhould be reſtored, which was of little uſe to him, ſince Calais could ſerve all his purpoſes. But he had ſtill a more urgent motive to renew his old friendſhip with Francis. He ſaw the emperor,

[t] Four ſhillings in the pound of lands, and two ſhillings and eight-pence of goods, to be paid in two years. Hall, fol. 260.

[u] The moſt remarkable acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That the cuſtos rotulorum in each county ſhall be appointed by a bill, ſigned with the king's hand; and that the ſaid cuſtos ſhall appoint the clerk of the peace. 2. That no higher intereſt than ten pounds per cent. for a year, ſhall be paid. 3. An act for the payment of tithes in London. See Statut. 37 Hen. VIII.

[w] Jan. 7, ſir Thomas Poynings, with ſeveral others, were ſlain. Stow, p. 591.

The

with the pope's aſſiſtance, upon the point of making war on the proteſtants, and much queſtioned their ability to withſtand him. In this belief, he was afraid the emperor, after ſubduing Germany, would turn his arms againſt England, with all the forces of the empire, Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. He could uſe the pretence of executing the pope's ſentence, and even cauſe a like ſentence to be paſſed by the council of Trent. It was therefore not at all advantageous to Henry to be at war with France. It was rather his intereſt to have Francis's friendſhip, as it was alſo very advantageous to Francis to be ſecure of Henry's aſſiſtance, in caſe the emperor turned his arms againſt France.

The obſtacles to the concluſion of the peace conſiſted in Henry's demand of what was due to him, and in Francis's want of money to content him. Beſides, Francis inſiſted upon Boulogne and upon Scotland's being included in the treaty. Theſe difficulties would have been ſufficient to hinder the concluſion of the peace, if more urgent motives had not induced the two kings to ſeek expedients to ſurmount them. Henry conſented at laſt to the article concerning Scotland, and, as to the reſt, a way was found to ſatisfy both. Henry was to keep Boulogne till he was paid, and Francis promiſed to diſcharge the debt in eight years. Every thing being thus ſettled, the peace was ſigned the 7th of June [x]. The treaty ran:

That the king of France ſhould pay regularly the penſion due by the treaty of More, of the 30th of Auguſt 1525, confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent treaties. As alſo the penſion of ſalt, contained in a treaty of the 25th of April 1527, valued afterwards at ten thouſand crowns a year. But, as Henry pretends, the ſaid penſion given in lieu of the ſalt is to be perpetual; and as Francis maintains, on the contrary, that it is to ceaſe at Henry's death, it is agreed that the diſpute ſhall be amicably decided by umpires; and if the penſion ſhall be found to be perpetual, Francis ſhall pay it to Henry and his ſucceſſors for ever.

Moreover Francis ſhall pay to the king of England, on the feaſt of St. Michael 1554, or within a fortnight after, the ſum of two millions of crowns de ſoliel, as well for the arrears of the penſion of the ten thouſand crowns, as for Henry's expence in the ſiege of Boulogne, undertaken ſolely to procure his money, and in keeping and maintaining that place.

As to the article of the five hundred thouſand crowns, which Henry preſented to Francis on condition he punctually obſerved the treaties, as the two kings differ in point of fact, it is agreed the diſpute ſhall be decided by commiſſioners appointed on both ſides within ſuch a time, or by four impartial lawyers, in caſe the commiſſioners end not the affair.

It is further agreed, that the king of England ſhall keep Boulogne with its territories, the limits whereof are ſettled by the treaty, till he receive whatever is due to him.

That when all the ſums ſhall be paid, Boulogne ſhall be reſtored to the king of France, and nothing that is faſtened to the ground ſhall be impaired or carried away.

That from the date hereof to the ſurrender of Boulogne, neither of the two princes ſhall raiſe any fort or new fortification within the territory of Boulogne, but thoſe already begun may be finiſhed.

The emperor was included by both parties in the peace. As for Scotland, Henry agreed, it ſhould be included, on condition the Scots gave him no freſh cauſe to make war upon them; and in caſe they did, they were to be deemed included no otherwiſe than according to the treaty of the 5th of April 1515.

Henry could hardly expect greater advantages than thoſe he received from this peace; which ſeemed to ſecure him not only the payment of what was due to him, but alſo the yearly and perpetual penſion of a hundred thouſand crowns. But the moſt ſolemn treaties are not always ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of what ſovereigns promiſe. It will appear in the following reigns, that Francis's ſucceſſor not only broke the treaty with reſpect to Boulogne, and the ſums for which his father was bound, but that even the penſion was never charged in the treaties he made with England.

The peace was very ſolemnly proclaimed at London the 13th of June, with a general proceſſion, wherein were carried all the richeſt ſilver croſſes, and the fineſt copes worn, for the greater pomp. But this was the laſt time theſe things appeared in public. Shortly after, Henry called them in, together with the church plate, into his treaſury and wardrobe, without giving any other reaſon than his will and pleaſure.

It is ſaid, the late war with France coſt Henry five hundred eighty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen pounds ſterling; and the charges of keeping Boulogne eight years amounted to ſeven hundred fifty-five thouſand eight hundred thirty-three pounds. So large a ſum, which was, not to be repaid under eight years, had conſumed whatever had been granted by the parliament, and received from the chapels, colleges and hoſpitals. So he was forced, in the beginning of the year, to lay a tax upon his ſubjects, under the name of Benevolence [y], as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts.

The peace reſtored between the two kings the good underſtanding which had been interrupted ſome years, rather by the artifices of the emperor and his party in England, than for any juſt cauſe. Catherine de Medici, dauphineſs of France, being at this time delivered of a princeſs, and Henry deſiring to ſtand godfather [z], he called her Elizabeth. Preſently after the two kings ſent embaſſadors to each other to receive the oaths concerning the peace, and choſe for theſe embaſſies their two high admirals [a]. It is ſaid, that whilſt admiral Annebaut was at London, he began a negotiation about religion, and that the two kings intended to aboliſh the maſs in their dominions [b]. As for Henry, very likely, if he had lived, he would have advanced the reformation: nay, it is certain, that on account of this negotiation, he ordered Cranmer to ſet down in writing how ſuch a change might be effected, and to ſtrengthen all with arguments and paſſages from the ſcriptures. But this project ſoon vaniſhed into ſmoke. Probably Francis had entered into the negotiation only becauſe he deſired to be in ſtrict union with Henry, and knew by experience that the bare propoſal of conforming himſelf to his ſentiments in point of religion, was a moſt effectual way to ſucceed. But it is not likely he really intended to admit of any reformation in his kingdom. And indeed, at this very time he was kindling the flames of perſecution all over France againſt the reformed, of whom fourteen this year were burnt at Meaux, and many others at Paris, and in other places; not to mention the maſſacre of Cabrieres and Marindol, for which none were puniſhed. The cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon, his chief miniſters, were too much incenſed againſt the proteſtants, for any man to believe, that ſo long as they were in favour, the king ever ſeriouſly thought of aboliſhing the maſs in France.

Before the peace between England and France was ſigned, the proteſtant princes of Germany ſeeing themſelves going to be attacked by the emperor, who had at laſt taken off the maſk, ſince his peace with France, and truce with the Turks, ſent to Henry prince Philip, brother [c] to the elector palatine, to deſire aſſiſtance. It appears in the king's letter to this prince, extant in the Collection of the Public Acts, that Henry had ſent to deſire him to come, and the lord Herbert aſſures, that Philip aimed at marrying the princeſs Mary. However, the king anſwered his demand of aid by ſeven propoſitions, containing the terms on which he was willing to enter into a defenſive league with the proteſtants. But as his propoſitions tended only to render him head and ſole director of the league, they did not think proper to put themſelves blindly into his hands. They only told him, if he would depoſit, ſomewhere in Germany, a hundred thouſand crowns to ſerve for the defence of the league, they would prefer his alliance to that of Francis. But finding they offered no advantage for himſelf, he had no ſuch zeal for the Augſburg confeſſion, (from which he was yet very remote) as to engage in its protection without reaping any benefit. The truth is, the proteſtants were perſuaded he had no deſire to be really united with them, but intended only to encourage them for fear they ſhould ſubmit to the emperor, as alſo to hinder them from putting themſelves under the French king's protection, with whom he had not yet made peace. For the ſame reaſon it was, that under colour of continuing the negotiation, he kept the count palatine at his court, till he ſaw the peace with France was near a concluſion.

[x] The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were John Dudley, viſcount Liſle, baron Malpas and Summery; ſir William Paget, the king's ſecretary; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 93.

[y] This Benevolence amounted to ſeventy thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-three pounds. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 390.

[z] Sir Thomas Cheiny, treaſurer of the houſhold, and warden of the cinque ports, ſtood as king Henry's proxy. Hollingſh. p. 973.

[a] The Engliſh admiral, John lord Liſle, was accompanied by Cuthbert biſhop of Durham, and ſeveral other lords. The French embaſſador landed at Greenwich, Auguſt 19. Hall, fol. 262.

[b] The maſs was changed into a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw a form of it. Fox. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

[c] Lord Herbert ſays, nephew.

Some

It was now ſome time ſince the pope and emperor had formed the project of a league againſt the proteſtants of Germany. They had agreed upon all the articles, but the emperor had thought proper to defer the ſigning, that he might ſay he did it merely in his own defence. At laſt, about the middle of June, he ſent the cardinal of Trent to Rome, where the league was ſigned the 26th of the ſame month. The pope promiſed to find for ſix months twelve thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and two hundred thouſand crowns, for the war in Germany. Moreover, he gave the emperor a moiety of one year's revenue of the benefices in Spain, with power to alienate a hundred thouſand crownsworth of church lands. This was a demonſtration that it was a religious war, though the emperor affected to publiſh the contrary.

The emperor having notice that the pope's troops were beginning to march, that the count de Bure had forwarded his levies in the Low Countries, and duke Maurice of Saxony, whom he had engaged in his party, was ready to act when there ſhould be occaſion, aſſembled his army about Ratiſbon. His deſign was to meet the pope's troops, who were croſſing Tirol, under the conduct of Octaviano Farneſe. At the ſame time, to hinder this junction, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe marched the ſame way with an army of forty thouſand men. Without entering into the particulars of this firſt campaign, I ſhall only ſay, in general, that the proteſtants, though ſuperior in number, could not hinder the junction of the Italian troops, nor of thoſe of the Low Countries, with the emperor. The different tempers of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, did not a little contribute towards their taking wrong meaſures. In ſhort, the campaign laſting till November, without either of the two armies deſiring to engage, the elector of Saxony received the ill news that the king of the Romans and duke Maurice were deſtroying his country with fire and ſword. This obliging him to march with part of his army to the relief of his ſubjects, the landgrave, grown too week by this ſeparation, choſe likewiſe to retire into his dominions. Thus the emperor, meeting with no more oppoſition, took Francfort, Ulm, and ſeveral other towns belonging to the league, which furniſhed him with the money he wanted for the maintenance of his army.

Whilſt the war was carrying on in Germany, the council languiſhed at Trent, and proceeded very ſlowly. Beſides that the members were very few, they were wholly dependent on the legates, who durſt not themſelves undertake any thing without orders from Rome. But it was the pope's intereſt to prolong matters, becauſe he hoped, time would procure him at laſt ſome occaſion to diſſolve the council, or remove it to Italy. Thus the council was but an empty name, made uſe of by the pope and the emperor for their own private views, and to caſt a miſt before the eyes of the public.

Religion began alſo to cauſe troubles in Scotland, or at leaſt to produce the ſeeds thereof, by the deſpair to which thoſe that embraced the reformation were driven. Since cardinal Beaton and the earl of Arran had enjoyed the peace procured them by the king of France, they thought only of being revenged on their enemies. Religion furniſhed them with a pretence, becauſe the oppoſite faction almoſt wholly conſiſted of the reformed. In the courſe of this year, 1546, they put to death ſeveral perſons for religion, at Perth, St. Andrew's, and other places[d]. The regent ſuffered himſelf to be ſo led by the cardinal, that he gloried in delivering to the flames thoſe whom he had formerly conſidered as his brethren. Among thoſe who were ſacrificed to the furious paſſion of the cardinal, a miniſter[e], who ſuffered martyrdom at St. Andrew's, was particularly remarkable. This man being condemned to the fire, the regent, at the inſtance of one of his friends, would have ſaved his life, and to that end ſent a note to the cardinal, deſiring him to ſuſpend the execution. But the barbarous prelate, without regarding the regent's requeſt, not only cauſed the ſentence to be executed, but would alſo feed his eyes with the ſad ſpectacle, ſitting in ſtate in a great window of his caſtle. It is ſaid, that, before he was delivered to the flames, the miniſter told the executioner, "That, within few days, the prelate, who beheld him with ſuch pride from yonder high place, ſhould lie in the ſame, as ignominiouſly as now he was ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf." This prediction proved but too true for the cardinal. Preſently after, he was murdered in his own palace, and his body thrown into the ſtreet, out of the very window from whence he looked on, whilſt the miniſter was burning.

As for England, religion was ſtill upon the ſame foot as the king had been pleaſed to eſtabliſh it. The reformation had made ſome progreſs, but was far from being brought to perfection, and yet the reformed could not forbear hoping the king himſelf would carry it much farther. In this belief, they thought it prudent not to provoke him, and that they effectually conſulted the welfare of their religion, by remaining in ſilence, and waiting for better times. This is the true reaſon why there were fewer perſons that ſuffered for religion in England than in France. It is not to be queſtioned, that if there had not been hopes of a farther reformation, many people would have openly declared the opinions which theſe hopes induced them to conceal. For a like reaſon, thoſe who retained all the tenets of the old religion durſt not directly oppoſe the king, for fear their oppoſition ſhould carry him beyond the bounds he ſeemed to have preſcribed to himſelf. From hence ſprung a blind and univerſal compliance with the king's will, and the exceſſive power he had acquired over all his ſubjects, of which he made a very ill uſe. He had been troubled for ſome time with an old ſore in his leg, which was grown very painful. This, added to his great corpulency, which rendered him almoſt unable to ſtir, made him ſo froward and untractable, that none approached him without trembling. He had been always ſtern and ſevere, but was incomparably more ſo towards the end of his days than in the beginning. Flattery had ſo corrupted his judgment and ſenſe, that he deemed it an unpardonable crime to contradict his opinions, though he changed them himſelf very frequently. I have obſerved, that he treated with admiral Annebaut of aboliſhing the maſs, and changing it into a communion, after the manner of the proteſtants. And yet, ſhortly after, Shaxton, who had reſigned the biſhopric of Saliſbury, and been long a priſoner for refuſing to conform to the ſix articles, being accuſed afreſh of denying the real preſence in the ſacrament[f], the king was pleaſed to have him tried according to the rigour of the law, and he was condemned to be burnt. But this man, who had endured the hardſhips of a long impriſonment, could not behold with the ſame firmneſs the puniſhment prepared for him. The king having ſent the biſhops of London and Worceſter to perſuade him to recant, he was prevailed upon, and, abjuring his pretended hereſy, the king granted him his pardon. He became afterwards a cruel perſecutor of the reformed.

This example was not capable of moving Anne Aſkew, who was accuſed of the ſame crime, and rigorouſly proſecuted, though ſhe had good friends at court, where ſhe was well known[g]. She firmly perſiſted, notwithſtanding all the promiſes to ſave her life in caſe ſhe would recant[h]. Some court ladies, touched with compaſſion for her, having ſent her ſome money when in priſon, for her ſubſiſtence, were the occaſion of her being more cruelly tormented[i]. Chancellor Wriotheſly, great enemy to the earl of Hertford, hoping to draw ſomething out of the priſoner againſt that lord or his counteſs, cauſed her to be racked. Nay, it is ſaid, he would be preſent himſelf, and, obſerving the executioner was moved with pity to the priſoner, threw off his gown, and taking upon him the honourable office, drew the rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her aſunder. But this is a fact that ſcarce ſeems credible. However, the woman's bones being put out of joint, ſhe was carried in a chair to the place of execution, and burnt, with four men condemned for the ſame crime[k].

[d] Some of the Scotiſh prieſts were ſo ignorant, that they maintained, the New Teſtament was lately written by Martin Luther, and therefore they deſired only the old. Buchanan, l. 15.

[e] The author means Mr. George Wiſhart, deſcended of a noble family, who finiſhed his ſtudies in the univerſity of Cambridge, and returned to Scotland in 1544. See the ſtory of his death in Burnet, vol. I. p. 333. Buchanan, l. 15.

[f] His words were, That Chriſt's natural body was not in the ſacrament, but that it was a ſign and memorial of his body that was crucified. Burnet, tom. I. p. 340.

[g] She was nobly deſcended (being ſiſter of ſir Francis Aſkew, or Aſcough, of Lincolnſhire) and educated beyond what is uſual in that age to thoſe of her ſex. But ſhe was unfortunately married to one Kyme, who being a violent papiſt, drove her out of his houſe, when he found ſhe favoured the reformation. Burnet, tom. I. p. 341.

[h] Upon her examination, being aſked by the lord mayor of London, whether the prieſts cannot make the body of Chriſt? ſhe wittily replied, I have read that God made man, but that man can make God, I never yet read. Strype's Mem. tom. I. p. 387.

[i] Being aſked what favour or encouragement ſhe had from any in the court, ſhe would confeſs nothing, but that one in livery had brought her ſome money, which he ſaid came from two ladies in the court. This made the chancellor put her to the rack. She had been oft at court, and was much favoured by many great ladies there; and it was believed the queen had ſhewed kindneſs to her. Burnet, p. 341.

[k] John Laſcelles, a gentleman (probably the ſame that accuſed Catherine Howard) Nicholas Otterden, and —— Belenian, two prieſts, and John Adlam, a taylor. Hall, fol. 263. Strype, tom. I. p. 388.

Dr.

But, to add to their ſufferings, they were made to hear a ſermon, preached by Shaxton, their falſe brother, who upbraided them with obſtinacy in very ſevere and abuſive terms: all this was not capable of ſhaking their conſtancy, which endured to their laſt breath.

The enemies of the reformation ſeeing the king incenſed againſt the ſacramentarians, thought it a favourable opportunity to ruin the queen and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom they conſidered as the grand protectors of the reformed. Among the ſupporters of the old religion, the chief were, chancellor Wriotheſly, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey his ſon; Bonner, biſhop of London; Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; and theſe had, doubtleſs, among the courtiers and the king's ſervants, creatures who failed not to be ſerviceable on occaſion. But, whatever project they formed, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſtill in their way, who, having great influence over the king, commonly broke their meaſures. So, to be entirely freed from this formidable adverſary, they reſolved to complain of him openly to the king, and accuſe him of being the head and protector of the ſacramentarians, and of all in general who rejected the ſix articles. This reſolution was executed. The perſon who took upon him to ſpeak to the king, told him, there were evident proofs ready of what was alleged againſt Cranmer, and if he was ſent to the Tower, ſo many witneſſes would appear againſt him that the king would himſelf be ſurpriſed. Henry was not ignorant that Cranmer was againſt the ſix articles in his mind, ſince he had himſelf frankly owned it. But he really loved him, and therefore would not expoſe him to a trial which muſt have been fatal to him. Beſides, he took it very ill that ſuch pains were taken to deſtroy a man, for whom he had ſo often and ſo openly declared. However, reſolving to ſee how far the malice of his enemies would go, he conſented that he ſhould be the next day called before the council, and ſent to the Tower, if they ſaw cauſe. But in the night the king ſent for Cranmer, and telling him what had been reſolved, deſired to know how he meant to anſwer for himſelf. Cranmer thanked the king, and prayed him, that, ſince he was to be queſtioned for his religious opinions, judges might be aſſigned him who underſtood thoſe matters. The king replied, he went the wrong way to ſave his life, for moſt certainly his enemies had witneſſes ready to convict him in ſuch a manner, that the judges would be forced to condemn him; and therefore, ſince he took ſo little care of himſelf, he would look to it. So he ordered him to deſire the council to uſe him as a privy counſellor, and as they would expect to be uſed in the like caſe, that is, that his accuſers might be brought face to face before he was ſent to the Tower; and if his requeſt was not granted, he was to appeal to the king. At the ſame time he pulled off his ring, and, giving it to him, ſaid, if his appeal was rejected, he ſhould ſhew the council that token of his protection. Next morning, Cranmer, coming to the council door, was ſo long kept waiting in the lobby, that the king, hearing of this diſreſpect, ſent word that he ſhould be preſently brought in [l]. It happened as the king forſaw, ſo that Cranmer was forced at laſt to produce the king's ring, which terribly mortified his enemies. Then they all roſe up, and went and informed the king of what had paſſed, who told them, he thought he had a wiſer council than now he found they were, and, laying his hand on his breaſt, ſwore, that he took the archbiſhop to be the moſt faithful ſubject he had. The duke of Norfolk, willing to excuſe the council, ſaid, they meant the archbiſhop no harm, but only to vindicate his innocence by ſuch a trial as would have freed him from all aſperſions. But the king, looking ſternly at him, anſwered, "He would not ſuffer men who were ſo dear to him, to be thus handled with impunity. He knew the factions that were among them, and their malice to one another, which he would either extinguiſh or very ſpeedily puniſh." Then he commanded them all to be reconciled to the archbiſhop. They immediately obeyed, though it was but in outward appearance. But for Cranmer, he heartily forgave them, as he plainly ſhewed afterwards.

It ſeems, ſo great a mortification ſhould have made theſe men more cautious. But their extreme deſire to ſucceed in their plots would not ſuffer them to deſiſt with regard to the queen. They perceived, if the king had oppoſed their accuſation of Cranmer, it was not to hinder the execution of the law of the ſix articles, but from a pure motive of affection for that prelate. That therefore their proceedings could not have diſpleaſed him as to the thing, but only in reſpect of the perſon. This made them think they ſhould find it eaſier to deſtroy the queen, becauſe the king would never willingly ſuffer that his own wife ſhould differ from him in matters of religion. Catherine Parr, who was then on the throne, had gained the king's affection by her extraordinary care of him, and by giving him daily freſh marks of her gratitude. She was a reformer in her heart, and even ſometimes took the liberty to have ſermons preached in her privy chamber before ſome of her ladies. It came to the king's ears, but he took no notice of it. Nay, he ſuffered her to diſpute with him upon religion, imagining ſhe did it only for inſtruction. But at laſt theſe diſputes having been carried too far, he expreſſed his diſpleaſure at them, and even began to look more coldly upon the queen than formerly. This made her enemies think it a fair opportunity to work her ruin, whilſt, ignorant of their deſigns, ſhe was ſeeking occaſions to inſpire the king with favourable thoughts of the reformation.

The king firſt vented to Gardiner his diſpleaſure with the queen. He could not pitch upon a more partial man. Gardiner failed not to cheriſh the king's reſentment, by aggravating the queen's obſtinacy, and her pains to inſtil her notions into the ladies who ſerved her. The chancellor, who was alſo let into the ſecret, confirmed what Gardiner had ſaid, and hinted to the king, that the queen had encouraged Anne Aſkew in her obſtinacy, and even inſinuated that ſhe was plotting againſt the ſtate. In ſhort, they went ſo far, that articles were drawn up againſt her, and ſigned by the king. The chancellor putting up the paper careleſly in his pocket, it dropped from him, and the perſon that found it carried it to the queen, who, ſeeing the king's hand to ſuch a paper, concluded herſelf loſt. However, being adviſed by one of her friends to go to the king, and try to appeaſe him, ſhe came into his room with a ſettled countenance, as if ſhe knew nothing of what had paſſed. The king received her very kindly, and began to talk of religion. She anſwered, theſe things were above her, and ſhe ought to learn of him what ſhe was to believe. "Not ſo, by St. Mary (ſaid the king,) you are become a doctor and able to inſtruct us." The queen, feigning to be ſurpriſed at his manner of ſpeaking to her, anſwered very mildly, "She ſaw with grief he was offended at the freedom ſhe had ſometimes taken to diſpute with him in matters of religion, but ſhe had done it innocently, with the ſole view of diverting him, knowing what pleaſure he took in talking of thoſe things, which none underſtood better than himſelf; her chief aim had been, not only to make him forget his pain by ſuch ſort of diſcourſes, but alſo to receive inſtruction herſelf, and indeed ſhe had profited much; and if ſhe had ſtarted objections, it was only to give him occaſion to clear the difficulties, which were above a woman's underſtanding." And is it even ſo, ſaid the king, then we are friends again. So he embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant love to her [m]. On the morrow, which was the day appointed for carrying the queen to the Tower, the king, going to take the air in the garden, ſent for her, and preſently after came in the chancellor with forty of the guard. But the king ſtept aſide to him, and, after a little diſcourſe, was heard to call him in an angry tone, knave, fool, and beaſt. Then he came again to the queen, who ſeeing him in a paſſion with the chancellor endeavoured to appeaſe him. But the king told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him.

Theſe two attempts againſt the archbiſhop and the queen not only proved unſucceſsful but alſo very prejudicial to the enemies of the reformation. From thence forward the king could not endure them, being ſatisfied their chief aim was to overthrow whatever he had eſtabliſhed. Gardiner was turned out of favour immediately, and the king would not ſuffer him to be preſent in the council [n].

But a greater ſtorm fell on the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surrey. Henry, almoſt choaked with fat, and perceiving his leg viſibly to grow worſe, plainly ſaw he had not long to live. In this belief, he conſidered the duke

[l] Dr. Buts, the king's phyſician, who loved Cranmer, went and told the king what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen; the primate of all England waiting at the council door among the footmen and ſervants. Whereupon the king ſent to the board to have him brought in immediately. Burnet, tom. I. p. 343.

[m] Whether the king had really deſigned her ruin or not, is differently repreſented by the writers who lived next that time. Some, ſays the lord Herbert, believe it was not ſo much the king's intention to uſe the rigour of the law, as to deter her from reading forbidden books, p. 263.

[n] Lord Herbert ſays, though it appears, by Gardiner's ſubmiſſion, extant in our records, that not long after he fell into the king's diſpleaſure, yet, whether on this occaſion, or that he was a ſpecial friend to the duke of Norfolk (who was now alſo in diſgrace) or any other cauſe, is not there determined. However, the king excluded him out of the number of thoſe whom he appointed his executors and counſellors to his ſon Edward VI. Herbert, p. 263.

of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, as two lords who could greatly embroil the prince his ſon during his minority. The duke of Norfolk was the head of the favourers of the pope and the old religion, though, like a good courtier, he had outwardly complied with all the king's innovations. Henry was contented with this external compliance, though he knew he was ever attached to the pope, whoſe party was ſtill very powerful in England, and that his ſon, the earl of Surrey, was in the ſame ſentiments, This ſufficed to inſpire him with a juſt fear, that after his death theſe two lords, aſſiſted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would labour to ſet the crown on the head of the princeſs Mary, and ſo what he had been as ſuch pains to eſtabliſh during his reign would be entirely overthrown. And indeed he could not queſtion, if that party prevailed, they would deem his divorce with Catherine of Arragon null and void. In which caſe, Mary was his only lawful iſſue, and the prince his ſon a baſtard. He could hope for no remedy to this evil from the parliament, having learned by long experience, with how much eaſe that body, conſiſting of ſo many members, was carried away with the prevailing party. He thought therefore, the beſt and ſhorteſt way to prevent theſe miſchiefs, and free himſelf from his fears was, not to leave theſe two lords behind him, whom he believed capable of diſturbing his ſon's minority, and even of robbing him of the crown. For this ſole reaſon their ruin was reſolved, after which ſome pretence was to be found. And this is ſeldom wanting to thoſe who have the power in their hands. As ſoon as it was perceived, his affection for the father and ſon was grown cold, there were perſons ready to inſinuate, they had pernicious deſigns againſt the ſtate [o], and only waited his death to put them in execution; that the earl of Surrey had refuſed ſeveral good matches [p] ſince the loſs of his counteſs, and it was generally reported, he aſpired to the princeſs Mary: that it was not without ſome private reaſon he uſed the arms of St. Edward the confeſſor, though his father had taken them out of his eſcutcheon; but however, the duke himſelf had left that quarter blank, in order to reſume them at a proper ſeaſon. Upon theſe general accuſations, the king ordered them to be arreſted and ſent to the Tower [q]. After that, care was taken to let the public know that they who had any thing to ſay againſt the priſoners ſhould be graciouſly heard, and the king would pardon all perſons concerned in any plot with them, who would come and make a diſcovery [r].

Some time before this affair was begun, the king reſtored the two univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge to all their eſtates, rents, and privileges, though by the act of parliament which gave the lands of the colleges to the king, they were to be ſuppreſſed. It might be thought very ſtrange the parliament ſhould not diſtinguiſh the two univerſities from the reſt of the colleges, conſidering their antiquity, and the advantages the kingdom had thence received and daily did receive, if it had not been now frequently ſeen, that they had long acted ſolely by the direction of the court. It is probable, the king remained long doubtful, whether he ſhould diſſolve or preſerve the two univerſities, ſince having received their humble petitions the beginning of the year, he made them wait for his anſwer till October. Nay, it was talked at court for ſome time, of making great alterations in their charters. But at laſt, the king reſolved to continue them upon the ſame foot they had all along been. Shortly after, on the 19th of December, he founded Trinity college in Cambridge, which is one of the nobleſt foundations of that kind in Europe [s].

Mean while, diligent ſearch was making by the king's order, after every thing that could ſerve to form an impeachment againſt the duke of Norfolk and the earl his ſon, the king, who found himſelf near his end, being abſolutely bent they ſhould go out of the world before him. In this interval he ordered his will, made before his late expedition into France, to be brought him, and peruſing it, cauſed Gardiner's name to be ſtruck out of the number of the counſellors appointed for the council of ſtate during Edward's minority. Sir Anthony Brown, who was preſent, would have ſpoke in the biſhop's behalf [t]: But the king anſwered, he knew Gardiner, and though he himſelf could govern him, yet none of thoſe who were to come after him would be able to do it.

This will, extant in the Collection of the Public Acts, is dated December the 30th 1546, and the king's name is at the bottom, with thoſe of ten witneſſes. But it is hard to know for certain, whether it was ſigned with the king's own hand. This was afterwards queſtioned. Mr. Rymer, who collected the records, would have done well to have put the thing out of diſpute, and informed the world, whether he had the original in his hands, and if ſo, whether the king's name was his own hand writing. This he might have eaſily known, by comparing his name on the will with his uſual ſignings, of which doubtleſs he had ſeveral by him [u]. The importance of this enquiry conſiſts, in that the act of parliament, empowering the king to ſettle the ſucceſſion, ordered it ſhould be by letters patent, under the great ſeal, or by his laſt will, ſigned with his own hand. Now it happened afterwards, that the line of Scotland not being placed in the order which belonged to them, queſtioned the validity of the will, maintaining, that Henry had not ſigned it with his own hand-writing. Indeed it could be alleged, againſt this pretenſion, that, the will being dated a month before the king's death, there was no room to ſuppoſe Henry was then unable to ſign it. On the other hand, it is impoſſible, that, having ordered his will to be tranſcribed the 30th of December, he delayed to ſet his hand, and ſo was prevented by death. But there is moreover a ſtrong preſumption he did not ſign it with his own hand, namely, he was very probably unable to write ſeveral months before his death, doubtleſs, by reaſon his fingers were ſo ſwoln, that he could not hold his pen. This conjecture is confirmed by two papers in the Collection of the Public Acts, both prior to the will. The firſt is a power of the 31ſt of Auguſt 1546, given by Henry to three of his miniſters [w] to ſign, in his name, all the royal commiſſions and acts of grace. The ſecond is a like power of the 16th of October following, to ſome of his council to put the king's ſtamp to, and ſeal with his ſignet, all acts to which the king's hand was required [x]. The reaſon alleged for theſe powers was taken from the multiplicity of affairs, wherewith the king was overwhelmed; but, as he had never leſs than at that time, it is extremely probable, this was only a cloak to hide his indiſpoſition. However, as this diſpute, which concerned only the royal family of Scotland, was ended by the acceſſion of that family to the throne of England, it is now of no conſequence. And therefore it ſuffices to men-

[o] Their chief accuſers were ſome of their own family. The ducheſs, daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, had, for above four years, been parted from the duke her huſband; his daughter Mary, ducheſs of Richmond, was grown an extreme enemy of her brother. From theſe two ladies came the firſt information againſt thoſe unfortunate lords, as appears from lord Herbert, p. 263, 264.

[p] Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, had married Frances daughter of the earl of Oxford, by whom he had two ſons, Thomas and Henry, and three daughters. The duke of Norfolk would have allied himſelf to the Seymour family, by engaging his ſon to marry the earl of Hertford's daughter, which his ſon would not conſent to, and the ducheſs of Richmond, his daughter, to ſir Thomas Seymour. Ibid.

[q] December 12. Stow, p. 592.

[r] This year, in the latter end of March, the public ſtews, which had long been allowed by the ſtate, were ſuppreſſed. Stow, p. 591. They were a continued row of houſes along the Thames ſide in Southwark, eighteen in number, and diſtinguiſhed by ſigns. In the reign of Henry II. there were ſeveral regulations made concerning theſe houſes, to be ſeen in Stow's Survey of London, book IV. p. 7. Camden thinks they were called ſtews, from the fiſh ponds near them, for the fatting and cleanſing pike and tench. Camden in Surrey.——April 27, William Foxley fell aſleep, and could not be waked by any means, till he had ſlept fourteen days and fifteen nights. The king's phyſicians, as well as the king himſelf, examined him, but the cauſe of his ſleeping thus could not be known. He was potter to the mint in the Tower. When he awoke he thought he had ſlept but one night. He lived forty-one years after, till 1587. Stow, p. 591. Hollingſhead, p. 972.——Of much the ſame nature is what we find mentioned in Rymer's Fœd. There is, in vol. XIV. p. 447. a bull of Clement VII. for John Scot, a layman in the dioceſe of Glaſgow in Scotland, who lived a hundred and ſix days without food.——This year, on February 18, died the famous Martin Luther, aged ſixty three years. Sleidan, l. 16.——In Henry VIIIth's reign (though the particular time is not mentioned) was inſtituted the government of the preſident of the north: Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, was the firſt preſident.

[s] It was founded out of three others, St. Michael's college, built by Harvey of Stanton, in Edward's IId's days; King's hall, founded by Edward III. and Fiſhwicke, or Fyſycke hoſtel. King Henry founded it for a maſter, and ſixty fellows and ſcholars, but it has been ſince augmented by ſeveral benefactions. Camden in Cambr.——About the ſame time the king alſo founded Chriſt church hoſpital in London, and endowed it with five hundred marks. It was, before the ſuppreſſion, a convent of Franciſcans or grey friers, but the king beſtowed both the ground and buildings of the ſaid convent, as alſo the adjoining hoſpital of St. Bartholomew on the city, for the relief of the poor. Stow, p. 592.

[t] Thinking it was only an omiſſion. Burnet, tom. I. p. 349.

[u] Some gentlemen were deputed in queen Anne's reign, by perſons of the firſt rank in the kingdom, to go to the chapter-houſe of Weſtminſter abbey to ſearch for the original will among the records of the exchequer. They found one, conſiſting of ſeveral ſheets of ſoft courſe paper, tacked together with a braid of green and white ribband; the writing of a mean and ſlovenly character. The will was ſigned at the top of the firſt, and the end of the laſt page, with the king's hand writing, as pretended, but the character was fairer than ever he could make, and the hand ſtiff, like a counterfeit hand. Upon comparing his name on the will, with his ſtamp and his uſual hand writing, it agreed with neither. See Acta Regia, p. 348. vol. III.

[w] Sir Anthony Denny, John Gate, Eſq. and William Clerc, gent. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 101.

[x] There is the like order before, dated October 12, 1545. Ibid. p. 81.

Maitland,

tion wherein it conſiſted [y]. Here follows the manner wherein Henry ſettled the ſucceſſion, purſuant to the power given him by act of parliament in the year 1543.

I. Prince Edward and all his poſterity.

II. The children he might have by his preſent queen, or any other whom he ſhould marry after her.

III. The princeſs Mary, and her iſſue, provided ſhe married with the aſſent and conſent of the executors of his laſt will and teſtament, or of the major part of thoſe who ſhould then be alive, given under their hands and ſeals. This conſent of the executors, was a condition ſo annexed to the right he granted Mary to ſucceed in her turn, that without it his intent was, ſhe ſhould entirely forfeit her title to the crown.

IV. The princeſs Elizabeth upon the ſame condition with Mary.

V. Frances Brandon, eldeſt daughter of his ſiſter Mary and the duke of Suffolk.

VI. Eleanor Brandon, Frances' younger ſiſter.

If all theſe perſons ſhould happen to die without heirs, or their iſſue come to fail, it was the king's will, that the crown ſhould go to the next rightful heirs. By that he could mean only Mary, the young queen of Scotland, grand-daughter of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, who ought naturally to have preceded the children of the king's younger ſiſter Mary.

Laſtly, he added, that in caſe Mary performed not the condition required of her, the crown ſhould devolve to Elizabeth, as if Mary had died without heirs.

In like manner, if Elizabeth neglected to perform the ſame condition, his intent was that the crown ſhould go to Frances Brandon, as if Elizabeth had died without iſſue.

He appointed for executors of his laſt will thirteen lords, moſt of whom were privy counſellors: as the archbiſhop of Canterbury, chancellor Wriotheſly, the earl of Hertford, young Edward's uncle, &c. Theſe thirteen [z] executors were alſo nominated for the prince his ſucceſſor's privy council, till he was eighteen years of age. Moreover, he named certain perſons who were to be called to the council upon extraordinary occaſions.

He ordered his executors to pay firſt all his debts, and then to make good all his grants to ſeveral particular perſons.

He made the prince, his ſon, heir to all his goods, plate, jewels, money, cannons, ammunition, ſhips, with all things belonging thereto, and charged him to be guided by the advice of thoſe who were appointed for his privy counſellors, till he had attained to eighteen years of age.

He gave, till their marriage, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, a yearly penſion of three thouſand pounds ſterling, and to each a portion of ten thouſand pounds or more, if the executors thought proper.

He left his queen a legacy of three thouſand pounds, either in jewels or plate, as ſhe pleaſed, and a thouſand pounds in ready money beſides her dower.

Laſtly, he gave five hundred marks to each of his executors who were lords, and to the others three hundred each.

The moſt extraordinary thing in this will was, the king's paſſing over in ſilence the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret, or at leaſt his placing them after the line of his youngeſt ſiſter Mary. Beſides, the clauſe in his will, which ſaid that after the poſterity of Eleanor Brandon, the crown ſhould go to the next heir, muſt have been favourably explained for this firſt branch, ſince theſe general words were liable to ſundry interpretations. This was the effect of the power the parliament had given the king to ſettle the ſucceſſion, or rather to unſettle and put it in a horrible confuſion, if divine providence had not taken more care of it than he. It is not poſſible to deviſe any other reaſon of his proceedings than his hatred of the Scots, and his fear that the kingdom of England would one day fall under the dominion of a prince or princeſs of that nation; which however, all his precautions could not hinder.

[1547] Whilſt the king was ordering his will to be tranſcribed, the duke of Norfolk's and the earl of Surrey's proceſs was forming with great warmth. The king being reſolved to diſpatch theſe two lords, nothing was able to ſave them. The ſon was firſt brought to his trial at Guildhall [a], before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commiſſioners, and put upon an inqueſt of commoners, becauſe he was not a peer of the realm, the duke his father being alive. Several witneſſes were examined, whoſe depoſitions the lord Herbert has inſerted in his hiſtory. But there appears nothing ſufficient to convict him of high treaſon, of which he was accuſed. What was chiefly urged againſt him was his bearing St. Edward's arms, from whence it was inferred, he aſpired to the throne. However, the king being reſolved he ſhould die, he received ſentence of death, and was beheaded on Tower-hill the 19th of January [b].

Mean while the duke of Norfolk uſed all ſorts of means to obtain the king's pardon. He knew him well enough to be ſenſible, that nothing but an entire ſubmiſſion was capable of appeaſing him. To that end, he wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive letter, declaring he could not call to mind he had ever offended him, and entreated him for God's ſake to let him know the cauſe of his diſgrace. He prayed likewiſe that his accuſers might be brought face to face before his majeſty, or at leaſt his council, that his cauſe might be maturely examined. He knew not, he ſaid, that he had offended any man, otherwiſe than in appearing very zealous againſt the ſacramentarians. But therein he had only complied with his majeſty's ſentiments and orders. He concluded, with conjuring him to be ſatisfied with taking all or part of his lands and goods as he pleaſed, leaving him only a ſubſiſtence.

This letter produced a quite contrary effect to what the duke expected. By clearing himſelf, he accuſed the king of injuſtice; an offence which would not have been eaſily pardoned, though his deſtruction had not been reſolved. The duke, ſeeing the king unmoved, ſigned, the 12th of January, before the lord chancellor and ſeveral other privy counſellors, a writing, wherein he confeſſed, "That on ſeveral occaſions he had been guilty of high treaſon, in concealing from the king that his ſon the earl of Surrey bore the arms of St. Edward the confeſſor, which did only belong to the king: that himſelf had born the firſt quarter of his arms ever ſince his father's death, the arms of England, with the difference of the labels of ſilver, which were the proper arms of the king's eldeſt ſon, and of no other. That he owned this to be high treaſon by the laws of the realm; and that he ſigned this ſubmiſſion without compulſion or advice, and threw himſelf entirely upon the king's mercy."

Very probably the duke was induced of himſelf, or by the advice of his friends, to make this confeſſion, in the belief, he ſhould never obtain his pardon, unleſs he confeſſed himſelf guilty, that the king might have room to ſhew mercy. But it was all to no purpoſe. His ruin was reſolved, and the king was not wont to deſiſt from ſuch reſolutions when once they were taken. Mean while, as it was eaſy to ſee that the peers who were the duke's proper judges, could not condemn him upon the evidences which were to be produced againſt him, the king thought he ſhould more eaſily compaſs his ends by an act of attainder. So, the parliament meeting at this time, a bill of attainder was brought into the houſe of lords, and read three times, on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of January, and paſſed. In all likelihood the duke's con-

[y] Maitland, ſecretary to the queen of Scotland, accounted the ableſt man of his nation at that time, in a letter to ſir William Cecil, afterwards lord Burleigh, ſays, "the king neither ſigned the will, nor ordered the ſtamp to be put to it. He had been oft deſired to ſign it, but always put it off: but when he ſaw his death approaching, one William Clarke, ſervant to Thomas Henneage, put the ſtamp to it, and ſome gentlemen that were waiting without, were called in to ſign as witneſſes. For this he appealed to the depoſition of the lord Paget, and deſired the marquis of Wincheſter and Northampton, the earl of Pembroke, ſir William Petre, Doctor Buts, &c. might be examined, and their depoſitions entered in the chancery. He alſo appealed to the original will, by which it would appear, that it was not ſigned, but ſtamped only; and therefore, not being according to act of parliament, was of no force." See this letter in Burnet, vol. I. p. 349. and Collect. p. 267.

[z] There are ſixteen named in all, of whom there were only ſeven that were lords or biſhops; viz. the archbiſhop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Wriotheſly, earl of Hertford, young Edward's uncle; lord St. John, lord Ruſſel, viſcount Liſle, biſhop Tunſtal. The reſt were, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Edward Montague, juſtice Bromley, ſir Edward North, ſir William Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, ſir William Harbard, ſir Edward Wooton, and doctor Wooton, his brother.

[a] January 13. Herbert, p. 264.

[b] Henry Howard (eldeſt ſon of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham) died much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other noble qualities. His ſentence was generally condemned as an act of high injuſtice and ſeverity, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. Sir Richard Southwel depoſing, that he knew certain things of the earl, which touched his fidelity to the king: the earl vehemently affirmed himſelf a true man, and offered to fight in his ſhirt with his accuſer. As to the giving the arms of the confeſſor, he ſaid, he did it according to the opinion of the king's heralds. His ſiſter Mary, ducheſs of Richmond, being examined, confeſſed that the earl, her brother, ſhould ſay, theſe new men (meaning the Seymours) loved no nobility, and if God called away the king, they ſhould ſmart for it; with ſome other paſſionate words and circumſtantial ſpeeches, little for his advantage. He lies buried at Framlingham, in the county of Suffolk. Herb. p. 263, &c. Burnet, tom. I. p. 345, &c. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 275.

Which

feſſion under his own hand contributed very much to the paſſing of the bill. At leaſt it ſerved for an excuſe to thoſe who durſt not oppoſe it. The bill being ſent down to the commons was read thrice, and ſent up alſo paſſed, on the 24th of January. According to the method too frequently practiſed in this reign, it contained only general accuſations, without ſpecifying any thing, except the duke's bearing the arms of England, with three labels of ſilver. It was very ſtrange that his arms ſhould not have been taken notice of before, which he had born ſo long in the ſight of the king himſelf and the whole court, which he had received from his anceſtors, and for which he had the opinion of the heralds. The bill having paſſed in both houſes, the lord chancellor, the earl of Hertford, and ſome other lords, were commiſſioned under the great ſeal to give the royal aſſent [c]. After that, a warrant was ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to cut off the duke's head the 29th of January. But happily for him the king died the night before, and the council did not think it adviſable to begin the new reign with the execution of one of the greateſt lords of the kingdom. It is to be obſerved, that during all the proceedings, both of the court and the parliament, againſt the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey, the archbiſhop of Canterbury withdrew to Croydon, without ever appearing at court. As theſe two lords were juſtly deemed his moſt mortal enemies, he would not be accuſed of being concerned in what was tranſacting againſt them.

Whilſt theſe proceſſes were forming, the king was ſeized in his bed with an illneſs which brought him inſenſibly to his end. However, the conſideration of the account he was going to render to God, was not capable of moving him to uſe compaſſion towards two lords, of one of the moſt antient families in England, who had done him great ſervices, and hitherto were guilty of no crime which deſerved ſo ſevere a puniſhment. On this occaſion prevailed, as on many others, paſſion and policy in the king's mind, over juſtice and mercy. He was bent at any rate to ſacrifice theſe two lords to his ſon's ſafety, and to eſtabliſh, by their death, all the alterations he had made in religion, being perſuaded they would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to deſtroy them. The ſequel plainly ſhewed he was not miſtaken with regard to the duke of Norfolk, who ſurvived him. This lord's life, preſerved by a ſort of miracle, was a demonſtration how vain are human precautions, when contrary to the decrees of God.

The king's illneſs continually increaſed, and no man dared to warn him of his approaching end. Every one was afraid that a prince, who was always approached with trembling, would look upon this charitable warning as a crime, and puniſh it according to an act of parliament, by which thoſe who ſhould dare to foretel the king's death were adjudged traitors. But at laſt, ſir anthony Denny, one of his privy-counſellors, had the courage and charity to warn him that he had but a few hours to live. The king thanked him, and expreſſed his great grief aud horror for all the ſins of his paſt life. Whereupon Denny aſked him if any clergyman ſhould be ſent for; and he ſaid, if any, it ſhould be the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, being then at Croydon, could not come till the king was ſpeechleſs. He had but juſt time to deſire him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt. The king ſqueezed his hand, and preſently after expired, in the night between the 28th and 29th of January 1546-7, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, having reigned thirty-ſeven years and nine months. His death was kept private three days. Probably the council took time to conſult whether the duke of Norfolk ſhould be executed. At laſt, after three days, the lord chancellor ſignified to both houſes, that the king was dead, and the parliament thereby diſſolved [d].

[c] Which they did January 27. Journals Parl.

[d] The reader may ſee Henry's character drawn at length by the lord Herbert. But as his life and actions ſufficiently make him known, I ſhall only add what Biſhop Burnet ſays of him, at the end of his firſt volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. King Henry VIIIth is rather to be reckoned among the great than the good princes. He exerciſed ſo much ſeverity on men of both perſuaſions, that the writers of both ſides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his enemies have done to enlarge on his vices. I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the ill princes, yet I cannot rank him with the worſt. ——King Henry's body lies buried at Windſor, under a moſt ſtately tomb, begun in copper, and gilt, but not finiſhed. The reader may ſee the model of what it was intended to be, in Speed, p. 784.

By indentures of the 1ſt and 23d of Henry VIII. a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, was to be coined into twenty-ſeven pounds by tale; viz. into twenty-four ſovereigns at 22s. 6d. a piece, or forty-eight rials at 11s. 3d. a piece, or ſeventy-two angels at 7s. 6d. a piece, or eighty-one george nobles at 6s. 8d. a piece, or one hundred and forty-four half angels at 3s. 9d. a piece, or one hundred and ſixty-two forty penny pieces at 3s. 4d. a piece; and a pound weight of gold, of the fineneſs of twenty-two carats only, was to be coined into one hundred crowns and a half of the double roſe, or two hundred and one half crowns, making by tale twenty-five pounds two ſhillings and ſix-pence; and a pound weight of ſilver of the old ſterling, was coined into one hundred and thirty-five groats, or two hundred and ſeventy half groats, or five hundred and forty ſterlings (or pence) or one thouſand and eighty half pence, or two thouſand one hundred and ſixty farthings; ſo that every pound wt. of ſterling ſilver was coined into forty-five ſhillings by tale. In the 34th of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of twenty-three carats fine, and one carat allay, was coined into twenty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings by tale; by which indenture there were coined ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, half ſovereigns at 10s. angels at 8s. and quarter angels at 2s. a piece; and a pound weight of ſilver, of ten ounces fine, and two ounces allay, was coined into forty-eight ſhillings by tale, namely into teſtoons (which were 12d. a piece) groats, half groats, pence and half pence, and farthings.——In the 36th of Henry VIII. a pound weight of gold of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale; viz. into thirty ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, or fifty half ſovereigns at 10s. a piece, or one hundred and twenty crowns at 5s. a piece, or two hundred and forty half crowns: and the king had two carats of fine gold for coinage, which yielded him fifty ſhillings. Silver was coined by the ſame indenture, of ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, into forty-eight ſhillings by tale. It was coined into teſtoons, groats, half groats, pence, half pence, and farthings.——In the 37th of this reign, a pound weight of gold of twenty carats fine, and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, as in the laſt; and the king had four carats which yielded him five pounds two ſhillings; and a pound weight of ſilver, of four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, was coined into forty-eight ſhillings by tale, which raiſed the pound weight of fine gold to thirty-ſix pounds; and the pound weight of fine ſilver to ſeven pounds four ſhillings.

The gold coins of Henry VIII. are ſovereigns, rials, half ſovereigns, angels, george nobles, half and quarter angels, forty penny pieces, crowns, and half crowns; and the ſilver coins, teſtoons, groats, half groats, ſterlings, half pence, farthings; to which may be added crown pieces of ſilver, which were firſt coined by this king. Henry's ſovereign has on one ſide HENRIC. 8. D. G. AGL. FRANCIEZ HIB. REX. the king in his robes crowned upon his throne, with the ſceptre and ball. Reverſe, the arms of France and England quarterly, ſupported by a lion and a dragon, IHS. AVTE. TRANSIENS PER MED. ILLOR. IBAT. (fig. 5.) The angel of this king is like his father's; a half angel has this inſcription on the reverſe, CRUX, AVE. SPES. UNICA. The crown and half crown of gold, have on one ſide a large roſe and crown betwixt H. I. crowned, HENRIC. VIII. RVTILANS. ROSA SIN. SPINA. Reverſe, the arms of France and England quartered under a crown; and H. I. —DEI. G. R. ANGLIE Z. FRA. DNS. HIBERNIE (fig. 6.) As for the ſilver coins, there were two ſorts of teſtoons, or ſhillings; that of fine ſilver exhibits the king half faced, whereof one has CIVITAS EBORACI. The other ſhilling, called the broad-faced ſhilling, of a baſer allay, has on one ſide, HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Reverſe, POSVI, &c. a roſe crowned, with H. R. likewiſe crowned. (fig. 1.) The groat has his head with the ſide face, HENRIC. VIII. DI. GR. AGL. Z. FRANC. Reverſe, the arms, POSUI, &c. (fig. 3.) Another has HENRIC. VIII. DI. GRA. REX. ANGLIE. Reverſe, FRANCIE. ET. HIBERNIE REX. a crowned harp between the letters H. and R. crowned (fig. 7.) Some coined by cardinal Wolſey at York, have a cardinal's hat under the arms. His pence and half pence give him ſeated on a throne, with (and ſometimes without) the globe and ſceptre. H. D. G. ROSA SINE SPIA. (fig. 2.) The farthing has on one ſide a port-culice (whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from half pence, which it was not before) and a croſs and pellets on the other. (fig. 4.)

TWO

TWO

DISSERTATIONS.

I. Of Queen ANNE of BULLEN.
II. Of the BIRTH of EDWARD the SIXTH.

DISSERTATION I.

Of Queen ANNE of BULLEN [a].

THE life of this unfortunate lady is a remarkable inſtance of the great inſtability of human affairs. She had a ſufficient ſhare of proſperity and adverſity. She was ſeen one day at the top of fortune's wheel, and the next at the very bottom of it. She had been raiſed by king Henry to the higheſt pitch of glory, to the wearing of a crown, and ſitting upon the throne; and, by the ſame hand, was ſunk as low afterwards, deprived of her good name and reputation, and brought at laſt, like a malefactor, to the block. As her caſe has been very differently reported by ſome writers, and very hardly and unfairly repreſented by others, I ſhall examine it with all the candour and impartiality I can, and endeavour to clear up, and vindicate the character of that unhappy princeſs. A piece of juſtice which cannot fairly be denied to one who firſt occaſioned, and zealouſly promoted, the reformation of our church, and alſo gave life to an excellent princeſs, who became the glory of her ſex, the envy of her neighbours, the honour of her nation, which ſhe more than once delivered from ruin and deſtruction. But, before I enter into the merits of the cauſe, and conſider what was alleged againſt that queen, I beg leave to make a reflection or two upon the unhappy ſituation ſhe was in, when the ſtorm broke in ſo violently upon her. Firſt, though a ſudden elevation from a low eſtate to the higheſt pitch of power and greatneſs is generally apt to raiſe the envy of the world, and to create enemies, ſhe lay the more open and expoſed to theſe, as ſhe was thought to be the occaſion of the king's breaking with the pope, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, and the greateſt inſtrument and promoter of all the bold ſteps that were taken by that prince, which could not but render her very odious to a formidable party, the whole body of the Roman catholics, who, during her life, could never expect to ſee a reconciliation with the church of Rome, but might hope, after her death, to make up the quarrel, to heal the wound, and to cloſe up the breaches. But, ſecondly, what bore the hardeſt upon her, and indeed was the main occaſion of her ruin, was the paſſionate and violent temper of the king. No ſea, in a full ſtorm, was ever more boiſterous and tempeſtuous than he. Nothing could ſtem the tide of his rage and paſſion. He never ſtuck at any thing to gratify his luſt, and ſatisfy his deſires. He was then tired and ſurfeited with the queen, and reſolved to marry Anne Seymour, whom he had been in love with before, ſo muſt be ſure to get rid of his wife. Lord Herbert, and Rapin after him, impute his ſeverity to a fit of jealouſy; but, with ſubmiſſion, it is giving it too good a name. It was downright diſguiſe and ſurfeit, and a violent paſſion for another woman. Jealouſy (as is truly obſerved) is never without ſome mixture of love, but that Henry had not the leaſt grain of that left, plainly appeared by his haſty, precipitate, and indecent marriage with Anne Seymour, the very day queen Anne loſt her head upon the block. He had found a great deal of trouble and difficulty in breaking through his firſt marriage with queen Catherine, and was now reſolved to make quicker work of it, and to cut a knot he could not eaſily untie. It is true, that, in order to ſave appearances, he got a kind of divorce to paſs under the pretence of a contract and pre-engagement on the queen's ſide, and prevailed with the biſhops (who ſhamefully complied with every thing he required) to favour that abſurdity. I call it an abſurdity, becauſe it was ruining, and in effect deſtroying, all that had been done before. For if there had been, as was trumped up, a pre-contract between her and lord Piercy (though, by the way, he ſwore by his ſalvation, and upon the ſacrament, that it was entirely falſe) if I ſay there had been ſuch a contract, then her marriage with the king was actually null and void, the proceedings againſt it of courſe muſt be ſo too, and ſhe could not without the utmoſt injuſtice be puniſhed for adultery. I now come to examine the charge that was brought againſt her. And here, to clear my way, I ſhall remove, like ſo much dirt and rubbiſh, the evidence, or, to ſpeak more properly, the invectives of the jeſuit Sanders. He is a writer of ſo low and profligate a character for veracity, that he is given up by thoſe of his own communion, who are not a little aſhamed, and out of countenance at his heat, forgeries, and falſehoods. He does not think it enough to revile and aſperſe the character of this princeſs, but makes a monſter of her perſon. He ſaith, ſhe was lean viſaged, longſided, gobbertoothed, of a yellow complexion, and had a wen in her neck. But ſure king Henry muſt have had a better taſte, he muſt have been a more elegans formarum ſpectator, "and could not (as Fuller ſaith) have been drawn to ſo paſſionate a love, without a ſtronger loadſtone." Beſides, ſuch palpable falſehoods were eaſily confuted by the ſight of her pictures, which repreſent her very handſome; and by the paſſionate letters from the king to her, that are ſtill kept at Rome, by which it appears ſhe was a beautiful perſon, and that it was her beauty that ſtruck and charmed the monarch, and advanced her to the throne. The ſame writer aſſerts, that ſir Thomas Wyat aſſured the king he had himſelf firſt corrupted and debauched her. But the falſehood of this appears by a relation of his own ſon. For ſir Thomas was eſquire of the king's body, and always continued in that poſt, except when he was employed in embaſſies abroad. But if Sanders' ſtory had been true, he muſt have fallen under the king's jealouſy, or the queen's power, and would have withdrawn himſelf, or been produced as evidence againſt her at her trial. To proceed, it is ſaid there was a ſolemn tournament at Greenwich on May day, and that at this diverſion the queen dropt her handkerchief, which was taken up by a ſuppoſed favourite, who wiped his face with it [b]. The king, taking notice of this paſſage, immediately withdrew, to the great ſurpriſe of the queen and the court. The next day, the earl of Rochford, the queen's brother, and one Henry Norris were committed to the Tower. But this alſo relies upon the bare report of Sanders, which I ſhould not have taken notice of, but that I find it related by Collier, without naming the author he took it from, or paſſing any cenſure upon it. Lord Herbert rejects it, as not being mentioned by any good hiſtorian. Rapin ſaith it relies wholly upon the credit of Sanders; ſo I look upon it to be a meer fiction and invention of that fabulous writer, or a ſilly imitation of the handkerchief plot in the Moor of Venice, which by the way, is the only weak part and blemiſh in that noble tragedy.

But to come now to more material evidence. The queen

[a] Theſe two diſſertaions were communicated by the ſame hand as thoſe at the end of vol. I.

[b] Biſhop Burnet ſaith, it proceeded from a letter which the king received at thoſe juſts, to inform him that the lady Wingfield, one of the queen's ſervants, had, upon her death bed, charged her, upon oath, with ſome criminal affair.

was accuſed of committing inceſt with her own brother, the earl of Rochford. This is a heavy and grievous charge indeed. But how was it made out? for ſure there is ſome difference between proving and aſſerting. Why, he was ſeen by her bedſide, and ſtooping over the bed, while he was talking to her; doctor Howel ſaith, that he was then ſeen to kiſs her. Allowing the full of the allegation, allowing he did actually ſalute her, ſhall the kiſs of a brother to a ſiſter be branded with the name of inceſt, and be conſtrued as a breach of conjugal fidelity? It is certain the earl denied the crime, and aſſerted the queen's innocence, and his own, to his laſt dying breath. But the evidence that ſeemed to be the moſt material, and to bear the hardeſt upon her, was the depoſition of Smeaton the muſician, who confeſſed (ſaith Burnet) that he had lain three times with the queen. But this was too haſtily aſſerted by that prelate. For there is not the leaſt word of it in lord Herbert, who is a very exact writer, and could never have omitted ſo material a proof, upon which the whole iſſue of the matter ſeemed to turn. He ſpeaks indeed of a confeſſion made by the queen herſelf, in relation to Smeaton. It appears (ſaith he) by a letter from Cromwell to the king, that ſhe had confeſſed ſome particulars, but he ſaith they amounted to no more than ſome indiſcretions and unguarded expreſſions. However, let Smeaton's confeſſion be what it would, it is certain he never was produced face to face to the queen, and every body knows what ſtreſs is to be laid upon an unconfronted evidence [c]. But her enemies had taken care of that. They had condemned Smeaton before her, that he might not appear as witneſs againſt her, and this, as Rapin judiciouſly obſerves, looks very favourably on the queen's ſide; ſince it is not to be thought her accuſer would have neglected ſo full a proof as this, if there had been the leaſt ground and foundation for it. This looks very ſuſpicious, and as if they were afraid to produce him before her face, leſt ſhe ſhould confound him, and oblige him to recant. But it is moſt likely it was only a faint and artifice of her enemies, who told her of this depoſition of Smeaton (as it appears they did by her reply) to ſee whether they could draw a confeſſion from her mouth. However, the ſtratagem did not take. For ſhe anſwered reſolutely, "Hath he not then cleared me? I fear his ſoul now is ſuffering for it; but as for Norris and my brother, I doubt not but they are in the preſence of the great King, with whom I am to be to-morrow." So that this evidence of Smeaton, upon which ſo much ſtreſs was laid, and the iſſue of the whole affair ſeemed to turn, will be found, if duly weighed, to be mighty light in the balance, and to come very ſhort of a full proof and conviction. Collier ſaith, "Her language was broken and diſturbed. She ſeemed to diſcover a mixture of aſſurance and confuſion in her diſcourſe, for ſhe laughed one minute and wept another." But ſure that hiſtorian did not know, or, at leaſt, did not conſider, the nature and effects of vapours and hyſteric fits in women, which are frequently brought upon them by mere grief and trouble. In theſe fits the patients are diſturbed and diſordered in their heads, they know not what they ſay or do, and often laugh and cry all in a breath. This I take to have been exactly her caſe. She was no doubt in the vapours occaſioned by her troubles. But from theſe no proof can fairly be drawn of her innocence or guilt. What I have ſaid on this ſubject will, I hope, ſuffice to clear that unhappy lady, and to ſhew ſhe was not guilty of the crimes laid to her charge, but was merely ſacrificed to the violent paſſion, and cruel [d] and mercileſs pride, of a glutted and ſurfeited huſband, who was reſolved, coſt what it would, to get rid of his wife, and to marry another lady, whom he loved before. And this he was ſo ſtrongly bent upon, that, till he could gain his end, he enjoyed no reſt or quiet, and had no taſte or reliſh for his pleaſures and diverſions. He went out with his hounds, and breakfaſted under a great tree [e] in Epping foreſt, that very day ſhe was to be executed in the Tower, from whence he had ordered notice to be given him by the firing of a gun the minute her head was ſtruck off. He no ſooner heard the ſignal, than he cried out, "The buſineſs is done, the buſineſs is done, uncouple the hounds, and let us follow our ſport;" and that very day, at his return, he married Jane Seymour, and took her to his bed. This ſingle circumſtance, were there no other in her favour, would be ſufficient for any impartial perſon to acquit Anne Bullen, and to ſhew her innocence. Rapin very juſtly obſerves, that this lady's caſe became a party buſineſs, and an affair of religion. As ſhe was a principal occaſion, and a zealous promoter and favourer of the reformation, the proteſtants aſſerted her innocence, and extolled her to the ſkies. The papiſts, for the ſame reaſon, that they might caſt a blemiſh upon the proteſtant religion, and wound it through her ſides, blackened and reviled her to the utmoſt of their power. It was this bigoted zeal that whetted the pen of Sanders, the jeſuit, and tinged it in deepeſt and rankeſt gall. But ſome writers of the ſame communion have been more candid, and have done more juſtice to her character. I ſhall mention but two, whoſe teſtimonies I dare oppoſe to all the calumnies of that virulent writer. The firſt is Metteren, who, in his juſtly-eſteemed hiſtory of the Low Countries, ſpeaks of her in theſe terms: "When ſhe heard her ſentence (ſaith he) ſhe was not in the leaſt concerned and terrified, but lifted up her hands to heaven, and ſaid, O Father, who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt well I have not deſerved this death." This is the account this writer gives of her behaviour at her death, without inſinuating that there was the leaſt prevarication, falſehood, and hypocriſy, in her carriage. The other author I ſhall produce is Thevet, a frier, who in his hiſtory ſaith, that king Henry, at his death, owned and declared her innocence, and heartily repented of his injuſtice and cruelty towards her. Now the teſtimony of this writer is very material, and carries much weight along with it. For, beſides that he was a Franciſcan frier, he had been a conſiderable ſufferer himſelf for the ſake of Catherine, the divorced queen, and therefore can never be ſuſpected of any favour and partiality for queen Anne, her rival, ſo that nothing but the force of truth could have drawn ſuch a confeſſion from his pen.

Letter of Queen ANNE BULLEN to King HENRY VIII.

C. O. A Copy.

SIR,

YOUR grace's diſpleaſure, and my impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange to me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a truth, and ſo to obtain your favour) by ſuch a one whom you know to be my ancient profeſſed enemy: I no ſooner received this meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you ſay, confeſſing a truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not ſo much as a thought ever proceeded; and, to ſpeak a truth, never a prince had a wife more loyal in all duty and true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bullen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myſelf, if God and your grace's pleaſure had ſo been pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation or received queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find. For the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration was fit and ſufficient (I know) to draw that fancy to ſome other ſubject. You have choſen me from a low eſtate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour with your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad council of my enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me. Neither let that ſtain, that unworthy ſtain, of a diſloyal heart to-

[c] This is what ſhe heartily deſired; ſhe earneſtly begged of the king that ſhe might have a fair and legal trial, by which her innocence might be cleared, the king's ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ſlanders and ignominy of the world ſtopped, or her guilt openly declared. This appears by a very moving letter ſhe wrote to the king when ſhe was in the Tower, the day before ſhe died, which carries ſuch marks of the queen's innocence, and of her huſband's hardſhip and cruelty towards her, that I thought I could not better illuſtrate this matter than by annexing it to theſe papers, together with the lord Piercy's ſolemn proteſtation of there never being any marriage contract between him and the queen.

N. B. Theſe two letters were publiſhed by Hern, anno 1717, at the end of Titus Livius Forojulienſis, from ſome original papers of Dr. Smith.

[d] Cruelty indeed was the reigning vice of that king, and the great ſtain and blemiſh of his reign. He took a kind of pleaſure in raiſing men from the meaneſt condition to the greateſt dignities, and ſinking them again to the bottom of miſery. He was one that never did his work by halves, but always went through it in cruelty, of which his reign affords a ſad and melancholy ſcene. For, beſides a great many private men, papiſts, and goſpellers, that ſuffered for their religion under him, he put to death 77 abbots, prieſts, priors, and monks; 18 barons and knights; 12 dukes and marquiſes; and one cardinal: another he attainted, and would have uſed him in the ſame manner, but could not get him into his hands. He executed two of his queens, and was juſt going to cut off a third, for he had ſigned the warrant to ſend Catherine Parr to the Tower; ſo I think there is no ſtrain in what Raleigh ſaith of him, that if the world had loſt the character of a mercileſs and relentleſs prince, it might be truly found in him.

[e] This tree is called Henry the VIIIth's oak to this day, as I was informed by a gentleman living in that foreſt.

Three

wards your grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful wife, and the infant princeſs, your daughter. Try me, good king; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my ſworn enemies ſit as my accuſers and judges. Yea, let me receive an open trial. For my truth ſhall fear no open ſhame. Then ſhall you ſee either my innocency cleared, your ſuſpicion and conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the world ſtopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from open cenſure, and my offence being ſo lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute a worthy puniſhment on me, as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already ſettled on that party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am; whoſe name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto you, your grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous ſlander, muſt bring you the joying of your deſired happineſs, then I deſire of God that he will pardon your great ſin herein, and likewiſe my enemies, the inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrait account for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his general judgment ſeat, where both you and myſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe juſt judgment, I doubt not, whatſoever the world may think of me, my innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared. My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, that myſelf may only bear the burden of your grace's diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent ſouls of thoſe poor gentlemen, whom I underſtand are likewiſe in ſtrait priſonment for my ſake. If I have ever found favour in your ſight, if ever the name of Anne Bullen hath been pleaſing in your ears, let me obtain this laſt requeſt. And ſo I will leave to trouble your grace any farther, with my earneſt prayer to the Trinity, to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful priſon in the Tower, the 6th of May. Your moſt loyal and ever faithful wife,

ANNE BULLEN.

The king ſending a meſſenger to Queen Anne, being priſoner in the Tower, willing her to confeſs the truth, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could confeſs no more than ſhe had already ſpoken; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe muſt conceal nothing from the king, to whom ſhe did acknowledge herſelf ſo much bound for many favours: for raiſing her firſt from a mean woman to be a marchioneſs; next, to be his queen; and now, ſeeing he could beſtow no further honour upon her on earth, for purpoſing to make her, by martyrdom, a ſaint in heaven.

Earl of Northumberland to ſecretary ———, denying that there was a contract between queen ANNE and him.

C. O. An Original.

Maſter Secretary,

THIS ſhall be to ſignify unto you, that I perceive by ſir Raynold Carnaby, that there is ſuppoſed a precontract to be between the queen and me; whereupon I was not only heretofore examined upon mine oath before the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, but alſo received the bleſſed ſacrament upon the ſame, before the duke of Norfolk and other the king's highneſs council learned in the ſpiritual law; aſſuring you, Mr. ſecretary, by the ſaid oath and bleſſed body, which afore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the ſame may be to my damnation, if ever there was any contract or promiſe of marriage between her and me. At Newington Green, the 13th day of May, in the 28th year of the reign of our ſovereign lord king Henry the eighth.

Your aſſured,

H. NORTHUMBERLAND.

DISSERTATION II.

Of the Birth of EDWARD VI.

MY laſt diſcourſe was upon the death of Anne of Bullen, the wife of Henry the VIIIth, whom I endeavoured to vindicate of the crime of adultery that was laid to her charge. The ſubject of my preſent remarks ſhall be the birth of that king's only ſon, Edward the VIth. And here one could hardly think an affair of this nature, as the birth of a prince (eſpecially when there was not the leaſt doubt and conteſt about the legitimacy of it) ſhould afford much matter for a review———But as the nativity of Edward hath occaſioned controverſy among the writers, and given room to ſome of them to ſhew their ſpleen and malice, I ſhall examine the matter with all the fairneſs and impartiality I am able.—Now, the main of the diſpute ſeems to turn upon theſe two points: 1ſt, The day on which king Edward was born; 2dly, The manner of his coming into the world. For the better clearing theſe matters, it will be neceſſary to conſider three things; 1ſt, The very day of the month on which he was born; 2dly, The preciſe time of his mother, queen Jane's death, and how long it happened after the birth of her ſon. This laſt particular may perhaps be thought a matter of ſmall conſequence, but it will appear to be material, as it may help to diſprove the third thing which I deſign to examine; I mean a ſtory related by ſome writers, that he was born by inciſion, and violently cut out of his mother's womb. As to the firſt of theſe, the very day of his nativity, the opinion of hiſtorians in general is, that he was born the 12th of [d] October, on the eve of the feaſt of Edward the martyr. It is probable his father laid hold on this, as a happy omen, and ſo gave him the name of that ſaint. There is one writer indeed that differs from them in this, and places his birth on the 10th day of that month, and that for a reaſon beſt known to the perſon himſelf. I mean the jeſuite Sanders, who aſſerts in his book De Schiſmate Anglicano. But this author's character is ſuch, that when he deviates from other writers, we may take it for granted, it is either to lead the reader out of his way, or to vent his ſpleen, and to diſplay his malice. He was an inveterate enemy to the reformation, and to all the authors and promoters of it, and by conſequence to king Edward the VIth, who had ſo great a hand in that pious work. Had he been a catholic prince, and a favourer of the popiſh cauſe, Sanders, no doubt, would have laid hold of this circumſtance of his birth, would have enlarged upon it as a happy omen, that ſeemed to promiſe and foretel all the glories of his reign. But, as he was unwilling an heretical prince ſhould be ſo happy as to be born on the eve of that Engliſh king and ſaint, he made no ſcruple to haſten and advance his birth, and to make him come into the world two days before he really did. The next thing to be conſidered is, the exact time of queen Jane Seymour's death, and how many days ſhe lived after the birth of the prince. And this Stow, Polydore Virgil, and the reſt of the writers, have fixed, by a miſtake, on the 14th day of October, that is, two days after the nativity of Edward. In this they are followed by Mr. Rapin, which is the more ſtrange, becauſe he muſt have ſeen the remarks upon Hayward's life of this prince in doctor Kennet's edition of the Complete Hiſtory of England, which clear up that matter, and ſet it in a true light. Hayward indeed varies from thoſe writers, and ſets her death four days after her delivery; but this does not at all mend the matter; for it is certain, ſhe did not die till twelve days after the birth of the prince; and this appears from an authentic manuſcript of the ſolemnity of her funeral, as alſo from a journal of ſecretary Cecil.

I have been the more exact in ſettling this date of the queen's death, in order, 3dly, to diſprove a ſtory that has

[d] Three days after, i. e. the 15th of October, he was baptized with great ſplendor and ſolemnity, thoſe of the higheſt nobility, the biſhops, abbots, dignified clergy, and chaplains, with abundance of knights and gentlemen, being ſummoned to be preſent. The prince was carried from his lodgings to the chapel by the marchioneſs of Exeter, with a moſt illuſtrious attendance. The two princeſſes, and the lady Mary and the lady Elizabeth, were in the retinue, and aſſiſted. The godfathers at the font were archbiſhop Cranmer, and Thomas duke of Norfolk; and the duke of Suffolk was godfather at his confirmation at the ſame time. After he had been baptized by one of the biſhops, his title was alſo proclaimed by garter king at arms, and called prince Edward, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter.

The

been related by ſome writers, that Edward was born by inciſion, and violently cut out of his mother's body. The firſt who mentions this is Heyward, who ſaith, "All reports conſtantly run, that he was not, by natural paſſage, delivered into the world; but that his mother's body was opened for his birth, and that ſhe died of the inciſion the fourth day following." How theſe reports were firſt ſpread, and how juſtly grounded they are, will I hope appear in the ſequel of theſe papers. After this he ſaith, That the Romans thought ſuch births fortunate; and fancied, that thoſe proved commonly great men that came into the world in that manner. For this he quotes Pliny, whoſe words are, Auſpicatiùs enectâ matre naſcuntur, ſicut Scipio Africanus prior natus; and that they were called Cæſones, and afterwards Cæſares. But, by the way, his obſervation and quotation out of Pliny are little to the purpoſe here. For whatever [e] conceits and ſuperſtitions the Romans had in relation to theſe violent births, it is certain there was no ſuch notion in England at that time; nor is there in the preſent age, in which ſuch a birth, attended with the mother's death, is eſteemed a great misfortune and ſad calamity to the family it happens in; and I dare ſay, that the firſt inventors and ſpreaders of the ſtory had this very thing in their view, namely, to caſt a ſlur and blemiſh upon the birth of this prince as tragical and unfortunate. I make no doubt but the enemies to king Henry and the reformation were highly pleaſed with the report, looked on it as a judgment upon him for his hard uſage of the good catholic queen Catherine, and as a fatal curſe upon the two wives which he married after that divorce; the firſt of which died like a malefactor on a ſcaffold, and the laſt loſt her life by the ripping up of her womb.

This is the opinion of the judicious author of the remarks upon Edward's life, in doctor Kennet's edition: "No hiſtorian (ſaith he) that wrote before Heyward, gives any countenance to this, except it be Sanders, whoſe pen was not directed ſo much by truth as malice, who frames a ſtory, that when the queen was in extreme labour, and they aſked the king whom he would have ſpared, the queen or his ſon? he anſwered, his ſon, becauſe he could eaſily find out other wives; but even he has not a word of cutting the young infant out of his mother's body. So that I make no queſtion that this was at firſt an idle fable, invented by papiſts, improved upon what Sanders wrote, and the report ſoon became current among that party, out of ill will to king Henry, to make him appear cruel, and the prince, his ſon, to have been unluckily born." The truth is, this was a very good handle for a forgery. It was an eaſy tranſition from one fable to another. It was eaſy, I ſay, upon the firſt report to graft the ſecond falſe and ſcandalous ſtory: I call it falſe and ſcandalous, becauſe none of the writers that lived neareſt that age, neither Stow, Hollingſhead, nor even Polydore Virgil, who lived at the very time of the prince's birth, take the leaſt notice of it. Neither is there a word about it in king Edward's journal, which gives a minute and exact account of all particulars relating to himſelf, from the year 1537, which was that of his birth, and ſo proceeds regularly from the year of his acceſſion to the crown in 1547, to the end of November 1552. Camden, indeed, in his Apparatus, or introduction to the reign of queen Elizabeth, makes mention of it. "Queen Jane (ſaith he) fell in labour and preſently died, the prince being fain to be cut out of her womb, and ſucceeding his father after in the kingdom." But then he ſeems to retract it in his marginal note, where he ſaith only, that the queen died in childbirth of king Edward; and theſe are the very words of Polydore [f] Virgil, namely, that ſhe died in childbirth two days after the birth of the prince. The ſame is related by an old chronicle of Canterbury, publiſhed by Herne [g], in his preface to his accurate edition of Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth. This antiquary aſſures us, that the ſame account of king Edward's birth is given by ſir Thomas Smith, in a dialogue concerning the then intended marriage of queen Elizabeth, which is not yet printed, but was communicated to him by Anſtis, king at arms. Fuller ſaith, in his Church Hiſtory, that there went a ſtrong tradition that king Edward, like Cæſar, was cut out of his mother's body; but he adds, that a perſon of great honour, deriving her intelligence from ſuch as were pr ſent at her labour, aſſured him of the contrary. Beſides, the time of Jane Seymour's death, namely, twelve days after her delivery, renders the ſtory extremely improbable. But, laſtly, what ſets the matter beyond diſpute, and which (were there no other proofs againſt it) is enough to ſink the credit of this report, is a letter ——— from the queen herſelf to the council, giving them an account of her happy delivery; to which may be added, a certificate of her illneſs from her phyſicians and attendants, of the ſtate of her health, a little before ſhe died, which makes no manner of mention of this circumſtance of opening the body, which they could not fairly have omitted had it been true. Theſe two original papers, the letter and the certificate, are ſtill extant in the Cotton library, from whence they have been publiſhed by Fuller and Herne. All this, I hope, may be ſufficient to put the matter in a fair and clear light, to diſprove the teſtimony of ſir John Heyward, and to confute the ſtory of king Edward's being cut out of his mother's womb.

I could point at ſeveral other places in the life of king Edward, written by this author, which are as liable to exception as this I have examined above; but, not to detain the reader, nor to deviate too far from my ſubject, I ſhall confine myſelf to two facts only, wherein ſir John Heyward has laid himſelf very open to cenſure and reflection. The firſt, concerning the quarrel between the protector and the admiral, his brother, which proved, in the end, ſo fatal to them both. The ſecond, relating to the death of the laſt of them, who loſt his life upon a ſcaffold. As to the firſt, the difference between theſe two great men, Heyward imputes it to a jealouſy between their two ladies, about precedency and taking place, which he ſaith the protector's wife refuſed to give to Catherine, the queen dowager, who had married the admiral. His words are theſe: "The lord Sudley had taken to wife Catherine Parr, the queen dowager, laſt wife to king Henry the VIIIth, a woman beautiful, with excellent virtues, eſpecially with humility, the beauty of all other virtues. The duke had taken to wife Anne Stanhope, a woman, for many imperfections, intolerable, but for pride, monſtruous. She was exceedingly ſubtle and violent in accompliſhing her ends, for which ſhe ſpurned over all reſpects both of conſcience and ſhame. This woman did bear ſuch an invincible hate, firſt, againſt the queen dowager, for light cauſes and women's quarrels, eſpecially for that ſhe had the precedency of place before her, &c. he adds, that ſhe rubbed into the duke's dull capacity (as he very coarſely expreſſes it) that his brother ſought to take away his life and to attain to his place; that the duke, at length yielding himſelf to her, did deviſe his brother's deſtruction; and that, being arreſted and ſent to the Tower, he was condemned by act of parliament a ſhort time after." But beſides the great improbability of the thing, beſides that the ducheſs muſt have been mad and out of her ſenſes, or entirely ignorant of the cuſtoms of the nation, to think of taking place of a queen dowager of England; beſides this, I ſay, there is not a ſingle word of it in all the letters that paſſed about this grand affair. There [h] is not the leaſt mention of it either in Hollingſhead, Stow, or the journal of Edward the VIth. which is very large about the matter of the admiral, and relates many particulars about it that are of much leſs conſequence than this, ſo that Heyward could have no authority for his ſtory but that of the jeſuit Sanders, a writer of very low credit and ſad character for veracity, and who made it his whole buſineſs to aſperſe and revile king Edward and his miniſters, and the duke of Somerſet eſpecially, who had ſo deep an hand in the reformation of the church. But a fair and impartial hiſtorian ſhould not have made uſe of thoſe ſcandalous memoirs; or, if he did, ſhould have named his author, and let the matter reſt upon the credit of his voucher. It is certain Sanders was the firſt broacher of this fable, he relates it thus: "There aroſe a great conteſt between Catherine Parr and the protector's wife, who ſhould have the precedence. And

[e] The notion that the common people in England have of ſuch births, is, that children ſo born will be eminent phyſicians. And this is no new opinion, but may be traced as far as Virgil, who ſaith of Lycas, that he was cut out of his mother's womb, and conſecrated to Apollo.

Inde Lychan ferit, exectum matre peremptâ & tibi, Phœbe, ſacrum, Æn. l. X. ver. 315.——Upon which place, Servius obſerves ſuch children were dedicated to Apollo, the god of phyſic, by whoſe help and aſſiſtance they owed their life. But I think it more probable this notion was derived from Æſculapius, who was himſelf thus taken out of his mother's body after her death; as is related by Pindar, who ſaith, that Apollo, having diſcovered the infidelity of his miſtreſs Coronis, and the affairs ſhe had with Iſchys, ſent his ſiſter Diana to put her to death. But ſhe, unwilling that the child ſhould periſh with the mother, came to the flames, which ſeparated of themſelves, and taking the babe out of the parent's body, gave it to old Chiron to bring up, and to inſtruct in the practice of phyſic.——Pindar Pyth. Od. III.

[f] Mater vero in puerperio mortua eſt, biduo poſt partum, nam III idus Octobris peperit.—Edit. Gander 1557, p. 1743.

[g] The title is a breviate chronicle, containing all the kings from Brute to this day, and many notable acts gathered out of divers chronicles from William the conqueror; printed in Canterbury in St. Paul's pariſh, by John Mitchell.

[h] See Mr. Strype's annotat. on the life of Edward the VIth. Kennet's edition, p. 301.

Sanders

the conteſt reſted not in the women, but paſſed to the men; and when the emulation continually encreaſed, the protector's wife would not let her huſband alone, till at laſt it came to paſs, that the protector, who, although he ruled the king, yet was ruled by his wife, muſt cut off his brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her will." Theſe are the words of Sanders, who produces no authority for what he ſaith. I am apt to believe it is an old ſtory, new vamped up, and that the jeſuit took his hint from the famous diſpute of the two ladies, daughters of Fabius Ambuſtus, in Livy, who, quarrelling about precedency and rank, occaſioned a difference, 1ſt, between their huſbands, then between the patricians and the plebeians, and raiſed ſuch a ſedition in the commonwealth, as wreſted from the nobles a ſhare in the places and employments in the ſtate. But as this is only a conjecture, let the original of the ſtory be what it will, it certainly did not become a good Engliſhman and true proteſtant, as ſir John Hayward was, to rake into the filth, and to glean the ſcandal of ſuch a profligate writer, whom he knew to be made up of falſehood and lies, and a ſworn enemy to Edward and his miniſters, and to the whole body of the reformers. The 2d thing I mentioned, as liable to cenſure and exception in this writer, relates to the death of the admiral, who, he does not ſcruple to ſay, ſuffered for pitiful and frivolous matters. But ſure he muſt never have ſeen the act of parliament by which he was attainted, which plainly contains, not trivial and pitiful matters, but a very heavy charge of treaſon and rebellion. For (as a judicious writer [k] has obſerved) "the admiral was certainly a very ill man, turbulent, and full of ambitious deſigns, from the beginning of this king's reign; and his brother, the duke, obſerving it, did often adviſe him, and earneſtly diſſuade him from his dangerous courſes, uſing all the faireſt means with him, pardoning all that was paſt; and, that he might meet with this brother's high mind, gratifying with poſſeſſions, beſides the high and honourable office of lord high admiral. Yet he was continually practiſing after this; he raiſed ſoldiers, and threatened he would make the blackeſt parliament that ever was in England. He was ſuſpected to have poiſoned his wife, the excellent queen dowager, that, being ſingle, he might make his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth, the king's ſiſter, and one of the heirs to the crown; ſo that in fine, the parliament did judge theſe things to be a traiterous aſpiring to the crown." Mr. Rapin, in this part of his hiſtory (for what reaſons I cannot tell) ſeems to agree with Heyward; at leaſt he endeavours to extenuate the guilt of the lord Sudley, and to lay the whole weight and odium of his death upon the protector. "It is pretty hard, ſaith he, to excuſe the duke of Somerſet for proſecuting his brother, even to death, for crimes committed againſt himſelf only. For it was never proved that lord had formed any evil deſign againſt the king and ſtate, as he himſelf proteſted to the laſt moment of his life. But it is not the firſt time that facts committed againſt prime miniſters have been conſtrued as high treaſon, and conſpiracy againſt the prince." I wonder at this in Rapin, who ſeems herein leſs excuſable than Heyward, ſince he could not but have ſeen Burnet's account of the matter. This prelate clears up this affair, does juſtice to both ſides, and produces thirty-three articles that were brought againſt the admiral, and theſe not conſiſting of trivial and frivolous matters, but of very heavy crimes that were laid to his charge. To three of theſe articles he replied indeed before the council, but, whether out of haughtineſs and pride, or a ſenſe of his guilt, he obſtinately refuſed anſwering to the reſt; and whoever reads this charge brought againſt that lord, will, I believe, agree, that there was ground enough for the parliament to attaint him, and to judge him guilty of treaſonable aſpiring to the regency and crown. As to the proteſtation which Rapin ſaith he made of his innocence to the laſt, his own acts and deeds, and the attainder of the parliament, do plainly prove the contrary. I do not deny but an unſatible thirſt of power in the admiral, and a violent jealouſy of his brother, whom he ſaw as much ſuperior in dignity and command, as he thought himſelf in ſenſe and parts above him, might be the firſt ſparks that kindled this great flame. But as a fire that is not ſtifled betimes will ſoon break out with greater violence, theſe paſſions of jealouſy and ambition did ſo rage in his breaſt, that he was reſolved, coſt what it would, to gratify them; ſo this, from being a perſonal matter, ſoon became an affair of the ſtate, which he was reſolved to overturn, rather than not to compaſs his ends. Matters in ſhort were got to that paſs with him as to wiſh with Dejotarus in Tully, "Perreant amici dummodo inimice intercidant," that his friends might periſh, ſo that his enemies might be deſtroyed with them. He did not care what became of the ſhip, and who were loſt and ſunk in it, provided his brother did but periſh with the reſt. This drove him upon thoſe violent meaſures, and treaſonable practices, as the levying ten thouſand men, and threatening the parliament with a more dreadful blow than it had ever felt before. Now if ſuch dealings and threatenings do not amount to treaſon, and to treaſon of a very heinous kind, I do not know what the law can ever call ſo. Burnet is more fair and candid in his account of this matter; he carefully weighs the merits of the cauſe, does full juſtice to the characters of the two brothers, and agrees upon the whole, that the removal of ſuch a turbulent perſon as the admiral, was the only way to procure the peace and quiet of the ſtate. I ſhall ſet down his own words here, and with them will conclude theſe remarks. "The buſineſs of the duke's brother, though it has a very ill appearance, and is made to look the worſe by the lame account our books give of it, ſeems to have been forced upon him. For the admiral was a man of moſt incurable ambition, and ſo inclined to raiſe diſturbances, that, after ſo many relapſes, and ſuch frequent reconcilements, he ſtill breaking out into new diſorders, it became almoſt neceſſary to put him out of the capacity of doing more miſchief." Burnet's preface to the ſecond part of the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

[i] Sanders de Schiſmate Anglicano. See the Annotations on the Life of Edward the VIth. Kennet's edit. p. 301.

[k] Strype in his Annotations on the Life of Edward the VIth. Kennet's edit. p. 301.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVI.

The Reigns of EDWARD VI. and Queen MARY, containing about Twelve Years.

21. EDWARD VI.

[1547] EDWARD VI. only ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry VIII. was nine years and three months old when he aſcended the throne by the death of the king his father. His majority was fixed to the eighteenth year of his age by the late king's will, but he died before he came to it, after a ſhort reign of ſix years and five months. The hiſtory therefore of theſe ſix years, as may be eaſily judged, will not be ſo much the hiſtory of the king himſelf, as of his governors and miniſters. There was reaſon to hope extraordinary things from this young prince, had it pleaſed God to bleſs him with a longer life. He had an excellent memory, a wonderful ſolidity of mind, and withal, he was laborious, ſparing no pains to qualify himſelf for the well-governing of his kingdom. At eight years of age, he wrote Latin letters to his father. French was as familiar to him as Engliſh. He learned alſo Greek, Spaniſh, and Italian. After that, he applied himſelf to the liberal ſciences, wherein he made an aſtoniſhing progreſs [a]. Cardan, who ſaw him in his fifteenth year, ſpeaks of him as of the wonder of the age. The teſtimony of this [Italian] philoſopher was the leſs ſuſpicious, as it was after the young prince's death that he publiſhed his praiſes, and in Italy, where his memory was odious.

As ſoon as Henry VIII. had reſigned his laſt breath, the earl of Hertford, and ſir Anthony Brown, were ſent by the council to give young Edward notice of it, and to bring him to London. He was then with his ſiſter the princeſs Elizabeth at Hertford, from whence the deputies conducted him to Enfield. Here they inform him of the king's death, and pay their reſpects to him as to their ſovereign. After that, they attended him to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king the ſame day, the 31ſt of January 1547.

On the morrow, the council met to ſettle the form of government during the king's minority. There was not much to be debated. The parliament had empowered the late king, not only to ſettle the ſucceſſion by his will, but alſo to appoint what form of government he ſhould think moſt proper, till his ſucceſſor was capable of holding the reins himſelf. All therefore that was to be done, was to open his will and obey the contents. There it appeared, that Henry had nominated ſixteen perſons to be his executors, regents of the kingdom, and governors to his ſon. Theſe were:

Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury.
The lord Wrotheſley, lord chancellor.
The lord St. John, maſter of the houſhold.
The lord Ruſſel, lord privy ſeal.
The earl of Hertford, lord chamberlain.
The viſcount Liſle, lord admiral.
Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthony Brown, maſter of the horſe.
Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations.
Sir Edward Montague, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas.
Judge Bromley.
Sir Anthony Denny, and ſir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber.
Sir Edward Wotton, treaſurer of Calais.
Doctor Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

As for Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, I have obſerved, in the late reign, that though he was at firſt among the regents, his name was ſtruck out.

The king empowered theſe ſixteen, or the major part of them, to execute his will, and to adminiſter the affairs of the kingdom, as they ſhould judge fit. Upon this general clauſe, which gave the regents an unlimited power, were afterwards built many alterations, which ſeemed contrary to what Henry had ordained. He gave them, however, no power to ſubſtitute others in the room of ſuch as ſhould die; but it rather appeared, his intention was that the vacancies ſhould not be filled up. This conſequence was naturally drawn from his commanding the princeſſes, his daughters, not to marry without the written conſent of thoſe of the executors who ſhould then be alive. It might alſo be inferred from thence, that he intended none of the regents ſhould be deprived of their dignity.

Beſides the ſixteen who were to exerciſe the ſovereign authority during the king's minority, Henry appointed a privy council, who ſhould be aſſiſting to them, namely:

Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.
William Parr, earl of Eſſex.
Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate.
Sir Richard Rich.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir Thomas Seymour.
Sir Richard Southwell.
Sir Edmund Peckham.
Sir Thomas Cheney, treaſurer of the houſhold.
Sir John Gage, comptroller.
Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice chamberlain.

The late king's will being thus known, the council reſolved to execute it in all its points, and that very day the regents, as well as the counſellors, entered upon their offices. I have already ſaid the hiſtory of this reign relates more to his governors than to Edward himſelf, and therefore it will be neceſſary to give the characters of ſuch of the regents and counſellors as had the greateſt ſhare in the affairs of thoſe days.

The character of Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, is ſufficiently known by what has been ſaid of him in the foregoing reign. I ſhall only add two things: the firſt, that he did not much love to meddle with ſtate affairs, for which he was not very proper, by reaſon of certain maxims of candour and ſincerity, which he followed, and which were very oppoſite to thoſe generally obſerved in the government of ſtates: the ſecond thing concerning Cranmer is, that he was extremely zealous to promote the reformation. Since he was no longer reſtrained by ſuch a maſter as Henry, he was ſo far from concealing his opinions, that he even laboured with all his power to eſtabliſh them by public authority. He was as the firſt mover of whatever was done with regard to the reformation. But his zeal was tempered with a maxim which he believed abſolutely neceſſary, namely, to proceed by degrees, and retrench firſt the groſs abuſes, that the people might be gradually accuſtomed to the changes, before the tenets of greater conſequences were touched. Beſides, that this courſe ſeemed to him the moſt natural, he went upon

[a] He continued under the care of the women till he was ſix years old; and then he was put under the government of ſir Anthony Cook; of Dr. Richard Cox, maſter of Eaton School, who was his preceptor for manners, philoſophy, and divinity; and ſir John Cheeke, profeſſor of the Greek tongue in Cambridge, who was his maſter for the Latin and Greek languages; as John Belmain was for the French. Burnet, tom. ii. p. 2. Strype's Mem. tom. ii. p. 8, 9.

In

London, Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapins History of England.

EDWARD the VI KING of ENGLAND

FRANCE and IRELAND &c.

Holbin pinx. *Goldar sc.*

Published as the Act directs July 24th. 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

another reaſon no leſs important, and which it will be proper to explain.

It has been ſeen in the late reign, that Henry VIII. left not his ſubjects free to approve or reject the alterations he had been pleaſed to make in religion. There was an abſolute neceſſity of conforming to them, or of reſolving to part with eſtate, liberty, and life itſelf. Hence the church of England abounded with multitudes, who, outwardly, embracing the eſtabliſhed opinions, were not however, inwardly perſuaded of their truth. This was the caſe of ſeveral biſhops, and many dignified clergymen. But it was the inferior clergy that were chiefly infected with this hypocriſy. Moſt of theſe were no other than monks, for whom the court of augmentations and the poſſeſſors of the abbey-lands had procured benefices, to eaſe themſelves of the burden of maintaining them, to which they were obliged when the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed. Theſe men were ſtill wedded to the errors that were intended to be reformed. Cranmer thought it neceſſary therefore to gain a little time, in order to change the clergy, by filling the vacant livings with perſons well inclined to the reformation. Herein he met with great oppoſition from the zealous, who wiſhed to bring the reformation to perfection at once, without attending to this worldly wiſdom, which they believed little agreeable to the ſpirit of true religion.

The lord chancellor Wriotheſley, was of a quite contrary character to that of Cranmer, and moreover his religious opinions were entirely repugnant to the reformation. He was extremely ambitious, very conceited of his own merit, haughty, imperious, and very angry that his advice was not always followed. This made him extremely troubleſome in the council, where no one could oppoſe his opinion without being liable to be treated with ſharp and offenſive language. But he ſhewed his heat and paſſion chiefly on occaſion of religious matters. Though he had outwardly complied with the late king's innovations, he was however firmly attached to the Romiſh religion. Of this he had given evident proofs in the affair of Ann Aſkew, in his project to ruin the queen, and on many other occaſions. Wherefore ſuch of the regents as deſired to promote the reformation, were to expect from him perpetual oppoſition. Since the duke of Norfolk's impriſonment, the chancellor was conſidered as the head of the Romiſh party. Accordingly, he looked upon the reformers, and Cranmer in particular, as his enemies; as on their part, they could not without extreme grief ſee him in a poſt which enabled him to countermine their deſigns. Happily for them, their party was ſtrongeſt among the regents and in the council.

Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, was of a noble and ancient family, which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. Henry VIII. having married Jane Seymour after the tragical death of Anne Bullen, ſir Edward Seymour brother to the new queen was preſently after created lord Seymour and viſcount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hereford. From that time he had always an honourable poſt at court, as well during the queen his ſiſter's life as after her death. Henry VIII. always expreſſed a great eſteem for him, and employed him in ſeveral military expeditions, which he diſcharged in ſuch a manner as encreaſed his maſter's regard and affection. He was humble, affable, civil, courteous, and guided in all the tranſactions of his life by the principles of honour, virtue, and religion, which are ſeldom found in the men of the world. In a word, he had many noble qualities, and few faults. Among theſe is reckoned by ſome an immoderate ambition. But very likely, this ambition was rather an effect of his zeal for religion than a natural failing, as will hereafter appear. It is ſaid alſo, he had no very able head, and therefore was deemed more proper to execute than adviſe. In the late reign he adapted himſelf to the king's religion, becauſe it was very dangerous to oppoſe it. He was not the only perſon that took that courſe. To this reproach all the Engliſh are liable, who lived in that reign, excepting ſome few of both parties who ſuffered death for reſiſting the will of that imperious monarch, However, the earl of Hertford was inwardly a proteſtant, and conſequently a great friend of Cranmer. This drew upon him the hatred of the contrary party, and particularly of the chancellor, who had already attempted to deſtroy him. He always ſhewed a very great zeal for the reformation, and to him and Cranmer is properly due the glory of all that was done in favour of religion during the reign of Edward VI. At king Henry's death he was lord chamberlain. He was one of the regents named in that prince's will, and what ſtill increaſed his power, he was uncle to the new king.

John Dudley viſcount Liſle, was ſon of Edmund Dudley, put to death in the beginning of Henry the VIIIth's reign, for having been Henry VIIth's inſtrument in his oppreſſions of the people. Henry VIII. feeling ſome remorſe for Dudley's death, was pleaſed, and perhaps thought himſelf bound, to make his ſon a ſort of reparation by creating him lord Dudley, and afterwards viſcount Liſle. So the father's downfal proved the ſon's riſe. After Henry VIII. had given him a place in his favour, he made a conſiderable figure at court. He was honoured with ſeveral employments, and always behaved to the king's ſatisfaction. He ſignalized himſelf chiefly in the wars by his bravery and conduct. He ſerved twice as lieutenant-general under the earl of Hertford, in Scotland and Picardy, and had the honour of having a great part of the ſucceſs aſcribed to him, though he commanded not in chief. Afterwards, being governor of Boulogne, he repulſed, by a vigorous ſally from the upper town, the French, who were now maſters of the lower. The next year he commanded, as admiral, the fleet deſigned againſt France, and after the French had refuſed to fight, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of France, and carried away a great booty. In a word, he was conſidered as one of the beſt generals then in England. In all probability, had Henry VIII. lived any longer, he would have puſhed his fortune farther, ſince, with the qualifications of a ſoldier, he had alſo thoſe of a good courtier. But on the other hand, for his morals, he had nothing worthy of commendation. He was exceſſively addicted to his pleaſures, and even ran ſometimes into ſhameful debaucheries. Beſides, he was not very ſcrupulous with regard to honour and virtue. As his ambition was boundleſs, he did not ſtick to uſe any means to accompliſh his ends. It may eaſily be judged that a man of this character had not the concerns of religion much at heart. As long as Henry VIII. was alive, he kept within the bounds preſcribed by that prince. Afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI. he openly declared for the reformation, becauſe it was then the only way to pleaſe the king, and advance his fortune. Nevertheleſs, he muſt have ſhewn, when among the Romiſh party, that he was not their enemy, ſince the court of France believed him very far from being a proteſtant. This is at leaſt what Thuanus affirms in his hiſtory. Hence it may be preſumed, he conſidered religion only as a means to raiſe himſelf, and had made it a rule to follow that which was moſt in vogue. Wherefore, how zealous ſoever he appeared for the reformation, he was never looked upon as one of its protectors, becauſe he was thought to act only out of policy. The figure this lord made during the reign of Edward VI. obliged me to dwell the longer upon his character.

Cuthbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, was reckoned a perſon of great abilities. He had been employed by Henry VIII. in ſeveral embaſſies, commiſſions, and negotiations, and at length promoted to the ſee of London, and afterwards to that of Durham, the richeſt and moſt conſiderable in the kingdom, by reaſon of the dignity of Palatine annexed to it. As long as Henry VIII. lived, Tunſtal conformed, like the reſt, to the religion of the ſovereign; but it was perceived he was very ſorry to ſee the religion he had profeſſed from his youth change by degrees. He would have gladly conſented to the reforming of ſome of the moſt notorious abuſes, but was of opinion the king went too far. Mean while, for fear of incurring the royal diſpleaſure, he ſubmitted to what was enjoined. He was however conſidered as one of the chief favourers of the old religion, and ſo much the more formidable to the reformers, as he was able and learned. Nevertheleſs Cranmer had a friendſhip for him, on account of his mild and peaceable temper, which afforded hopes of his being reclaimed.

Sir William Paget, ſecretary of ſtate [b], was a very able politician, and, for religion, was of the principles of the reformers. By which means he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Cranmer and the earl of Hertford.

It will be entirely needleſs to ſpeak of the lord St. John, the lord Ruſſel, or the reſt of the regents, becauſe they were wholly guided by the others. But it will be neceſſary to mention ſome of the members of the privy council, who were to aſſiſt the regents.

The earl of Arundel, a lord of an antient family, was not very well pleaſed to be only among the counſellors, whilſt ſeveral who were his inferiors were inveſted with the dignity of regents. On the other hand, he was not inclined to the reformation. Theſe two reaſons were the cauſe that he willingly entered into all the intrigues, tending to produce any change, either in religion or the government of the ſtate. But he had the misfortune always to labour for others.

[b] In 23 Henry VIII. he was made one of the clerks of the ſignet; and in the 32d, clerk of the council, and of the privy ſeal; and ſoon after, clerk of the parliament for life; and in the 34th of the ſame king, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 392.

This

Edward VI

William Parr, earl of Eſſex, brother to the queen dowager, was a perſon of ſlender merit; he made however ſome figure in this reign, and was often employed, becauſe he had the addreſs to be attached to the prevailing party.

Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate, was expert in the diſcharge of his office. He was become almoſt neceſſary, and therefore had a great ſhare in the moſt ſecret tranſactions of the court[c].

Sir Richard Rich, a lawyer by profeſſion, was a good courtier, who, by his pliant temper, found means to become lord chancellor[d].

Sir Thomas Seymour, the king's uncle, and younger brother to the earl of Hertford, thought himſelf unhappy in being only a counſellor, whilſt the king had made his brother a regent. He imagined, his being uncle to the king ſhould have procured him more honour. He had a boundleſs ambition, joined to a high conceit of himſelf. Wherefore the rank given him by the late king in his will, not being capable of ſatisfying him, he had a mind to mount higher, which occaſioned his downfal, as will hereafter appear.

The form of the government was no ſooner ſettled according to Henry's laſt will, but a change was propoſed. Some of the regents obſerved, it could not but be very troubleſome for the people, and particularly for foreign miniſters, to be forced to apply to ſixteen perſons, of equal authority, and moved that one ſhould be choſen to be head and preſident, with the title of protector. They added, that by this means affairs would be more ſpeedily diſpatched, and yet nothing changed in the eſtabliſhed form of government, becauſe the perſon to be raiſed to that dignity ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the major part of the reſt.

The lord chancellor Wriotheſley eaſily perceived this motion was made to his prejudice. As by his office he was next to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who did not much follow ſecular affairs, he was in hopes of becoming the head of the regency. But he ſaw plainly, if a protector were elected, the choice would not fall on him, but this dignity would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle, who was not his friend. Wherefore he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, declaring, the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, authoriſed by act of parliament. But matters were ſo well laid beforehand, that notwithſtanding his oppoſition, it was reſolved that one ſhould be raiſed over the the reſt, and called, "The protector of the king's realm, and the governor of his perſon." However, it was with the expreſs condition, that he ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the other regents. Then the choice fell, as it was eaſy to foreſee, upon the earl of Hertford, who probably had cauſed this motion to be made by his friends.

Indeed it was very natural to chuſe for protector the king's uncle, and the perſon of the whole kingdom the moſt concerned for his preſervation. However, it was thought by many, the regents had made a falſe ſtep in the beginning of their adminiſtration, for the reaſons alleged by the lord chancellor. It might indeed be ſaid in their excuſe, firſt, that they had given no particular authority to the protector, and conſequently the form of government eſtabliſhed by the late king was not altered. Secondly, that the will empowering the regents, or the major part of them, to adminiſter the young king's affairs as they ſhould judge proper, whatever was reſolved upon by a plurality of voices was deemed agreeable to the late king's will.

Whilſt all things neceſſary for Henry VIIIth's funeral, and the new king's coronation were preparing, the regents were intent upon an affair which concerned them in particular, or at leaſt the principal of them. Henry had reſolved, before he died, to confer new honours on ſeveral of the regents and counſellors. He had even ſettled the revenues or penſions he deſigned to give theſe new lords, to enable them to ſupport their dignities. But, as ſome had refuſed them becauſe they thought theſe penſions too ſmall, the affair had been ſuſpended, both by reaſon of this objection, and of the king's ſickneſs and death. However, he had ordered in his will, that whatever he had promiſed ſhould be made good. This was ſufficient to put the regents upon performing the engagement, eſpecially as the benefit was chiefly to redound to themſelves. But as the late king's intentions and promiſes appeared not in writing, recourſe was to be had to the teſtimony of thoſe to whom he had opened his mind, who depoſed what they had heard from his mouth. Upon their teſtimony therefore, the earl of Hertford was made duke of Somerſet; the earl of Eſſex, marquis of Northampton; viſcount Liſle, earl of Warwick; the lord chancellor Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton; ſir Thomas Seymour, lord Sudley; Rich, Willoughby, and Sheffield[e], had the title of barons, with the names of their families[f].

As Henry VIII. had not left his coffers full, expedients were to be deviſed to find the revenues and penſions aſſigned to the new lords. No better was found than to alienate five or ſix thouſand pounds a year of the chantry-lands. Theſe promotions, with the revenues annexed, were not univerſally approved, becauſe they were all in favour of the regents themſelves or the counſellors. Many thought theſe lords ſhewed too much avidity at the beginning of their regency, and that they ought to have ſtaid till the king was of age. The protector eſpecially was liable to much envy, by procuring for himſelf the two great offices of lord treaſurer and earl marſhal, vacant by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk. The firſt was conferred on him the 10th of February, and the other the 17th of the ſame month[g].

The ſame day his laſt patent was diſpatched, his brother, Thomas Seymour, created baron of Sudley, was made high admiral of England[h]. Thus, about a fortnight after Henry's death, the Seymour family was raiſed to ſuch greatneſs, that it was hardly poſſible to make any addition to it. Happy, had they been contented! But we ſhall ſee hereafter, that, by endeavouring to riſe ſtill higher, the two brothers fell into an abyſs of misfortunes, which might have been avoided by a ſmall ſhare of moderation.

Henry VIIIth's funeral obſequies were performed with great pomp and magnificence at Windſor[i]. He had himſelf ordered his body to be there interred. The day before, his corpſe was brought to Richmond[k], and as the motion cauſed ſome watery matter to run through the coffin, it was reported to be blood, and that a dog licked it up. This was ſaid with deſign to verify the frier's prediction, who told Henry in a ſermon, that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, as they had formerly licked Ahab's. But beſides that, ſeveral affirmed it was not blood which ran from the coffin, the report that a dog licked it up was entirely groundleſs.

The ceremony being over, Edward's coronation was ſolemniſed the 20th of February, with the uſual formalities[l]. The lord Ruſſel acted as high ſteward, by virtue of a patent which empowered him to exerciſe that office for that day

[c] This gentleman was born at Exeter, and was ſon of John Petre, of Torbigan, in Devonſhire. He had his education at Exeter college in Oxford, where he commenced doctor of law. In the year 1534, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for diſſolving the monaſteries; and in 1544, was made ſecretary of ſtate; and in 1549, treaſurer of the court of firſt fruits for life. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 415.

[d] He was grandſon of Richard Rich, an opulent mercer in London, who was ſheriff of that city in 1441. Idem, p. 387.

[e] Sir William Willoughby was created lord Willoughby of Parham, and ſir Edmund Sheffield lord Sheffield of Butterwike. Hayward, p. 275.

[f] Sir Edward Paget, ſir Anthony Denny, and ſir William Herbert, being required to declare what they knew of the king's mind; Paget, whom he had moſt truſted, declared, That when the evidence appeared againſt the duke of Norfolk and his ſon, the king intended to beſtow their lands among ſome new peers he deſigned to create. Then he ordered him to write in a book ſuch as he thought meeteſt. Which done, the king aſſigned to each ſuch a portion of lands out of the duke of Norfolk's eſtate, as he thought fit. Paget told him it was too little, and being ordered to acquaint thoſe with it who were to be advanced, many thought ſo to, and deſired to remain as they were. The duke of Norfolk hearing of this, and fearing if his lands were thus divided, they would never return to his family, ſent to deſire the king that he would be pleaſed to ſettle all his lands on the prince, for, ſaid he, according to the phraſe of thoſe days, They are good and ſtately geer. Whereupon the king reſolved to reward his ſervants ſome other way, ſo ordered the book to be thus filled up: The earl of Hertford to be earl marſhal and lord treaſurer, and to be duke of Somerſet, Exeter, or Hertford; and his ſon, to be earl of Wiltſhire, with 800l. a year in land, and 300l. a year out of the next biſhop's lands that fell. The earl of Eſſex to be marquis of Eſſex, and ſo on, with yearly revenues to them. And the king having promiſed to give the earl of Hertford ſix of the beſt prebends that ſhould fall in any cathedral, except deanries and treaſurerſhips; at his deſire the king agreed that a deanry and a treaſurerſhip ſhould be inſtead of two of the ſix prebendaries. All this Denny and Herbert confirmed, for they then waited in his chamber; and when Paget went out, the king made Denny read over the book, and Herbert obſerving the ſecretary had remembered all but himſelf, the king bid Denny to write 400l. a year for him. Burnet, tom. II. p. 6. 7.

[g] On the 6th of February the lord protector knighted the king, being authoriſed thereto by letters patents. So it ſeems, that as the laws of chivalry required that the king ſhould receive knigthood from the hand of ſome other knight, ſo it was judged too great a preſumption for his own ſubjects to give it, without a warrant under the great ſeal. The king at the ſame time knighted ſir John Hoblethorn, the lord mayor of London, and William Portman, one of the judges of the king's-bench. Burnet, tom. II. p. 8. Strype, p. 15.

[h] Ireland, Calais, Boulogne, and the marches. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 127.

[i] On February 16. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 11; and Repoſit. p. 15.

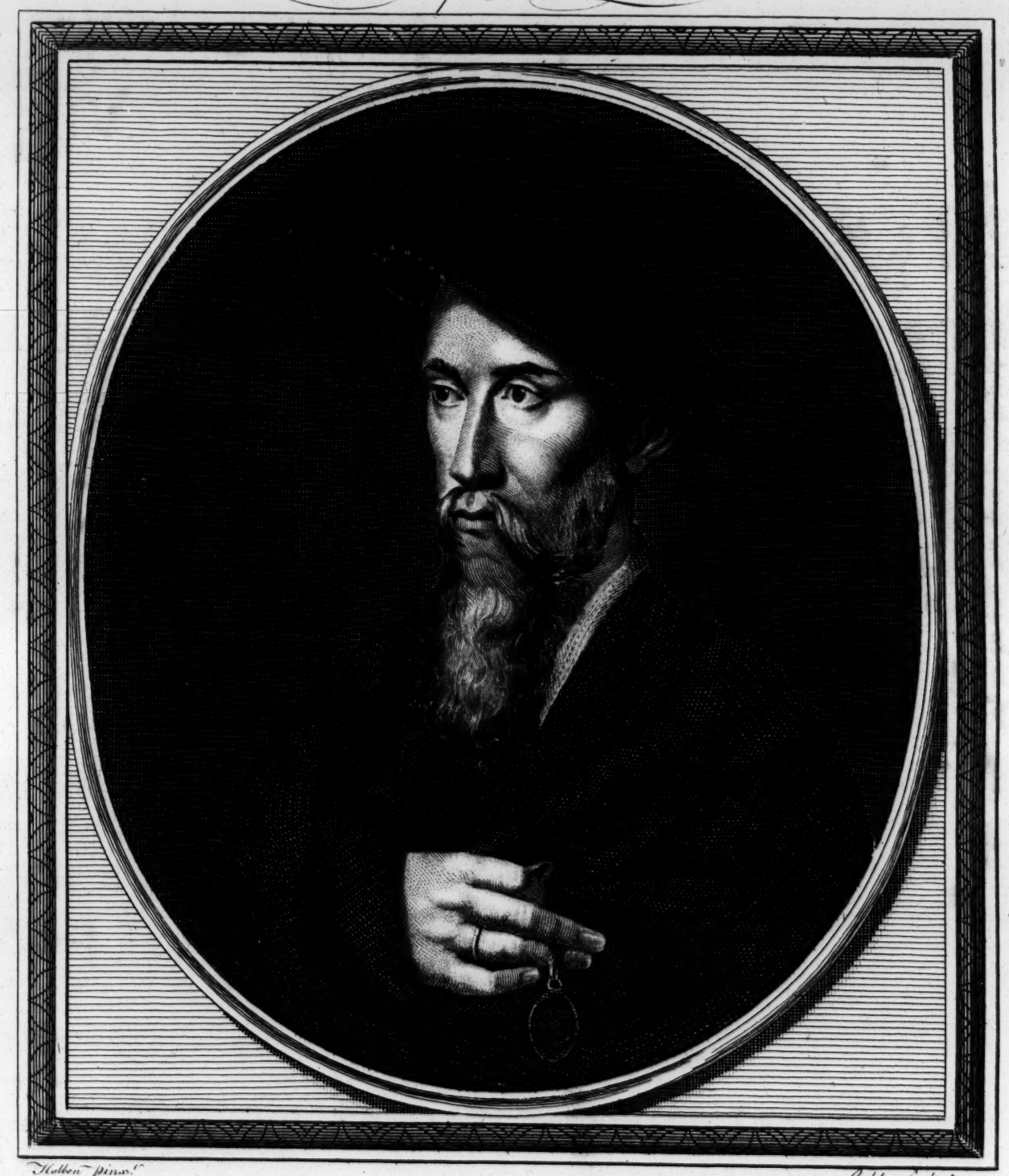
[k] To Sion, where they lay the firſt night. Strype's Repoſ. p. 12.

[l] There were forty knights of the bath made on this occaſion, and fifty-five knights of the carpet, whoſe names ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 23, and Repoſ. p. 30.

There

London: Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

EDWARD SEYMOUR
Duke of Somerset



Holbein pinx.t Goldar sculp.t

In the Collection of the R.t Hon.ble the Earl of Hertford.

Published as the Act directs March 5. 1785.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

only. Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet, had acted the day before as high conſtable, by virtue of a like patent, which limited the exerciſe of his office to the 19th of February, the day preceding the coronation, from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting. Probably, the office of high conſtable was neceſſary only for certain preparatives, ſince it was to end before the ceremony of the coronation [m].

On the coronation-day a general pardon was granted to all perſons, excepting the duke of Norfolk, cardinal Pole, Edward Courtney, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Exeter, and three others [n].

I have before obſerved, that the lord chancellor Wriotheſley, the new earl of Southampton, was ambitious, proud, and haughty, very troubleſome in the council, and moreover, a great enemy to the reformation and the reformed. All theſe reaſons made the protector and moſt of the regents wiſh to be rid of him. They were ſo happy, as that he himſelf afforded them a plauſible pretence. Reſolving to apply himſelf chiefly to ſtate affairs, he had on the 18th of February put the great ſeal to a commiſſion, directed to the maſter of the rolls and three maſters of chancery [o], empowering them to execute the lord chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himſelf were preſent. This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord protector and the other regents, his enemies failed not to improve this occaſion to ruin him. Complaint of what he had done being brought before the council, it was ordered, that the judges ſhould give their opinions in writing. Their anſwer was, That the chancellor being only entruſted with his office, could not commit the exerciſe thereof to others, without the conſent of the king or the regency: that by ſo doing he had by the common law forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and impriſonment, at the king's pleaſure. This anſwer being communicated to him in full council, he fell into a great paſſion with the judges; and even talked very haughtily to the regents, the council, and the protector. He told this laſt in particular, that he held his chancellorſhip by an undoubted authority, ſince he held it of the king himſelf, whereas it was a great queſtion whether he himſelf was lawfully protector. But this haughtineſs, inſtead of compoſing his affair, only ſerved to render it worſe. His ſubmiſſion might have leſſened his puniſhment, but by his paſſion and heat he gave the council occaſion to treat him with the utmoſt ſeverity. He was immediately confined to his houſe, with a command not to ſtir till further orders. Then it was debated what his puniſhment ſhould be. It was not doubted that he might be deprived of the chancellorſhip. But as to the regency, the point was not ſo clear, becauſe it was uncertain whether the late king had placed him among the regents as chancellor, or as a private perſon, like ſeveral others who were in no office. For this reaſon it was not thought proper to turn him out of the regency; but to render it uſeleſs to him, he was left under an arreſt, and the great ſeal taken from him, and given to ſir William Pawlet lord St. John, till another chancellor ſhould be appointed. So the earl of Southampton continued in his confinement till the 29th of June [p], when he was diſcharged of his impriſonment, upon entering into a recognizance of four thouſand pounds, to pay what fine they ſhould impoſe on him.

After the protector was freed from this troubleſome enemy, he thought only of engroſſing the ſole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed, whereas hitherto it was but an empty title without any peculiar authority. To attain his ends, he repreſented to the regents and council, that ſeveral perſons doubted whether they could by their ſole authority name a protector: that the French embaſſador in particular had inſinuated a diſtruſt, that he could not ſafely treat with him, without knowing firſt whether he was duly authoriſed, ſince his title might be conteſted, for want of authority in thoſe who had conferred it. Upon this foundation, he deſired [q] that he might be allowed to prepare letters patents under the great ſeal, eſtabliſhing him protector of the realm, and governor of the king. His requeſt appearing reaſonable, it was granted, and probably he was left to draw the patent, wherein it is very likely he uſed ſome deceit. What gives occaſion for this ſuſpicion is, that the patent aſſigned him prerogatives unthought of by the regents when they made him protector. There was no mention of the condition upon which he had been choſen. On the contrary, the king gave him full authority to do every thing as he in his wiſdom ſhould think for the honour, good and proſperity of his perſon and realms. Moreover, he appointed him a council, giving him power, with ſo many of them as he ſhould think proper, to annul and change what they thought fitting; reſtraining the council to act only by the protector's advice and conſent. It is true, this council conſiſted of the ſame perſons which before compoſed the regency and council, except the earl of Southampton. But whereas fifteen of them were before regents of the kingdom, executors of Henry's will, and governors to the young king, they were now become by this patent only mere counſellors to the protector, each according to the rank his office or birth gave him, without the protector's being obliged to follow their advice.

Very likely, as I ſaid, the protector uſed ſome fraud on this occaſion. And, indeed, it is by no means probable the other regents ſhould ſo lightly conſent to be deprived of all their authority. Nay, we ſhall ſee hereafter an evident proof that they had no ſuch intention. Thoſe hiſtorians who have endeavoured to vindicate all the duke of Somerſet's actions, in order to preſerve to him the character of a true reformer, have very lightly touched upon this point, whereas his enemies have enlarged on it, to ſhew he was poſſeſſed with ambition. However, as the fact is certain, his motive can only be the ſubject of conjecture; ſome aſcribing it to his exceſſive ambition; others believing he aſpired to become maſter of the government, only to promote more effectually the reformation. It is at leaſt extremely probable that Cranmer and ſuch of the regents as favoured the reformation, were convinced the duke's advancement would be very advantageous to religion.

After the patent was drawn, and the great ſeal put to it, the protector had all the power. He governed with an abſolute authority, without being clogged by the advice of the council, ſince he was obliged only to conſult thoſe that were devoted to him. But, on the other hand, this proceeding, with ſome others of the like nature, drew upon him the envy and hatred of many, and particularly of the nobility, who made him at leaſt feel the effects. There was certainly much to be ſaid againſt the patent, which deſtroyed the form of the government eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. purſuant to an act of parliament which the king himſelf had not power to annul.

The day before, two new treaties were concluded with France. The firſt was a renewing of alliance between Francis I. and Edward VI. without prejudicing the antient alliance between France and Scotland, and the treaties between the emperor and England. The ſecond concerned the articles which had not been explained in the late treaty of peace, namely, the bounds of the territory of Boulogne, and the fortifications the two kings were making near the place. As to the bounds, they were eaſy to be ſettled, becauſe, as England was to keep Boulogne but eight years, it was not very material whether its territory was a little more or leſs extended. As to the fortifications, there was more difficulty. Whilſt the late peace was negotiating, Henry VIII. finding it would be in his power to preſcribe almoſt what terms he pleaſed, ordered the governor of Boulogne to begin fortifying Boulemberg, Blackneſs, and Ambleteuſe. At the ſame time, he gave inſtructions to his plenipotentiaries, to inſert in the treaty, that neither of the two kings ſhould be allowed to make new fortifications in or about Boulogne, but only to finiſh ſuch as were begun. This was done according to his deſire. However, after the treaty, the French had attempted to fortify St. Etienne, Portet, and la Pointe. Whereupon diſputes aroſe between the embaſſadors appointed to ſettle the limits of Boulogne. But as the two courts were equally deſirous to avoid all occaſion of rupture, it was at length agreed that the Engliſh might continue the works begun; that the French ſhould have the ſame liberty with regard to the fortifications of St. Etienne, but ſhould diſcontinue thoſe at Portet and la Pointe. This treaty, and the other which renewed the alliance between the two crowns, were ſigned at London the 11th of March. But Francis died the 31ſt of the ſame month, before he had ratified them, leaving Henry II. for his ſucceſſor.

Upon news of Francis's death, an expreſs was ſent to Nicholas Wotton, embaſſador in France, with a commiſſion to receive the new king's ratifications, and ſee him ſwear to the treaties. But the court of France was entirely changed

[m] There was a new form drawn for the coronation of this king; which the curious reader may ſee in Burnet, tom. II. Collect. p. 93, &c.

[n] Dr. Richard Pates, Mr. Forteſcue, and Mr. Throgmorton. Hayward, p. 276.

[o] To ſir Robert Southwell, maſter of the rolls; John Tregonwell, eſq. and John Olyver, and Anthony Bellaſis, clerks, maſters in chancery. See the commiſſion itſelf in Burnet, ibid. p. 96.

[p] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays July. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 17.

[q] By a petition on March 13. Ibid.

by Henry II.'s acceſſion to the crown. The cardinal of Lorrain, and his brother, the duke of Guiſe, managed every thing as they pleaſed, and it was not their intereſt the king ſhould preſerve a good underſtanding with England. Beſides that they were ſtrongly addicted to the Romiſh religion and the pope, they were contriving means to hinder England from employing her arms to accompliſh the marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland, their niece. They perſuaded, therefore, Henry II. that it was his chief concern to recover Boulogne at any rate, for fear the Engliſh ſhould make uſe of that place to confound his future projects. Henry, liking their policy, refuſed to ratify the treaties, and diſowned the embaſſador ſent by his father to London to conclude them. So, there not only remained an occaſion of quarrel between the two crowns, with reſpect to the limits of the territory of Boulogne and the new fortifications, but alſo in refuſing to confirm the alliance, Henry ſhewed his intention to break the peace.

This was the firſt ill effect of the death of Francis I. and Henry VIII. but it was not the only one. Germany as well as England ſuffered by the loſs of theſe two kings. The proteſtants, who had been ill uſed by the emperor in the laſt campaign, found themſelves wholly deprived of the aſſiſtance they expected from France and England. Henry II.'s miniſters did not think proper he ſhould be engaged in a war with the emperor, in ſupport of the proteſtant religion. But, as policy ſeemed to require that he ſhould oppoſe the emperor's progreſs, they intimated to him the expediency of firſt recovering Boulogne; after which, it would be ſtill time enough to protect Germany, in caſe the emperor grew too powerful there. As for the court of England, there was no likelihood, that, during a minority, they would undertake to ſupport the proteſtants, eſpecially as France refuſed to be concerned with them. Mean while the princes of the league having ſent to Edward for aid, fifty thouſand crowns were privately given them, with great caution, for fear of offending the emperor. It is very true, the protector was inclinable to ſupport them; but it was not yet convenient to do it openly. The reformation was to be put upon a good foot in England, before any thoughts of protecting it in foreign countries.

Henry the VIIIth's death was a ſort of criſis for England with regard to religion. It was obſerved, in the hiſtory of his reign, that he ſteered a middle courſe in that reſpect. He reformed ſome things, but left others untouched. In general, the reformation he had begun, may be ſaid to concern only the articles which were directly or indirectly contrary to his temporal ſovereignty or eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy. He was ſo rigorous, that he would never allow his ſubjects to differ in opinion from him, or at leaſt not to ſhew it openly. So all were under conſtraint, there being ſcarce any one but what believed more or leſs than himſelf. As ſoon as he was dead every one took the liberty to ſpeak his thoughts upon religion, though the laws made in his reign were ſtill in force. But ſome change was expected. If, on one hand, the reformed built their hopes on Cranmer and the earl of Hertford, the contrary party flattered themſelves that chancellor Wriotheſley, Tunſtal, and ſome others, would uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reſtore religion to its antient ſtate, or at leaſt would hinder the reformation from making farther progreſs. The earl of Hertford's promotion to the protectorſhip, and the chancellor's diſgrace, gave the reformed all the advantage, who, ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the protector and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, entertained great hopes that the work of reformation would viſibly advance. This gave them the boldneſs openly to ſhew their ſentiments, and even publicly to preach them[r]. On the other hand, the contrary party, finding the time was not favourable, ſtrove to perſuade, that religion ſhould be left in its preſent ſtate till the king was of age. They ſaid, ſince no alterations could be made but in the king's name, as ſupreme head of the church of England, it was neceſſary at leaſt to ſtay till he was able to judge of them himſelf. But the reformers agreed not to this principle. They maintained, on the contrary, that the royal authority was the ſame, whether the king was a minor or not. They oppoſed their adverſaries maxim the more ſtrenuouſly, as it influenced not only the affairs of religion but the government itſelf.

The party of the reformers was ſo ſtrong, that it was very difficult for their enemies to reſiſt them. The king himſelf was at their head. Though he was yet of an age wherein men hardly begin to make uſe of their reaſon, he had made very great progreſs in the ſtudy of religion, by the care of Dr. Cox, his preceptor, who was in the ſentiments of the reformers. The duke of Somerſet, Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Holgate, archbiſhop of York, Holbech, biſhop of Lincoln, Goodrick, biſhop of Ely, Dr. Ridley, and Latimer who was diſcharged of his impriſonment, were the chief ſupporters of that party. Theſe were properly whom Dr. Burnet calls in his hiſtory, the reformers. In the other party were the princeſs Mary, Wriotheſley, earl of Southampton, Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, Bonner, of London, Gardiner, of Wincheſter, with many other biſhops; and the major part of the inferior clergy, conſiſting, as I have obſerved, of the ſuppreſſed friers, who had been recommended to livings. But it is certain, though this laſt party was as numerous as the other, they were far excelled by the other in learning and capacity: beſides, the government was in the hands of their adverſaries. There was another thing which very much leſſened the power of this party: Moſt of them had made it a rule to oppoſe to their utmoſt the intended alterations, but, when effected, to pay them afterwards an outward compliance. This conduct, though beneficial to particular perſons, was however detrimental to the whole party, as it intimated they only loved their religion when attended with temporal bleſſings. The biſhops, and the reſt of the clergy, were properly the eſtabliſhers of this maxim, out of fear of loſing their benefices.

The preſent juncture being ſo favourable for the reformation, the protector, and ſuch of the council as were of his ſentiments, reſolved to improve it. To that end, they ordered a general viſitation of all the churches; and appointed viſitors, with power to aboliſh certain groſs abuſes introduced into the divine ſervice, and particularly with regard to images[s]. With this viſitation commenced the execution of the deſign already formed, of perfecting the reformation, which was properly but juſt begun in the late reign. As Dr. Burnet, afterwar dsbiſhop of Saliſbury, has given as full an account of theſe matters as can be deſired, in his excellent hiſtory of the reformation in England, it will be needleſs to deſcend to particulars, which will be ſeen with much more ſatisfaction in the work of that illuſtrious author. So, without ſpeaking hereafter of religion, any farther than will be neceſſary for the underſtanding of the hiſtory, I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to the political affairs of this reign[t]. The firſt that offers in the year 1547 is the war with Scotland.

Henry VIII. had left his affairs with Scotland in ſuch a ſituation, that the agreed marriage between Edward and the young queen of Scotland was to be relinquiſhed, or the treaty executed by force of arms. The party againſt the marriage in Scotland was ſo powerful, that the others durſt hardly diſcover their contrary ſentiments. If the affair had been to be decided by the two kingdoms, in all appearance Scotland would have been forced to ſubmit. But the king of France took care not to abandon the Scots. He was highly concerned to hinder the king of England from becoming maſter of Scotland. Herein his ſentiments agreed with thoſe of the two Lorrain princes, brothers to the queen dowager of Scotland. It was this that moſt troubled the protector; eſpecially as Henry II. had now declared he would aſſiſt the Scots to the utmoſt of his power. Mean while, the projected marriage was ſo advantageous to England, that it well deſerved ſome endeavours to accompliſh it. Beſides, Henry VIII. had ſo expreſly ordered, before he died, that all poſſible means ſhould be uſed to effect it, that the protector thought he could not be excuſed from taking ſome ſteps to ſhew he intended to execute his orders. He reſolved therefore to carry war into Scotland. Indeed it was a very extraordinary way of wooing the young queen for Edward; but in this the protector and the council followed Henry VIIIth's maxim, who always flattered himſelf, that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would at laſt oblige the Scots to execute the treaty. To that end therefore they reſolved to make war upon Scotland, and not with deſign to conquer the kingdom.

Every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to go and command the army, the French embaſſador deſired him to conſent to a negotiation, to try to conclude a peace before

[r] To ſet the reſt of the kingdom an example, evening prayer began to be read in Engliſh in the king's chapel, on Eaſter Monday. Stow, p. 594.

[s] The biſhoprics were divided into ſix precincts or circuits. The 1ſt was London, Weſtminſter, Norwich, and Ely. The 2d, Rocheſter, Canterbury, Chicheſter, and Wincheſter. The 3d, Sarum, Exeter, Bath, Briſtol, and Glocester. The 4th, York, Durham, Carliſle and Cheſter, The 5th, Peterborough, Lincoln, Oxford, Coventry, and Litchfield. And the 6th, Wales, Worceſter, and Hereford. They began their viſitation in Auguſt, about the time that the protector made his expedition into Scotland. Burnet, tom. II. p. 26. 31.

[t] This year, the book of Homilies, compoſed by archbiſhop Cranmer, was publiſhed, and printed twice by Grafton. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 31.

The

hoſtilities were begun. The protector, who was willing to manage France, complied with his requeſt, and the conferences began the 4th of Auguſt. Tunſtal, who was firſt plenipotentiary [u], had orders to ſubmit to any terms, provided the Scotch commiſſioners had power to agree to the marriage, otherwiſe he was to break off the congreſs. This condition rendered the negotiation ineffectual, becauſe the Scots had nothing like it in their inſtructions. So the protector, departing in Auguſt, entered the territories of Scotland the 2d of September, with an army of fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe [w], having the earl of Warwick for lieutenant-general. He took ſome caſtles in his march, and particularly the caſtle of Broughty [x], near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garriſon of two hundred men. A few days after, he came within ſight of the Scoth army, thirty thouſand ſtrong [y], with thirty pieces of cannon, who expected him on the field of Pinkey, near Muſſelburgh.

The duke of Somerſet, as I ſaid, had undertaken the war againſt his will, and only to avoid the blame of not endeavouring to procure for his young maſter an advantageous marriage. The ſight of the enemies army, ſuperior to his own, encreaſed not his deſire to decide the affair by way of arms. Wherefore, to avoid ſo dangerous a deciſion, he wrote to the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, deſiring him to conſider the great quantity of innocent blood which was going to be ſhed. And to ſhew that he was ready himſelf to come to an agreement, he made this offer: that he would retire to England with his army, if the Scots would agree that the young queen ſhould be bred up in Scotland till ſhe came of age, and give ſecurity that ſhe ſhould not till then be contracted to any foreigner. This propoſal might have been accepted without any detriment either to the queen or the kingdom of Scotland. In the firſt place, this condition hindered not the queen from marrying a Scotch lord. Secondly, the worſt that could happen to the Scots, was to be, when their queen was of age, in the ſame ſituation they were in at preſent. Laſtly, the king of England or the queen might die in this interval, and of courſe the death of either ended the quarrel; but the French faction was ſo prevalent in the council of Scotland, that this advantageous offer was proudly rejected. Nay, a rumour was ſpread among the Scotch troops, that the protector of England would not hearken to a peace, unleſs the queen was put into his hands.

The two armies were parted by the river Eſke. The Engliſh were encamped about two miles on the ſouth ſide, and the Scots along the banks, on the north. So if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, probably the Engliſh would never have attempted to paſs the river in their ſight. Mean while, the protector having formed the deſign of approaching the Scots, and gaining a riſing ground on the left, which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army. But the Scots, having notice of it, immediately paſſed the river, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that poſt. The protector having miſſed his aim, marched to the right, towards the ſea, in order to encamp on a little hill not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine he was approaching the ſea, to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet which was entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more eaſily. The whole Scotch army were ſo poſſeſſed with this notion, that they conſidered the Engliſh as already vanquiſhed by fear. Mean while the protector had poſted himſelf on the hill, and made ſome entrenchments before his camp. This confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint in order to retire in the night. So, reſolving to hinder the Engliſh from executing this imaginary deſign, they advanced in good order to join battle. The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march, he drew up his army, part on the hill and part on the plain, and expected them without ſtirring. He had placed his artillery in an advantageous place that commanded the whole plain, and on the other ſide, his fleet was near enough to fire upon the enemy in flank. Nay, there was a galliot, which being lighter than the reſt of the ſhips, came very near the land and extremely annoyed the Scotch army [z].

It was on the 10th of September that the two armies engaged. I ſhall not relate the particulars of the battle. Beſides, that the hiſtorians agree not in the principal circumſtances, there are but few capable of giving a juſt account of what paſſes on theſe occaſions, and of pointing out the chief cauſes of the gain or loſs of a battle. It belongs only to generals themſelves to be good hiſtorians on ſuch ſubjects. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with reciting the ſucceſs of this action. After a very obſtinate fight, the Scots were routed, leaving fourteen thouſand dead on the place, and fifteen hundred priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh, of whom eight hundred were gentlemen.

This great loſs threw all Scotland into the utmoſt conſternation. The regent and the queen, after garriſoning the caſtle of Edinburgh, retired to Sterling with the remains of their army, abandoning thus the frontiers to the ravages of the Engliſh, A few days after, the protector took Leith; and the Engliſh fleet, commanded by the lord Clinton, burnt ſeveral ſea-port towns in the county of Fife, with all the ſhips in their harbours. Then the Engliſh army marched to Edinburgh, and, entering without oppoſition, plundered the city. Such a terror ſeized all Scotland, that if the protector had improved his ſucceſs, by beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh, it is hardly to be doubted, he would have forced the regent to relinquiſh the young queen, or ſubdued the kingdom: but affairs which concerned him in particular, made him relinquiſh his enterpriſe, juſt as he was going to reap the fruits of his victory. Whilſt he was employed in Scotland, his brother the admiral caballed againſt him in England, and had now made ſuch progreſs, that the protector was upon the point of being ruined at the very time he was cauſing the king's arms to triumph. The advice he received made him think he could not too ſpeedily return to court, in order to break his brother's meaſures. This was the real motive of his haſty return, which however was coloured with other pretences.

The 18th of September he departed for England, having employed but ſixteen days in his expedition from his entrance into Scotland, and, if we may believe the Engliſh writers, loſt but ſixty-two men in all [a]. In his return, he marched through the counties of March and Tivotdale, and leaving a garriſon in the caſtle of Hume, ordered Roxborough to be repaired, where he left Sir Ralph Palmer governor.

The protector's glorious campaign in Scotland put the nation in mind of ſeveral noble actions performed by him in the late reign. This gained him great applauſe from the people [b]; but withal, the envy of the nobles, who, if ſir John Hayward is to be credited, had no great eſteem for him. This contract between the nobles and people was very prejudicial to him. It induced him to rely too much on the people's favour, and to raiſe himſelf above the reſt of the nobles, both by an external pomp, and by aſſuming the ſole adminiſtration of affairs. As by the king's patent, he was not obliged to follow the advice of the council, he generally conſulted only his creatures, and neglected the reſt as if there, were no ſuch men. This behaviour ſeemed at firſt a little ſtrange in one, who, very far from being naturally proud and haughty, was rather humble, modeſt, and civil. No other reaſon can be given, but his great zeal to promote the reformation. This was doubtleſs what made him think it neceſſary to remove from the adminiſtration thoſe who were not led by the ſame zeal as himſelf, in order to leſſen the oppoſition as much as poſſible. Beſides, he had paſſed the beſt part of his life in the court of Henry VIII. where he had ſeen the authority-royal carried to the greateſt height; and as Henry had ſucceeded by the way of rigour, he deemed it requiſite to follow much the ſame maxims. The reformation was certainly the ſole object the protector had in view, and all his proceeding in the public affairs, both foreign and domeſtic, tended properly to that point.

The commiſſioners appointed to viſit the churches, having

[u] The other was ſir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. II. p. 31.

[w] According to king Edward's journal, the Engliſh army conſiſted of thirteen thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe (p. 4.) But Hollingſhead gives us the following particulars: The duke of Somerſet was general of the whole army, and captain of the middle ward, which conſiſted of four thouſand foot. The earl of Warwick led the fore ward, containing three thouſand foot. And the rear ward, wherein was the ſame number, was brought up by the lord Dacres. The lord Grey, of Wilton, marſhal of the army, was captain-general of the horſe, in number ſix thouſand. Sir Francis Brian, captain of the light horſe, in number two thouſand. Sir Ralph Vane, lieutenant of all the men at arms, and demi-lances. Sir Thomas Darcy, captain of all the king's penſioners and men at arms. Sir Peter Mewtas, captain of the harque-butters, in number ſix hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa, captain of two hundred harque-butters, on horſeback. John Brenne, captain of the pioneers, in number fourteen hundred, p. 980. In the mean time, the fleet advanced towards Newcaſtle, conſiſting of ſixty-five veſſels, whereof one galley and thirty-four tall ſhips were prepared for fighting; the reſt ſerved for carriage of ammunition and victuals. Of this fleet Sir Edward Clinton was admiral, and ſir William Woodhouſe vice-admiral. Hayward, p. 279.

[x] Brochty-Crag, a fort in the county of Angus. Camden. Hollingſhead ſays, it was not taken till September 21, p. 990. Edw. Journ. ſays, it was after the battle.

[y] So Buchanan ſays, l. 15. But in king Edward's journal it is ſaid, that it conſiſted of thirty-ſix thouſand men at leaſt, p. 5.

[z] It ſlew the maſter of Grahme, and twenty others near him. Hollingſh. p. 984.

[a] Under ſixty, ſays Hayward, p. 287. But Buchanan affirms, that the Engliſh loſt about two hundred horſe in the firſt charge, l. 15.

[b] The mayor and aldermen of London went out to meet him in Finſbury-field, on Oct. 8, when he returned to that city. Hollingſhead, p. 992.

To

made their report, it was found that all the biſhops had complied with the orders of the council, except Bonner of London, and Gardiner of Wincheſter. Theſe had given an advantage againſt themſelves, not only by direct oppoſition, but by cavils, which plainly ſhewed how averſe they were to all reformation. They inſiſted chiefly upon the forementioned maxim, that it was not lawful to make any alterations in religion during the king's minority. As this principle might have had pernicious conſequences with reſpect to the government, it was made a pretence to ſend them to priſon [c], notwithſtanding their ſeeming, but very equivocal, ſubmiſſion. The truth is, as ſeveral acts in favour of the reformation were intended to be paſſed in the next parliament, which was ſummoned to meet the 4th of November, the reformers were very glad to be freed from the troubleſome oppoſition of theſe two prelates. The princeſs Mary was alſo diſpleaſed with the inſtructions given to the viſitors, and with the deſign of advancing the reformation. She wrote upon this occaſion to the protector, expreſſing her diſlike of all the changes which were making, and of thoſe which were deſigned to be made during the king's minority. The protector ſent her a very ſtrong anſwer, and did not think himſelf obliged to conform to her ſentiments.

Some days before the parliament met, the lord Rich was made chancellor [d]. The 3d of November, the day before the opening of the parliament, the protector, by a patent under the great ſeal, was warranted to ſit in parliament on the right hand of the throne, under the cloth of ſtate, whether the king was preſent or not; and moreover was to have all the honours, privileges, and prerogatives, that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protectors, had ever enjoyed, with a Non-obſtante to the ſtatute of precedence. This proceeding was a clear evidence that the duke of Somerſet's intention was not only to be ſuperior to all, but even to deſtroy by degrees the very remembrance of the form of government eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. Though he had not forgot to cauſe the patent to be approved by the council before it was ſealed, that was not ſufficient to juſtify him entirely. It was well known the king did nothing but by his direction: that the council was at his command, and that it would have been very dangerous for the counſellors, directly to oppoſe a patent which concerned him in particular.

The parliament, being met the 4th of November, paſſed ſeveral material acts, relating ſome to the ſtate, and others to religion. It is very certain, the number of thoſe who deſired a reformation was very great in the kingdom. However it muſt not be imagined that then, any more than at this day, whatever the parliament did was agreeable to the general opinion of the nation. The repreſentatives of the commons was choſen, as they are at preſent, without any inſtructions concerning the points to be debated in parliament, nay, without the people's knowing any thing of them. Thus, the houſe of commons had, as I may ſay, an unlimited power to determine by a majority of votes, with the concurrence of the lords and aſſent of the king, what they deemed proper for the welfare of the kingdom. There was no neceſſity therefore, in order to obtain what the court deſired, of having the univerſal conſent of the people, but only the majority of the voices in both houſes. Hence it is eaſy to conceive, that the court uſed all imaginable means to cauſe ſuch members to be elected as were in their ſentiments. This is now, and ever will be, practiſed, till ſome cure is found for this inconvenience. I call it inconvenience, becauſe it happens ſometimes that the parliament paſſes acts contrary to the general opinion of the nation. Of this, one may be eaſily convinced, by what paſſed in the parliaments held under Edward VI. and queen Mary his ſiſter. In the reign of Edward, popery was entirely rooted out, and under Mary it was wholly replanted. In one or other of theſe reigns, therefore, the parliament muſt have acted contrary to the opinion of the people; ſince it is not poſſible to believe, that a whole nation ſhould have thus changed, in an inſtant, from white to black. I do not pretend, by this remark, to weaken the proceedings of Edward VIth's parliament in favour of the reformation; what I advance is levelled as much againſt that of queen Mary as againſt this. My deſign is only to obſerve, that the determination of a parliament is not always a convincing proof of the approbation of the whole Engliſh nation. The reaſons therefore which may be drawn from the pretended conſent of the nation, repreſented in parliament, either for or againſt the reformation, ſeem to be of very little weight. Each of the two parties will always ſay, and perhaps very juſtly, that the parliament which oppoſed them, was a parliament devoted to the king and the miniſtry.

The preſent parliament was, in all appearance, directed by the duke of Somerſet, ſince it ſo readily favoured all his deſigns. I ſhall content myſelf with relating the ſubſtance of the chief acts paſſed this ſeſſion, without inſiſting much upon them, becauſe Dr. Burnet has ſpoken of them ſo accurately and fully, in his Hiſtory of the Reformation, that it would be needleſs to repeat what he has ſaid.

The firſt ſtatute repealed ſeveral acts paſſed in the late and ſome former reigns: namely,

I. All acts declaring any thing to be treaſon but what was in the ſtatute of 25 Edward III. This ſtatute of king Edward had long ſerved for the ſtandard of treaſon, till during the civil wars between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, and particularly in the reign of Henry VIII. the liſt of treaſonable offences was very much encreaſed. Therefore the parliament very juſtly reduced theſe offences within their old bounds, that the ſubjects might not be liable to ſo many rigours.

II. This ſtatute alſo repealed all acts, declaring that to be felony which was not ſo before the rupture with the pope [e]. And,

III. The act which made the king's proclamations of equal authority with acts of parliament. If this ſtatute had continued, parliaments would have become uſeleſs.

IV. Two acts concerning the Lollards [f].

Laſtly, By the ſame ſtatute, the law of the ſix articles was alſo repealed.

By another article of the ſame ſtatute, the king's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was again confirmed, with ſeveral penalties upon thoſe who ſhould call it in queſtion. It was likewiſe declared high treaſon in any of the heirs of the crown, nominated in Henry VIIIth's will, and in their abettors, to endeavour to break the ſucceſſion of the crown ſettled by that prince.

It was alſo enacted, That all ſhould enjoy the benefit of the clergy [g], and the privilege of ſanctuary, as before Henry VIIIth's reign; excepting only ſuch as were guilty of murder, poiſoning, burglary, robbing on the highway, ſtealing of cattle, and ſtealing out of churches and chapels.

An act, paſſed in Henry VIIIth's time, empowering his ſucceſſor to annul laws made during his minority till his four and twentieth year, was likewiſe explained; and it was declared, that this act ſhould only take place for the future, and not for the paſt [h].

With regard to religion, ſeveral acts were made, which cauſed very great alterations. Firſt, private maſſes were aboliſhed, and the cup was given to the people in the communion [i].

Another act gave the king power to nominate to the vacant ſees by his letters patents, and ſo aboliſhed the way of chuſing biſhops by conge d'elire [k], which was only a mockery, ſince theſe pretended elections were all made by the direction of the court.

The juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts was alſo very

[c] To the Fleet. Burnet, p. 37. Gardiner was impriſoned, June 31, and releaſed about the end of the year. Strype, p. 68.

[d] His patent bears date November 30. See Burnet, tom. III. Collect. p. 406.

[e] Or rather, all acts made upon this head ſince April 23, 1 Hen. VIII. as it is in the ſtatute.

[f] Thoſe of 5 Richard II. and 2 Henry V.

[g] Benefit of the clergy was an antient liberty of the church, confirmed by divers parliaments. When a prieſt, or one within orders, was arraigned of felony before a ſecular judge, he might pray his clergy, that is, to be delivered to his ordinary, to purge himſelf of the offence objected. But the antient courſe of the law in this point of clergy is much altered; for clerks be no more delivered to their ordinaries to be purged, but now every man, though not within orders, is put to read at the bar, being found guilty, and convicted of ſuch felony as this benefit is granted for, and ſo burnt in the hand, and ſet free for the firſt time, if the ordinary's deputy, ſtanding by, do ſay, Legit ut Clericus.

[h] This law was thus altered. The king, after the 24th year of his age, might, by his letters patents, void any act of parliament for the future, except this preſent act, and all pardons granted by parliament, but could not ſo void it from the beginning, as to annul all things done upon it between the making and annulling it, which were ſtill to be lawful deeds. Burnet, tom. II. p. 41.

[i] And becauſe ſome perſons, on account of the abuſes committed by this ſacrament, took occaſion to deſpiſe and revile it, it was furthermore enjoined by this act, that whoever were for the future guilty of depraving or deſpiſing of it, ſhould be impriſoned, and make fine and ranſom at the king's pleaſure. This bill was firſt read on Nov. 15, twice on the 17th, and again on the 24th, when it was delivered to the lord chancellor. The diſſentient from it were the biſhops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, and Chicheſter. Journals Parl.

[k] But the fees uſually paid on the collation to a biſhopric, were retained by an article of this act. They amount to 3311. as the reader may ſee in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. II. p. 236.

Whereas

much abridged, by taking from them the cognizance of matrimonial and teſtamentary cauſes, which were removed to the civil courts [l].

Then the parliament paſſed a very remarkable act againſt vagabonds. It was enacted, That if any perſon ſhould any where loiter without work, or without offering himſelf to work three days together, he ſhould be adjudged to be a ſlave for two years, to him that ſhould preſent him to two juſtices of peace, and be marked with the letter V imprinted with a hot iron on his breaſt. The law was thought very ſevere in a country like England, where ſlavery ſeems inconſiſtent with the privileges of the people. But herein the court, by whom the parliament was governed, had an eye only to the monks, who being gone from their monaſteries, little inured to labour, could not think of working for their livelihood. Theſe men ſpent their time in going from houſe to houſe, to cabal againſt the government, and inſpire the people with the ſpirit of rebellion. So the court, judging it to be an effect of their idleneſs, and that if they betook themſelves to ſome employment, they would at length loſe this habit, reſolved to make them work, how unwilling ſoever they might be. Mean while, as the law was general, it occaſioned great murmurs among the people. Wherefore it was never rigorouſly executed, and even repealed by another parliament.

Laſtly, the parliament gave the king all the lands deſigned for the maintenance of chantries, chapels, and colleges, which were not poſſeſſed by Henry VIII. and all revenues given for obits, anniverſaries, lights in the churches, together with all guild lands [m] which any fraternity enjoyed on the ſame account. This act did not paſs without great difficulty. Cranmer himſelf oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power [n]; not from a deſire to keep theſe endowments for the uſes intended by the donors, but becauſe he hoped to meet with ſome favourable opportunity to convert them to other uſes beneficial to religion; whereas being once in the king's hands, the church was deprived of them for ever. But all oppoſition was in vain. The nobles gaped, as I may ſay, after the church-lands, which they obtained of the court upon very eaſy terms. Beſides, the executors of the late king's will, wanted theſe lands to pay his debts and legacies. It it true, there was a clauſe in the act, importing, that theſe lands ſhould be converted to the maintenance of grammar-ſchools and preachers; but it was never put in practice [o].

The parliament ended with a general pardon; in which were excepted the priſoners in the Tower, and thoſe who had abſented themſelves out of the kingdom. As Gardiner was not in the Tower, he enjoyed the benefit of the pardon.

I juſt mentioned the reaſon which obliged the protector to quit Scotland and return to court, with a precipitation very detrimental to the king's affairs. But it is neceſſary now to ſpeak a little more largely of it, before I conclude the year 1547, becauſe it was during this ſeſſion of the parliament that the affair broke out.

Among all the enviers of the protector, there was not one more paſſionate againſt him than his brother, admiral Thomas Seymour. He was a hot, proud, and haughty man. It is true, he was reckoned to have more ſenſe than his brother, and to be more capable of managing great affairs. But this opinion might proceed from the party he had made among the nobility, who loved not the protector. However, the admiral could not bear the difference the king had put between him and the duke of Somerſet, though they were both uncles to the young king. He thought himſelf, by his birth and natural endowments, as worthy as his brother of having a ſhare in the adminiſtration of the government. Preſently after Henry's death, he gave proof of his ambition in making his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth: but, finding he was not like to ſucceed, he turned to Catherine Parr, queen dowager, and ſo won her heart, that he privately married her, without communicating it to the duke, his brother, who was now inveſted with the protectorſhip. This marriage was ſo quickly after Henry's death, that if the queen had bred ſo ſoon as ſhe might have done, there would have been room to queſtion whether the child was the king's or the admiral's. Having kept his marriage private for ſome time, he found means, unknown to the protector, to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a huſband. Whereupon he declared his marriage, without uſing any ceremony with his brother. And here began their quarrel. But the protector, who was a man of great moderation, prevented their quarrel from breaking out, though he was ſtill extremely diſpleaſed with his brother. The admiral's envy was greatly encreaſed by the duke his brother's promotion, who, from a nominal, was become a real protector. This envy, added to his natural diſpoſition, carried him at length to form the project of ſupplanting him, by inſinuating himſelf into the king's favour, and making a party among the nobility. There is no doubt the protector's ſecret enemies cheriſhed the admiral's ambition by the praiſes they gave him, confirming him in his ill opinion of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Eaſter, with gaining the king's ſervants to his intereſt, that they might continue their young maſter in a good opinion of him. By their means he ſo ordered it, that the king frequently came to his houſe to ſee his mother-in-law. Here it was that he diligently made his court, and even furniſhed him with money for his privy purſe, and for ſmall preſents to his domeſtics [p]. This pleaſed the young king, who found himſelf freed from the trouble of aſking his governor for money, and of being accountable to him for what he did with it. All this could not be done without the protector's knowledge. He taxed his brother with it, who denied all, but in ſo haughty a manner, that it was eaſy for the protector to perceive he had not much regard for him. He was unwilling, however, to come to an open quarrel, hoping in time to reclaim him.

The protector was no ſooner in Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with leſs reſerve than before. He diſtributed money to ſeveral perſons, and never ceaſed making his court to the king. Nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the ſalary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, ſeeing how he encreaſed in favour with the king, thought himſelf obliged to talk with him about it. But the admiral's anſwer not ſatisfying him, he ſent the protector notice of it, and upon this intelligence it was that he ended his campaign in Scotland ſo abruptly, to return to court, and break his brother's meaſures.

The protector's arrival was not capable of interrupting the admiral's projects. He rather haſtened the execution the more, not to give his brother time to prevent him. He had

[l] Whereas (ſays the act) the biſhops did exerciſe their authority, and carry on proceſſes in their own names; and ſince all juriſdiction both ſpiritual and temporal was derived from the king, therefore their courts and all proceſſes ſhould be from henceforth carried on in the king's name, and be ſealed by the king's ſeal, as it was in the other courts of common law, excepting only the archbiſhop of Canterbury's courts, and all collations, preſentations, or letters of orders, which were to paſs under the biſhops proper ſeals as formerly.

[m] A chantry, was a little church, chapel, or particular altar, in ſome cathedral church, &c. endowed with lands, or other revenues, for the maintenance of one or more prieſts daily to ſing maſs, and perform divine ſervice for the ſouls of the founders, and ſuch others as they appointed.—Free chapels, were independent from any church, and endowed for much the ſame purpoſe as the chantries.—The Obit, was the anniverſary of any perſon's death; and to obſerve ſuch day with prayers, alms, or other commemoration, was called the keeping of the Obit.—Anniverſaries, were the yearly returns of the day of the death of perſons, which the religious regiſtered in their Obitual, or Martyrology, and annually obſerved in gratitude to the founders and benefactors.—Guild, ſignifies a fraternity or company, from the Saxon, gildan, to pay, becauſe every one was to pay ſomething towards the charge and ſupport of the company. G. Jacob.—Of theſe chantries and free chapels, there were in the kingdom two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four. When they were ſold, in the 2d year of this king, they were valued, in the whole, at about two thouſand five hundred and ninety-three pounds; and were ſold for forty-ſix thouſand two hundred and forty-nine pounds fourteen ſhillings. See Strype's Mem. tom. II. Repoſit. p. 85, &c.—Beſides theſe chantries, the parliament granted alſo the king tonnage and poundage for life; which was three ſhillings of every tun of wine, and of ſweet wine ſix ſhillings, and of every aulme of rheniſh twelve-pence. The poundage was twelve-pence in the pound of the value of all goods imported or exported; and two ſhillings of aliens for tin and pewter exported. The ſubſidy from wool was 33s. 4d. of every ſack of wool; and of that exported by ſtrangers, 3l. 6s. 8d; of every two hundred and forty wool-fells, 33s. 4d; for every laſt of hides and backs, 3l. 6s. 8d; but of ſtrangers, 3l. 13s. 4d. Stevens Hiſt. Ta. p. 231, 232.

[n] As did alſo the biſhops of London, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worceſter, Chicheſter. It was firſt read in the houſe of lords, December 6; and the ſecond, third, and fourth times, on the 12th, 14th, and 15th of the ſame month. It was read again twice on the 24th, and ſent down to the commons. Journ. Parl.

[o] This is a miſtake. There were ſchools founded by king Edward, at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, Spilleſby and Louth in Lincolnſhire, Chelmsford in Eſſex, Sedburgh in Yorkſhire, Shrewſbury, Eaſt-Redford in Nottinghamſhire, Birmingham in Warwickſhire, Morpeth in Northumberland: as alſo at Macclesfield, Nun-Eaton, Sturbridge in Worceſterſhire, Bath, Bedford, Guildford, Grantham, Thorne, Giggleſwick, St. Albans, Tunbridge, Southampton, Stratford-upon-Avon, &c. which were moſtly endowed out of the chantry-lands. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 535, &c.

[p] Particularly the firſt time Latimer preached at court, the king ſent to the admiral to know what preſent he ſhould make him; Seymour ſent him 40l. but ſaid, he thought 20l. was enough to give Latimer, and the king might diſpoſe of the reſt as he pleaſed. And alſo at Chriſtmas, the admiral gave Mr. Cheek, the king's tutor, 20l. and 20l. more for Edward to diſtribute among his ſervants. Burnet, tom. II. p. 54. Strype, p. 78.

gained ſome of the privy counſellors, ſeveral lords of diſtinction, and many members of parliament. In fine, he perſuaded the king that the two offices of protector and governor of his perſon, gave the duke of Somerſet too much authority, and that it was proper to part them, and confer the ſecond on him, in order to balance the protector's power. The young king was much better pleaſed to have for governor an uncle, who had all the condeſcenſion poſſible for him, than one who was not ſo complaiſant, and kept him more in awe. So, his age not allowing him to make other reflections, he wrote with his own hand a meſſage to the houſe of commons, deſiring them to make the admiral the governor of his perſon. The admiral was to carry the meſſage himſelf; but his contrivance was diſcovered before he could execute his deſign. The council, hearing of it, ſent ſome lords to reaſon the caſe with him, and prevail with him to proceed no farther. But the lords did not bring back the ſatisfaction that was expected. On the contrary, inſtead of regarding their remonſtrances, he anſwered with threats [q]. Whereupon he was ſent for next day by order from the council, but refuſed to come. At laſt, he was threatened to be turned out of all his offices, ſent to the Tower, and proſecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death for any perſon to diſturb the government. This menace frightened him. He plainly ſaw, though he had the king on his ſide, the young prince, who was but juſt entered into his eleventh year, would not have reſolution enough to ſupport him, contrary to the advice of the protector and council. Nay, it was hinted to him, there was no likelihood the parliament would hearken to a meſſage from a minor king, but would doubtleſs ſuppoſe him to have been ſurpriſed. He choſe therefore to ſubmit himſelf to the protector and council, and to be reconciled to his brother, who deſired only to reclaim him by fair means. However, this reconciliation was not perfect. Quickly after, he ſhewed he had not relinquiſhed, but only put off his deſign, till a more convenient ſeaſon. And, indeed, he never ceaſed endeavouring, both by himſelf and by thoſe whom he had gained, to infuſe into the king a diſlike of the protector and his other miniſters. This made the protector ſet ſpies about him, to be informed of his proceedings, conſidering him as a very dangerous enemy.

This year the face of affairs in Germany was entirely changed. The emperor defeated and took priſoner John Frederic, elector of Saxony [r], and declared his couſin Maurice elector, who at the ſame time took poſſeſſion of the electoral dominions. After this diſaſter, the landgrave of Heſſe, finding himſelf unable to maintain the war, made the beſt terms he could with the emperor, and came to him upon the faith of a ſafe conduct, which expreſly ran, that he ſhould not be liable to any impriſonment. But, by a groſs fraud, inſtead of the German word Emig, which ſignifies any, the word Ewig, which ſignifies perpetual, was inſerted. By this baſe artifice he was detained a priſoner, to be releaſed at the emperor's pleaſure.

The impriſonment of the two heads rendered the proteſtant party very weak, and the emperor's triumphant. The archbiſhop of Cologn, who had embraced the proteſtant religion, was forced to renounce his dignities of archbiſhop and elector of the empire. After that, the emperor made ſundry alterations, tending to deſtroy the reformation; or rather, under that pretence, to render himſelf abſolute in Germany. For this cauſe, the pope himſelf grew jealous of him. As after his victory, his embaſſadors were imperious at Trent, the pope ordered the council to be removed to Bologna, under the feigned pretence of the plague's being at Trent.

Hitherto Germany had ſerved for ſanctuary to many proteſtants, perſecuted in other countries. But, ſince the emperor's victory, they were no longer ſafe there. For which reaſon many came into England, where they ſaw the reformation to be in a proſperous way. Among theſe, were Peter Martyr [s], Bucer, Ochinus, Fagius; to whom Edward gave penſions and benefices, as appears in the Collection of the Public Acts.

Though Henry II. had refuſed to ratify the two treaties concluded at London in March, the Engliſh, however, as I obſerved, continued the fortifications of Bullenberg, purſuant to an article of the treaty of peace. But, after ſeveral complaints from France, Henry ſent ſo rough a meſſage by his embaſſador, that the protector, rather than hazard a quarrel with France, ordered the works to be diſcontinued before the fort was finiſhed.

[1548] In the beginning of the year 1548, the council made ſeveral alterations with reſpect to religion. By an order [t], the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, of aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, of palm on Palm-Sunday, with the rites uſed on Good-Friday and Eaſter-day, were forbidden [u]. Moreover, it was left to the people's choice to go to confeſſion or to neglect that practice, hitherto deemed an indiſpenſible duty. Some days after, it was ordered that all images in general ſhould be removed from the churches [w]. As England was then divided in two parties, ſome approved, and others cenſured theſe changes. But the council, in ſpite of all oppoſition, cauſed their orders to be confirmed by the king's proclamation, in virtue of his ſupremacy. Only Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, openly oppoſed theſe changes, upon the maxim that no alteration in religion could be lawfully made till the king was of age. He was not the only perſon that tried to inſtil this notion into the people. All thoſe of his party endeavoured the ſame thing, but had not the courage to do it publicly. Whereupon he was commanded to appear before the council; and, as he offered to ſubmit to whatever ſhould be preſcribed him, he was ordered [x] to preach at St. Paul's upon certain points; whereof one of the chief was, that the king's authority was the ſame during his minority as when of age. He preached; but ſo little to the council's ſatisfaction, that it was reſolved to ſend him to the Tower. This ſeverity produced a great effect, in that all the friends of the Romiſh church reſolved to conform at leaſt outwardly to what ſhould be enjoined by public authority, when they ſaw one of their chief ſupporters was not ſpared.

Mean while the war with Scotland gave the protector great uneaſineſs. He clearly ſaw it was ridiculous to think of accompliſhing the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland, by the way of arms, in ſpite of the queen-dowager, the regent, and the council. Moreover, he knew France was preparing to ſend them a powerful aid; and therefore he perceived it would be very difficult to ſucceed in this undertaking: beſides, that the war would very likely occaſion a rupture with France. In ſhort, nothing was more repugnant than a war to his deſign of compleating the reformation. He would have been glad the regent of Scotland had accepted a ten years truce, which he offered him. But the Scots would not hearken to it, becauſe France had promiſed them a powerful aid. The protector therefore was forced to reſolve, even againſt his will, to continue the war. But, as he would not command the army himſelf, he gave the conduct thereof to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occaſion, he plainly ſhewed he meant to ſtretch the prerogatives of the protectorſhip as far as poſſible, ſince he would have the earl take his commiſſion of him. However, as the patent, obtained the 12th of March the laſt year, did not ſo clearly give him the power of nominating his lieutenants, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged. In this, the king ſaid, that having, by his letters patents of the 12th of March, appointed his uncle the duke of Somerſet, protector of the kingdom and governor of his perſon, his intention was, that the clauſes therein contained ſhould be underſtood in the ampleſt ſenſe, and the moſt favourable to the duke: that however, as the generality of the terms might occaſion ſome doubts, he declared that he conſtituted him his lieutenant general and captain general throughout his whole dominions, with power to order his ſubjects to take up arms whenever he ſhould think proper, and to appoint lieutenants to command in his place both by ſea and land. It cannot be denied all this was very contrary to the eſtabliſhment of the late king, and conſequently to

[q] He told them, if he were croſſed in his attempt, he would make this the blackeſt parliament that ever was in England. Burnet, tom. II. p. 53.

[r] April 24. Sleidan, l. 19.

[s] Peter Martyr was invited over, in the king's name, by Cranmer. He was born in Florence. He had a penſion of forty marks a year; as had Ochinus, who was made a canon of Canterbury, with a diſpenſation of reſidence. Fagius was Hebrew profeſſor at Cambridge, and had a penſion of 100l. Peter Martyr had the divinity chair at Oxford; and Bucer that of Cambridge, with a ſalary of 100l. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 170, 192, 193.

[t] Dated January 28. Heylin, p. 55.

[u] All wakes and Plough-Mondays were alſo ſuppreſſed. Burnet, tom. II. p. 59.

[w] February 11. The people were very forward, in ſeveral places, to pull down the images; and had already begun to do it, before the publication of this order; particularly at St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London; and at Portſmouth. Strype, tom. II. p. 33.—About this time, to prevent the miſchiefs occaſioned by the raſh preachers, it was enjoined, That none ſhould preach without licence from the king, and his viſitors, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the biſhop of the dioceſe, except incumbents preaching in their own churches. Burnet tom. II. p. 59.

[x] Burnet ſays, Gardiner, when he came before the council, deſired that he might be ſuffered to clear himſelf of all miſrepreſentations that had been made of him, in a ſermon he ſhould preach before the king, in which he ſhould declare how well he was ſatisfied with his proceedings. But he was far from doing ſo, tom. II. p. 68, 70. Stow, p. 596.

With

the act of parliament by which it was previouſly authoriſed. All the favours granted by the king to any but the protector, could be juſtified by the advice of the protector and council: but thoſe done to the protector himſelf, muſt have been aſcribed wholly to the perſuaſions of the perſon who received them. Nay, in extraordinary favours, this rendered in ſome meaſure the king's patents ridiculous, who was made to ſay, he granted them to the protector, by the advice of the protector himſelf.

Mean time, in the beginning of the ſpring, whilſt the court of England was conſidering whether the war with Scotland ſhould be continued, the regent of that kingdom had opened the campaign with the ſiege of Broughty caſtle [y], which employed him three months in vain, though it was but an inconſiderable place. On the other ſide, whilſt he uſed all his forces in the ſiege, the Engliſh took the caſtle of Hadington, and fortified it with all ſpeed. By means of that place, ſituated in one of the moſt fruitful counties of Scotland, they made excurſions to the very gates of Edinburgh, which was but twelve miles from thence. They took Lauder alſo, and made ſome works there.

About the end of May, the Scots received from France an aid [z] of ſix thouſand French and Germans, commanded by Deſſe d'Eſpanvilliers. After theſe troops were a little refreſhed, the regent joined with them eight thouſand Scots, and with theſe forces the two generals beſieged Hadington [a]. During the ſiege it was, that, after ſeveral conferences between the French and the Scots, the reſolution was taken of ſending the young queen of Scotland to France. Many Scots, however, very much diſliked that reſolution. They affirmed, when the queen ſhould be in France, there would be no way to make peace with the Engliſh; whereas, without any prejudice either to the queen or kingdom, the ten years truce offered by the Engliſh might be accepted. This argument was combated by others, who maintained, that the aim of the Engliſh in the war being only to marry the queen to Edward, they would have no farther inducement to continue it, when once that expectation was deſtroyed. Nevertheleſs, it was eaſy to ſee that, by delivering the queen to the French king, they were going to be at the mercy of their ally. But beſides, that the French declared France would not engage to aſſiſt Scotland upon any other terms, the queen mother was extremely deſirous her daughter ſhould be at the court of France, where the princes of Lorrain, her brothers, bore an abſolute ſway. Beſides, all the clergy earneſtly preſſed the ſending of the queen into France, out of fear of her being forced at laſt to be delivered to the Engliſh, and that their religion would be deſtroyed by her marriage with Edward. In ſhort, to win the regent, the king of France promiſed to confer on him the title of duke of Chateleraut, with twelve thouſand livres a year in land. All this produced the reſolution of ſending the queen into France, in the ſame ſhips that had brought the auxiliary troops. But, to avoid meeting the Engliſh fleet, the ſhips ſailed round Scotland by the north [b], and landed the queen in the province of Bretagne. Mean while, admiral Seymour, who commanded the naval forces himſelf, made ſeveral deſcents in Scotland, where he was always repulſed with loſs, and at laſt returned to England without much damaging the Scots.

At length the Engliſh army, ſeventeen thouſand ſtrong [c], entered Scotland, under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury. At his approach, the French and Scots raiſed the ſiege of Hadington, and retired [d]. So, the general eaſily ſupplied the place with proviſions, and then, marching to the enemies, who were intrenched in an advantageous poſt, offered them battle; but, after ſtaying about an hour in their ſight, finding they would not ſtir from their intrenchments, he led back his troops into England. It is hard to gueſs what could be the motive of this abrupt retreat, which gave the Scots an opportunity to make great progreſs during the reſt of the campaign [e]. The Engliſh army was no ſooner retired, but Deſſe attempted to ſurpriſe Hadington. He was now at the gates, and juſt entering the place, when a French deſerter, who had fled thither, fired one of the great cannon, which being diſcharged among the thickeſt of the French troops, ſo diſcouraged them, that they retreated with precipitation. From thence Deſſe went and fortified the village of Leith, now become a very conſiderable town. His deſign was to retake Broughty caſtle; but receiving expreſs orders to make an inroad into England, he advanced as far as Newcaſtle, without meeting any reſiſtance, and returned loaded with ſpoil. It is not known what was become of the Engliſh army, led by the earl of Shrewſbury into Scotland, and conſiſting part of Engliſh and part of Landſquenets. Theſe were German troops who had ſerved the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, and, having no leader in the empire, had offered themſelves to the protector, who had entertained them in his ſervice. This had raiſed great murmurs againſt him, the Engliſh being impatient of ſeeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was eaſy to perceive the protector's aim was to ſtrengthen himſelf perſonally with the aid of theſe foreigners.

Before the end of the year, the queen dowager of Scotland, complaining to the court of France of Deſſe's conduct, who behaved with great haughtineſs, and abuſed the Scots [f], cauſed him to be recalled, and de Thermes was ſent in his room. The new general was accompanied with Montluc, biſhop of Valence, who, being returned from his embaſſy at Conſtantinople, was ſent to be chancellor of Scotland. But the Scots were ſo diſpleaſed to ſee the beſt office in the kingdom in the hands of a foreigner, that the king of France recalled him. They began to repent ſending their queen into France, when they ſaw the French ſhew leſs regard for them.

During the year 1548 the pope and emperor had great quarrels about the tranſlation of the council. The emperor, as I obſerved, uſed the pretence of religion to render himſelf abſolute in the empire. The council, aſſembled at Trent, a city of Germany, as the proteſtants had required, furniſhed him with a colour to compel them to ſubmit to its decrees. He was not ſorry they refuſed to comply with them, but deſired they ſhould have no other reaſons than thoſe which they drew from religion itſelf, becauſe then the pretence of conſtraint remained entire. But, by the tranſlation of the council to Bologna, a city of Italy, and belonging to the pope, this pretence was taken away, becauſe the proteſtants had cauſe to complain that the decrees of the diets were not executed. On the other ſide, the pope, finding the emperor was become almoſt abſolute in the empire, by the ſucceſs of one campaign, grew jealous of his power, fearing it would reach likewiſe over all Italy, and be very detrimental to the holy ſee. For that reaſon, he was very glad to have him always at variance with the proteſtants of Germany, that his affairs there might hinder him from forming new projects. Theſe different intereſts were the cauſe that the emperor and the pope could not agree. The emperor proteſted againſt the tranſlation of the council to Bologna, and the pope rejected the proteſtation.

Soon after, the emperor, intending to ſhew the pope he could proceed without him, ordered articles of agreement to be drawn, which were called the Interim; becauſe the form of religion contained therein was to laſt only till a general council ſhould meet in ſome town of Germany. The framers of theſe articles, by the emperor's order [g], took care to ſet them forth in the ſmootheſt terms poſſible. But, in the main, they contained the doctrines of the Romiſh church, though a little diſguiſed. The only conſiderable ſoftenings were, that marriage ſhould be no bar to prieſt's orders, and the communion given in both kinds to thoſe who deſired it. This work being finiſhed, the emperor ſummoned a diet to Augſburg, where the Interim was propoſed. The elector of Mentz, without any order, did, in all the princes names, give the emperor thanks for it, which he interpreted as the aſſent of the whole diet; and, after that, would not receive the proteſtations of ſeveral towns of the empire, againſt the Interim. The pope himſelf was extremely diſpleaſed with it, becauſe, without conſulting him, the emperor had preſumed

[y] With eight thouſand men. Sir Andrew Dudley was governor. Hollingſh. p. 993.

[z] Which they had ſent embaſſadors to demand. Buchan, l. 15.

[a] Sir James Wilford was governor. Hollingſh. p. 995.

[b] By the iſles of Orkney, and came to Dunbritton, where the queen was received on board.

[c] King Edward's Journal ſays, it conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand men, p. 5.

[d] Sir Robert Bowes and ſir Thomas Palmer were ſent before to relieve the place, with a body of thirteen hundred men, but had the misfortune to be ſurpriſed and cut off by the enemy. Hollingſh. p. 994.

[e] Hollingſhead ſays, that the earl of Shrewſbury, and the lord Grey, of Wilton, who ſerved under him, did as much as their commiſſion would bear, p. 995.

[f] Deſſe, when he got to Edinburgh from Hadington, went to quarter his men in the town, but the provoſt oppoſed it. Whereupon the French broke in by force, and killed the provoſt and his ſon, with all they found in the ſtreets, men, women, and children. Deſſe refuſed likewiſe to give the Scots any ſhare of the ſpoil he had taken in England. Burnet, tom. II. p. 84. Buchanan.

[g] The perſons employed were Julius Pflugius, biſhop of Naumburg, Michael Sidonius, and Iſlebius Agricola, which laſt had been a proteſtant, but was believed to be now corrupted by the emperor, that the name of one of the Augſburg Confeſſion might make what they were to ſet out paſs the more eaſily. Sleidan, l. 20.

to diſpenſe with the marriage of prieſts, and communion in both kinds. This occaſioned many troubles in Germany, and obliged numbers of divines and others, who diſliked the Interim, to abſcond or retire elſewhere, not to be expoſed to the victorious emperor's reſentment, who was bent at any rate to have his Interim univerſally received. At this diet, Maurice, of Saxony, was ſolemnly inveſted with the electorate, of which John Frederic had been deprived.

Whilſt the emperor was labouring to deſtroy the reformation in Germany, it daily made freſh progreſs in England. The parliament, which met the 24th of November [h], was almoſt wholly taken up with matters of religion. By an act, made this ſeſſion, prieſts were allowed to marry. Another, confirmed the new liturgy, about which commiſſioners, appointed for examining and reforming the ſeveral offices, had been employed all the ſummer. This new liturgy retrenched divers abuſes, both in the communion ſervice, and all the other offices, and gave the whole a turn favourable to the reformation. It is the ſame the church of England makes uſe of at this day, excepting a few alterations [i].

The protector and the archbiſhop of Canterbury were the chief ſupports and moſt zealous promoters of the reformation, though always in purſuance of the maxim they had eſtabliſhed, namely, to advance by degrees. Whatever reaſons they had thus to proceed, the zealous of the reformed party were not pleaſed with it, becauſe they were afraid that by ſome ſudden and unexpected revolution, the work would be left unfiniſhed. They knew the protector was hated and envied by many of the nobility, and that all the Romiſh party had a mortal averſion to him. This was ſufficient to create a dread, that his enemies would at length prevail over him; the adminiſtration, he was entruſted with, being of ſuch a nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible not to render himſelf in ſome meaſure obnoxious. They had the more reaſon to be alarmed, when they ſaw him forced to arreſt his own brother, who had now formed a party to ſupplant him.

Though the admiral had already endured a great mortification, he ceaſed not however his practices againſt the protector, in ſpite of the warnings which were given him from time to time that they would in the end prove his ruin. The queen his ſpouſe dying in September the laſt year, 1548 [k], he reſolved to renew his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth; but he did not meet with that encouragement from the princeſs which he expected. After all, though he could have obtained her conſent, that would not have been ſufficient without the approbation of the protector and the council. The late king's will expreſly debarred her from the ſucceſſion, if ſhe married without the conſent of the executors. So the admiral, having no hopes of ſucceeding in this project, turned his thoughts another way to try to gratify his ambition. It is pretended he formed a deſign to carry away the king to his houſe of Holt in Denbighſhire, diſplace the protector, and ſeize the government himſelf; and for that purpoſe had now liſted ten thouſand [l] men in ſeveral places. However this be, it is certain he ſpoke openly againſt the protector, charging him with enſlaving the kingdom by means of the foreign troops in his ſervice. It is alſo ſaid that the protector, being informed of all his proceedings, ſhewed great patience towards him, refuſing to come to extremity, till he ſaw plainly one or other muſt neceſſarily be ruined. But to ſpeak the truth, one cannot rely upon what the hiſtorians ſay of the admiral's private deſigns, or of the protector's forbearance. The reaſon is, as ſome make it their buſineſs to blacken the protector's reputation as much as poſſible, ſo others ſtrive to vindicate all his actions. Thus much is certain, the admiral was not ſatisfied with his condition, but ſought to ſupplant his brother, and put himſelf in his place. But one cannot be ſo poſitive of the means he intended to uſe to execute his deſigns.

At laſt the council, being informed he was contriving ſomething againſt the government, ſigned a warrant to ſend him to the Tower [m]. After that, commiſſioners were appointed [n] to receive the depoſitions of thoſe who appeared as witneſſes againſt him. The commiſſioners reported to the council [o], that the admiral was accuſed of forming, with ſeveral others, a conſpiracy againſt the government [p], and of committing many miſdemeanors in the diſcharge of the admiralty: That he was charged with protecting pirates, who gave him a ſhare of their robberies, and with refuſing juſtice to private perſons, or to princes themſelves, who complained to him of theſe outrages, by which the king was in danger of a war. It is ſaid, before he was brought to his trial, the protector endeavoured more than once to perſuade him to reſign his office, and withdraw from court; but to no purpoſe. So his accuſation was drawn, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, upon which ſome of the council were ordered to go and examine him. But he refuſed to anſwer, demanding an open trial, and his accuſers to be brought face to face. The next day, all the privy-council went in a body to the Tower to examine him; but he ſtill refuſed to anſwer, inſiſting upon his firſt demand, which was not thought proper to be granted. It is ſtrange that, as the particulars of his charge were manifeſtly proved (if any credit is to be given to the council-book) not only by witneſſes, but by letters under his own hand, he ſhould however be denied an open trial, and to be confronted with his accuſers: and yet he was a peer of the realm, lord high admiral of England, and uncle to the king. At laſt, finding he could not obtain this favour, or rather juſtice, he deſired the articles of his accuſation might be left with him, and ſaid he would anſwer to them when he had conſidered them. But even this was denied him. I do not know whether it was lawful then to leave with the party accuſed the articles of his charge, and to allow him time to examine them: But as for the bringing his accuſers face to face, it is evident that could not be refuſed without injuſtice, though this pernicious cuſtom had been introduced in the late reign. Nay, it ſeems, it ought to have been aboliſhed during a minority, or practiſed againſt any other, rather than againſt an uncle to the king.

However, the council having made their report to the king [q], it was debated, whether the admiral's affair ſhould be brought before the parliament by a bill of attainder; to which all the counſellors agreed, the protector himſelf not excepted. Herein their deſign was doubtleſs to take care of the king's reputation, and to caſt the odious part of the proſecution upon the parliament. The king, who believed his

[h] It was firſt prorogued to April 20, and then from October 15 and 25, to November 24, by reaſon of the plague then in London. Journ. Parl.

[i] The committee of ſelected biſhops and divines appointed for reforming the offices, and which met at Windſor caſtle for that purpoſe, were, Thomas Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury; Robert Holgate, archbiſhop of York; Edmund Bonner, biſhop of London; Cuthbert Tunſtal, of Durham; Nicholas Heath, of Worceſter; William Rugg, of Norwich; Robert Parſew, of St. Aſaph; John Salcot, of Saliſbury; Richard Sampſon, of Coventry and Litchfield; Robert Aldrich, of Carliſle; Paul Buſh, of Briſtol; Robert Farrar, of St. David's; Thomas Goodrick, of Ely; Henry Holbech, of Lincoln; George Day, of Chicheſter; John Skip, of Hereford; Thomas Thirleby, of Weſtminſter; and Nicholas Ridley, of Rocheſter: with Dr. Richard Cox, dean of Chriſt-church; Dr. May, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Tailor, dean of Lincoln; Dr. Heins, dean of Exeter; Dr. Robertſon, afterwards dean of Durham; and Dr. Redmain, maſter of Trinity college, in Cambridge. The firſt thing they examined was the ſacrament of the euchariſt, than which no part of worſhip was more corrupted. After which they proceeded to the compiling of all the offices, beginning with morning and evening prayer. Theſe were put in the ſame form they are now, only there was no confeſſion nor abſolution: the office beginning with the lord's prayer. In the communion ſervice, the ten commandments were not ſaid as now; but in other things it was very near what it is now. The office of receiving began with a ſhort exhortation, a confeſſion of ſins and abſolution, the very ſame we yet retain. Then thoſe texts of ſcripture were read which we read, followed with the prayer, "We do not preſume, &c." The offertory was to be made of bread and wine, mixt with water. In the conſecratory prayer were theſe words, ſince left out, "With thy Holy Spirit vouchſafe to bleſs and ſanctify theſe thy gifts of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy moſt dearly beloved ſon, &c. [This communion-ſervice was printed in 1547, before the reſt of the liturgy was drawn up. See Strype, tom. II. p. 85. The curious reader may ſee it, in the form it was publiſhed, (which was on March 8, 1547-8) in Sparrow's Collection of Canons, &c. and in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. among the records, N. 59.] In baptiſm there was, beſides the forms which we ſtill retain, a croſs at firſt made on the child's forehead and breaſt, with an adjuration of the devil to go out of him, and come at him no more. To all this they prefixed a preface concerning ceremonies, the ſame that is ſtill before the common-prayer book. It is ſaid in the preamble of the act, "That there might be an uniform way of worſhip all over the kingdom, the king, by the advice of the protector and his council, had appointed the archbiſhop of Canterbury, &c. to draw an order of divine worſhip, &c. which they, by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt, had with one uniform agreement concluded on. Wherefore the parliament, having conſidered the book, did enact &c." This act was variouſly cenſured by thoſe who diſliked it. Some thought it too much, that it was ſaid the book was drawn by the aid of the Holy Ghoſt. Others cenſured it, becauſe it was ſaid to be done by uniform agreement, though eight of the biſhops employed in drawing it proteſted againſt it; namely, the biſhops of London, Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Norwich, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter; as alſo the earl of Derby, and the lords Daeres and Windſor. See Journ. Parl. and Burnet, tom. II. p. 61—95. Collier Eccl. Hiſt. tom. II. p. 255, &c.

[k] She died in child-bed, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon from her huſband, that he might be at liberty to make his addreſſes a ſecond time to the lady Elizabeth. Stow, p. 596. Burnet, tom. II. p. 97. Strype, Notes on Hayward, p. 301.

[l] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays two thouſand. See Burnet, vol. II. p. 97.

[m] January 19. Idem. p. 98.

[n] The lord Ruſſel, the earl of Southampton, and ſecretary Petre. Ibid.

[o] On February 22. Burnet.

[p] Particularly with ſir William Sharington, vice-treaſurer of the mint at Briſtol, who was to have furniſhed him with 10,000l. a month, and had already coined about 12,000l. of falſe money, and had clipped a great deal more to the value of 40,000l. in all Burnet tom. II. p. 97. Strype, tom. II. p. 122, &c.

[q] On February 24. Burnet, p. 98.

The

uncle guilty, consented also that he should be delivered to the justice of the parliament. Before the two houses proceeded against him, some of their members [r] were ordered to go and take his defence. He gave an answer to the first three articles, and then stopt on a sudden, and would not go any farther. This being reported, the bill of attainder very easily passed the house of lords [s]; but there was much more opposition in the house of commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainders in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence. Perhaps they would have thrown out the bill upon this single consideration, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence necessary, and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions produced in the house of lords [t]. After the king had thus made known his will, the commons, in a full house of four hundred, passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. Very probably they were convinced of the truth of the depositions; and the point in question, being only an irregularity, which was even become a custom, did not believe it a proper season to put a stop to it. However this be, the royal assent being given to the act, the admiral was beheaded the 20th of March [u].

This tragedy was not acted without giving occasion to severe censures upon the protector's conduct. It was said, if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother whom he would have supplanted, and probably it was this same brother who was his adversary, and had brought him to the scaffold. It was added, the council would never have proceeded so rigorously against the admiral, if they had not thought it agreeable to the duke, his brother, or been afraid of displeasing him by a denial. The young king himself, then but twelve years old, would never have been induced to compel, as I may say, the house of commons to overlook the irregularity of the proceedings, if he had not been solicited by the protector to take so unusual a step. It is therefore very difficult to justify the duke of Somerset's prosecuting his own brother to death, for crimes committed against his person only. And, indeed, it was never clearly proved that he had formed any ill design either against the king or the state, as he protested to his last breath. But this is not the only time that plots against the ministers have been reckoned high treason. For my part, I cannot help suspecting that they, who then thought of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, moved him with all their power to be revenged on his brother, and were ready to serve as instruments of his vengeance, to render him odious. Some say, the first occasion of the quarrel between the two brothers sprung from the duchess of Somerset's envy at the queen-dowager, wife to the admiral, of whom she pretended to take place as the protector's lady. But it is unlikely she should be so void of sense, or so ignorant of the customs of England, as to dispute the precedence with the queen-dowager [w].

Before the parliament broke up, a subsidy was given the king, to assist him in the conquest of Scotland, which is called in the act a part of his dominions. Then the houses thanked him for the great happiness they enjoyed under him, and for applying all his endeavours to the advancement of the true religion. The clergy also granted him a subsidy [x]; after which the parliament was, on the 14th of March, prorogued to the 4th of November [y].

Presently after, the council appointed commissioners to go and establish the new liturgy in all the churches. It was everywhere received without opposition, except at the princess Mary's, who would never submit to the change. The king and council seemed resolved to compel her. But, upon the emperor's intercession, it was thought advisable, for reasons of state, to promise to leave her undisturbed for some time. He pretended afterwards, that the promise was made without any limitation.

At this time, the council, being informed that several German anabaptists were come into England, and fearing they might spread their errors, commissioned Cranmer and some others to search after and try these people [z]. An unfortunate English woman, Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, who had suffered herself to be seduced, shewing an invincible obstinacy, was pronounced a heretic, and as such delivered over to the secular arm, and sentenced to be burnt. But when the king was moved to sign the warrant for her execution, he could not be prevailed with to do it. He thought the sentence was very unjust and cruel. Archbishop Cranmer, who had a great influence over him, was employed to persuade him to sign. At length, the young king, silenced, rather than convinced, by Cranmer's reasons [a], set his hand to the warrant, with tears in his eyes, telling him, if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answered for it to God. Whatever the archbishop's arguments were, it may be affirmed, this was not one of his brightest actions. He would doubtless have done better, not to have concerned himself in such an affair, so little becoming a protestant bishop. Accordingly this proceeding has been often objected to him, and even served for foundation to very disadvantageous reflections upon the reformation and the reformed. Two years after, a Dutchman was also burnt on the same account [b].

Whilst all England seemed to receive with submission whatever came from the court, the leaven of discontent was fermenting in the kingdom, and upon the point of producing great alterations. The chief cause proceeded from the people's not being able to gain their livelihood with the same ease as formerly. This affected all in general, as well of the new as of the old religion. But the priests, the suppressed monks, and they who were still addicted to the Romish religion, took occasion from thence to inflame the discontent universally spread among the common people, in order to incite them to a rebellion. Besides, the duke of Somerset's enemies were not sorry that the people appeared dissatisfied with the government. But before I speak of the insurrections in several parts of the kingdom during the course of this year, it will be necessary to make known the causes.

After the suppression of the abbies, there were great numbers of monks dispersed in the kingdom, who were forced to work for their living, their pensions being either ill-paid, or

[r] The lord chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton; and sir John Baker, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir Anthony Denny. Burnet, p. 99.

[s] It was first read on February 25, and for the second and third times, on the 26th and 27th, and sent down to the commons, from whence it was brought up again March 5. The Journals of Parliament observe, that the lord protector was present at each reading of it.

[t] On the 4th of March, a message was sent from the king, that he thought it was not necessary to send for the admiral; and that the lords should come down and renew before them the evidence they had given in their own house. Which was done. Burnet, tom. II. p. 99.

[u] As for his behaviour on the scaffold, Latimer, in his fourth sermon, says, that he died very dangerously, yrksomelye, horryblye; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious. Stripe, tom. II. p. 126, 127. Cranmer's hand, as well as the lord protector's, was to the warrant. Burnet, p. 100. The admiral left but one daughter, named Mary, born in September 1548, which was restored in blood in 1549, but died shortly after. Strype, tom. II. p. 128, &c.

[w] This story was first forged by Sanders, from whence Hayward had it; for it is not to be found in Stow, Hollingshead, or the king's Journal.

[x] The clergy granted six shillings in the pound, payable in three years, and the laity twelve-pence. But strangers to pay two shillings; and this to continue for three years. They also gave another aid, namely, of every ewe kept in several pastures, three-pence; of every wether, kept as aforesaid, two-pence; of every sheep kept in the common, three halfpence. They also gave eight-pence in the pound of every woollen cloth made for sale throughout England, for three years. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 454.

[y] Besides the two acts made in this parliament, and mentioned above, the following were also then enacted: 1. That malt shall be three weeks in making, except in the months of June, July, and August, when the space of seventeen days is thought sufficient. 2. That tithes shall be paid as they have been within forty years before; and that no one shall carry away his corn, &c. before he hath set out the tithes, or agreed for them, upon pain of forfeiting the treble value of them. 3. That an incumbent, not paying his tenths due to the king, when demanded, shall be deprived of that benefice for which they are due. 4. That butchers, bakers, &c. conspiring and agreeing not to sell meat, bread, &c. but at certain prices; or workmen, refusing to work, except at a certain price or rate, shall, for the first offence, forfeit 10l. for the second, 20l. for the third, 40l. to be paid within six days, or else to suffer imprisonment for twenty days.

[z] Of these anabaptists there were two sorts most remarkable. The gentle or moderate sort, who only thought baptism ought not to be given to infants, but only to grown persons. The other sort were men of fierce and barbarous tempers, who denied almost all the principles of the christian doctrine. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, raised the war, called the Rustick war, and, possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of the king of the New Jerusalem. Some of them set up a fantastical, unintelligible, way of talking of religion, which they turned all into allegories: these being joined in the common name of Anabaptists with the other, brought them all under an ill character. Burnet, tom. II. p. 110, &c.

[a] King Edward thought it a piece of cruelty, too like that which the reformers had condemned in papists, to burn any for their consciences. He asked Cranmer, What, my lord, will ye have me send her quick to the devil in her error? So that Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to sign the warrant, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. But to bring him to a compliance, Cranmer argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned. He said, he made a difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those directly against the Apostles Creed; that these were impieties, which a prince, as God's deputy, ought to punish. Strong arguments indeed for the monstrous doctrine of persecution! Ibid. Fox, tom. II. p. 2, edit. 1684.

[b] George Van Pare being accused for saying, that "God the father was the only God, and that Christ was not the very God," was burnt in Smithfield. Whereupon the papists very justly said, It was plain the reformers were only against burning when they were in fear of it themselves. This Pare was a man of exemplary piety, and suffered with great composedness of mind. Burnet, tom. II. p. 112. Echard.

not ſufficient for their ſubſiſtance. So, the work being divided among ſo many hands, the profit became leſs than before. Moreover, whilſt the monaſteries ſtood, their lands were let at eaſy rents to farmers, who to cultivate them were obliged to employ a great many people. But after theſe lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raiſed; whence the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and leſſen the wages. On the other ſide, the proprietors of the land finding, ſince the laſt peace with France, the woollen trade flouriſhed, took to breeding ſheep, becauſe wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end, they cauſed their grounds to be encloſed. Hence aroſe ſeveral inconveniencies. In the firſt place, the price of corn was increaſed, to the great detriment of the meaner ſort of people. In the next place, the landlords, or their farmers, wanted but very few people to look after their flocks in theſe incloſures. Conſequently great numbers loſt the means of getting their livelihood; and the profit of the lands, which before was ſhared among many, was almoſt wholly engroſſed by the landlords. This occaſioned numberleſs complaints and murmurs among the common people, who ſaw they were like to be reduced to great miſery. Nay, ſeveral little books were publiſhed, ſhewing the miſchiefs of theſe proceedings. But the nobility and gentry ſtill continued the ſame courſe, without regarding the conſequences. The protector openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the poor people; either to mortify the nobles, by whom he was not beloved, or becauſe he foreſaw the miſchiefs which might ariſe from the diſcontent of the commons. In 1548, the inhabitants about Hampton-court complaining to the council concerning a park incloſed there by Henry VIII. the protector gave them content, and the park was entirely laid open. The laſt year, he had appointed commiſſioners to examine whether thoſe who had purchaſed the abbey-lands kept hoſpitality, and performed all the conditions on which theſe lands were ſold to them [c]. But he met with ſo many obſtacles in the execution of this order, that it had no effect. Mean while, the protector encreaſed the hatred of the nobility and gentry, whoſe intereſt it was to continue theſe abuſes. Nay, it happened in the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament, that the lords paſſed an act for giving every one leave to incloſe his grounds if he pleaſed. But the bill was thrown out by the commons; and yet the lords and gentlemen went on incloſing their lands. This bred an univerſal diſcontent among the people, who imagined there was a ſettled deſign to ruin them, and reduce them to ſlavery. Whereupon the common people roſe in Wiltſhire and Somerſetſhire; but ſir William Herbert diſperſed them, and cauſed ſome to be hanged. About the ſame time, there were the like inſurrections in Suſſex, Hampſhire, Kent, Gloceſterſhire, Suffolk, Warwickſhire, Eſſex, Hertfordſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, and Worceſterſhire.

The protector, perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, ſent to let the people know he was ready to redreſs their grievances, and by that means ſtopt their fury. To perform his promiſe, he brought the affair before the council, hoping ſome expedient would be found to ſatisfy the malcontents. But he met with ſo great oppoſition, that he thought himſelf obliged to take care of it by his ſole authority. So, contrary to the mind of the whole council, he publiſhed a proclamation againſt all new incloſures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was paſt. He moreover appointed commiſſioners, with an unlimited power to hear and determine cauſes about incloſures, highways, and cottages. Theſe commiſſioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who openly ſaid, it was an invaſion of their property to ſubject them thus to an arbitrary power. Nay, they directly oppoſed the commiſſioners when they offered to execute their commiſſion. For this reaſon, the protector, who every where met with oppoſition, was not able to redreſs this grievance ſo fully as he deſired. So the people, finding the court did not perform what was promiſed, roſe again in ſeveral places, and particularly in Oxfordſhire, Devonſhire, Norfolk, and Yorkſhire. Thoſe in Oxfordſhire were immediately diſperſed by the lord Gray [d].

The inſurrection in Devonſhire was more conſiderable and dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations in religion, the prieſts and monks ran in among them, and fomented the rebellion to the utmoſt of their power. They firſt came together on the 10th of June, and in a ſhort time grew to be ten thouſand ſtrong. The protector neglected this affair at firſt, in expectation that this might be as eaſily diſperſed as were the other inſurrections. At laſt, finding they perſiſted in their rebellion, he ſent the lord Ruſſel with a ſmall force to ſtop their proceedings. That lord, who found himſelf too weak to attack them, kept at ſome diſtance [e], and offered to receive their complaints, and ſend them to the council. But this proceeding, which demonſtrated a fear of them, ſerved only to encourage them the more. At the ſame time they ſet at their head Humphry Arundel, a Corniſh gentleman, who was come to join them. Mean while, to ſhew they had not taken up arms out of wantonneſs, they ſent to the king's general their demands, which plainly ſhewed, religion was the chief motive of their rebellion. They were compriſed in theſe fifteen articles:

I. That all the general councils, and the antient canons of the church, ſhould be obſerved.

II. That the act of the Six Articles ſhould be again in force.

III. That the maſs ſhould be in Latin, and the prieſts alone ſhould receive.

IV. That the ſacrament ſhould be lifted up and worſhipped, and thoſe who refuſed to do it ſhould ſuffer as heretics.

V. That the ſacrament ſhould only be given to the people at Eaſter in one kind.

VI. That baptiſm ſhould be adminiſtered at any hour, and at all times.

VII. That holy bread, holy water, and palms, be again uſed, and images ſet up, with all the other antient ceremonies.

VIII. That the new liturgy ſhould be laid aſide, and the old offices, as well as the proceſſions, reſtored.

IX. That all preachers, before their ſermons, and prieſts, in the maſs, ſhould pray for the ſouls in purgatory.

X. That the people ſhould be forbid to read the bible.

XI. That Dr. Moreman and Mr. Criſpin ſhould be reſtored to their livings.

XII. That cardinal Pole ſhould be reſtored, and made of the king's council.

XIII. That every gentleman might have only one ſervant for every hundred marks of yearly rent belonging to him.

XIV. That the half of the abbey lands ſhould be taken from the poſſeſſors, and adjudged to two of the chief abbies in every county; and all the church-boxes for ſeven years ſhould be given to the ſaid houſes, that devout perſons might live in them, who ſhould pray for the king and the commonwealth.

XV. That, for their particular grievances, they ſhould be redreſſed, as Humphrey Arundel and the mayor of Bodmyn ſhould inform the king and the council.

Theſe extravagant demands were rejected with indignation. However, to ſhew the unreaſonableneſs of them, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was ordered to draw an anſwer to each in particular. This he did very ſolidly, not without reproaching them for being miſled by ſome ignorant perſons. Then the rebels, perceiving the court granted not one of their demands, reduced them to eight, which were not more agreeable than the former. Nevertheleſs, to convince the people of the juſtice of this refuſal, the council thought fit to ſend an anſwer to theſe demands in the king's name. But this was not capable of reclaiming the rebels, whoſe obſtinacy grew the more dangerous, as at the ſame time there were the like riſings in Norfolk and Yorkſhire, and as the king of France was entering le Boulonnois with an army. I ſhall ſpeak of the rebels of the other counties, after having finiſhed what concerns thoſe of Devonſhire.

The negotiation breaking off in July, the rebels beſieged Exeter [f], where they met with more reſiſtance than they expected, from a place defended only by the citizens. As they had no artillery, they ſet fire to one of the gates, in order to ſtorm it as ſoon as the violence of the flames was over. But the inhabitants, inſtead of quenching the fire, fed it with much fuel, till they had raiſed a rampart within the gate. The beſiegers, having miſſed their aim, wrought a mine; but the citizens found means to countermine and ſpoil their powder. At length, finding they could do nothing by force, they

[c] The commiſſion was to enquire, whether deans and chapters, founded by king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and to whom divers manors, lands, tenements, &c. had been given, upon condition that they ſhould give and diſtribute yearly among poor houſholders, and other poor people, divers ſums of money, and ſhould alſo employ other ſums in repairing the highways, did obſerve thoſe conditions. But ſeveral lands being afterwards taken from them, this was dropped. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 134.

[d] Who was ſent againſt them with fifteen hundred horſe and foot. Hayward, p. 292.

[e] At Honiton. Idem, p. 294.

[f] July 2. Hollingſhead, p. 1002.

They

turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes that the want of proviſions would compel the beſieged to ſurrender. But the citizens endured extreme famine for twelve days with invincible reſolution [g].

Mean time, the lord Ruſſel, who had but a ſmall force, being too near the rebels, would have retired at a greater diſtance, for fear of being incloſed. But he found they were poſſeſſed of a bridge behind him [h], over which he was neceſſarily to paſs, in order to be out of danger. As there was no other road, he briſkly attacked the guard, conſiſting of two thouſand men, and, after a ſlight conflict, became maſter of the bridge [i]. This trial convincing him they were not ſo formidable as he imagined, he reſolved to attack them as ſoon as he had received a ſupply, which he expected from Briſtol. Shortly after, the lord Gray joining him with ſome troops, and Spinola with a body of Landſquenets, he marched directly to the rebels [k]. He found a body of them poſted on the ſide of a river, who would have oppoſed his paſſage, but attacking them immediately, ſlew above a thouſand, and then continued his march to Exeter. At his approach, the rebels raiſed the blockade, and divided themſelves into ſmall parties, which were eaſily diſperſed one after another. Arundel, their leader, the mayor of Bodmyn [l], and ſome others, were hanged ſoon after. Thus ended the inſurrection in Devonſhire [m].

The riſing in Norfolk was no leſs dangerous. One Ket, a tanner, headed the rebels, who quickly became twenty thouſand ſtrong. The marquis of Northampton was ſent againſt them with eleven hundred men only [n], too ſmall a number to inſpire them with terror. Wherefore he had orders to keep at ſome diſtance from them, and try only to cut off their proviſions. Ket, marching to Norwich, was advanced as far as Mouſhold-hill, above that city, where he erected a ſort of a tribunal to adminiſter juſtice, as a ſovereign, under an old oak, called from thence the Oak of Reformation. This was becauſe they talked only of reforming the ſtate; religion being neither the cauſe nor pretence of their riſing. Their deſign was to deſtroy the gentry, and put ſome of their own body about the king to direct and govern him.

The marquis of Northampton, neglecting to obſerve the orders given him, marched on to Norwich; and even entered the city. But as the rebels had correſpondence there, he was attacked the next day, and glad to eſcape, leaving a hundred of his men dead on the ſpot [o], with thirty priſoners. This loſs obliged the court to ſend the army deſigned againſt Scotland, under the command of the earl of Warwick. It was compoſed of ſix thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe. With this conſiderable body the earl of Warwick entered Norwich, where he waited for a favourable opportunity to attack the rebels. At laſt, as they had themſelves waſted the country about them, and as the earl never failed to cut off their convoys of proviſions, they were forced to remove. Then it was that the earl of Warwick cloſely followed them; and, without allowing them time to come to themſelves, fell upon them, killed two thouſand, and took many priſoners; among whom was Ket their captain, who atoned for his crime on a gibbet at Norwich [p].

At the ſame time that the malcontents of Norfolk began to riſe, thoſe of Yorkſhire alſo took up arms; but their number never exceeded three thouſand [q]. They committed ſome outrages at firſt, but at length accepted the offer of pardon which was ſent them. Some of the ringleaders, renewing afterwards the ſedition, were taken, and hanged at York.

During theſe commotions, the protector diſcovered by all his proceedings that he did not deſire to come to extremities with the rebels; whether he was perſuaded the people had reaſon to complain, or was willing to gain their favour, ſince he was hated by the nobility. Nay, after all the troubles were over, he moved in the council, that there might be a general pardon proclaimed for reſtoring the peace of the kingdom. But this was ſtrongly oppoſed. Many of the council were for taking this occaſion to curb the inſolence of the people. But the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his ſole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the 21ſt of Auguſt, and excepted only a few rebel priſoners. He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent; but it inflamed the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counſellors, who were vexed to ſee themſelves conſulted only for form-ſake, and that their opinions were of no weight.

Whilſt the court was employed in quelling the inſurrections, other troubles unexpectedly aroſe from another quarter. Henry II. finding it a favourable juncture, entered the territory of Boulogne at the head of an army, though there had been no declaration of war between the two crowns ſince the laſt treaty of peace. Nothing was more expreſs than that treaty, wherein Francis I. and Henry VIII. agreed, that Boulogne ſhould be reſtored to France in eight years, on payment of two millions of crowns of gold to the king of England. But Henry II. was no ſooner on the throne of France, than he formed the deſign of recovering Boulogne before the time appointed, and without paying the ſtipulated ſum. His reaſon was, that Henry VIII. had unjuſtly made war upon Francis I. when Francis was employed againſt the emperor. From thence he inferred, he might himſelf improve a favourable opportunity to repair the loſs ſuſtained by the king his father. It is not neceſſary to examine Henry's grounds, I mean, the pretended injuſtice done to his predeceſſor. It ſuffices to obſerve, that according to this maxim, the moſt ſolemn treaties are to go for nothing. And yet, it is but too much followed, and, as if it was an undeniable truth, it is an inexhauſtible ſource of wars between ſovereigns.

However, Henry ſeeing that the commotions in England preſented him with a fair opportunity to execute his deſigns upon Boulogne, took ſeveral caſtles in the Boulonnois. Then he ordered the fort of Bullenberg to be attacked, where his troops were bravely repulſed. At the ſame time there was a ſea-fight between the French and Engliſh, near Jerſey, each claiming the victory [r], as it often happens in ſuch engagements. At length, Henry beſieged Boulogne in September, and the Engliſh, believing they could not keep Bullenberg, carried away their cannon, and blew up the fortifications. The plague, which ſeized the French army, obliging Henry to depart, he left the management of the ſiege to Gaſper de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, who, after ſome fruitleſs attempts, was forced at laſt to turn it into a blockade.

The war with Scotland was not ſucceſsful to the Engliſh during this campaign. De Thermes, who had ſucceeded Deſſe, took Broughty-caſtle. On the other hand, the protector, finding himſelf obliged to employ the army, deſigned for Scotland, againſt the rebels of Norfolk, and not daring even to ſend that army at a diſtance from the centre of the kingdom, reſolved at length to demoliſh Hadington, which was done the 15th of September.

Mean time the war, begun by the king of France, made the protector extremely uneaſy. He had certain advice that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German proteſtants, and had promiſed them a ſtrong aid as ſoon as he had recovered Boulogne. Hence it was eaſy to perceive he would make a powerful effort the next campaign, and, in order to withſtand him, England would be obliged to make a conſiderable armament. But the king's exchequer was very low [s], and there was danger of raiſing new commotions in demanding freſh ſubſidies of the parliament. On the other hand, as the protector was extremely zealous for the reformation, he

[g] They were forced to eat their horſes, and to make bread of the coarſeſt bran. They were much encouraged by an aged citizen, who brought forth all his proviſions, and told them, that for his part he would feed on one arm, and fight with the other, before he would conſent to put the city into the hands of the ſeditious. Hayward, p. 295. Compl. Hiſt. vol. II.

[h] Fenington-bridge. Hayward, p. 294.

[i] The rebels loſt ſix hundred men. Ibid.

[k] His whole army did not conſiſt of much above one thouſand men. The rebels were defeated Aug. 6. Hayward, p. 295. Hollinſh. p. 102.

[l] Boyer, mayor of Bodmyn, was baſely uſed. Sir Anthony Kingſton, provoſt marſhal of the king's army, ſent him word he would come and dine with him upon ſuch a day. The mayor received him and his company with many ceremonies of entertainment. A little before dinner, ſir Anthony took the mayor aſide, and bid him get a pair of gallows erected againſt they had dined, for execution muſt that day be done in the town. His orders were obeyed: and after dinner the mayor ſhewing him the gallows, Kingſton aſked him, whether he thought them ſtrong enough? And upon his ſaying, yes, doubtleſs, he bid him go up and try, and ſo hanged him indeed. Hayward, p. 295.

[m] During theſe inſurrections, and undoubtedly upon account of them, the lords lieutenants of the counties were firſt inſtituted. Their commiſſions are dated July 24, and run, That they ſhould enquire of all treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, inſurrections, riots, &c. levy men, and fight againſt the king's enemies, &c. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 178.

[n] Fifteen hundred horſe, and a ſmall band of Italians, ſays Hollingſhead, p. 1033, and Hayward, p. 297. But king Edward's Journal has 1060 horſemen, p. 7.

[o] Among whom was Edmund lord Sheffield (created baron 1 Edward VI.) anceſtor of the preſent duke of Buckingham. His horſe falling into a ditch, he was ſlain by a butcher with a club. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 386. The rebels loſt one hundred and forty men. Hollingſhead, p. 1035.

[p] This battle was fought Auguſt 27. Idem. p. 1039.

[q] They aſſembled at Semor in the North-Riding. Hayward, p. 300.

[r] In king Edward's Journal it is ſaid, that the French loſt a thouſand men, p. 6. The French attempted at the ſame time to land in the iſlands of Jerſey and Gurnſey, but were repulſed.

[s] The charges of king Edward's wars and fortifications, from the beginning of his reign to this year 1549, amounted to one million three hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven pounds eighteen ſhillings and five-pence three farthings. Strype, tom. II. p. 178.

Biſhop

plainly ſaw nothing could be more advantageous than the union of France with the German proteſtants. But he was ſorry it was to coſt the Engliſh Boulogne. The protector alſo conſidered, if the war with France ſhould laſt any time, there was ſome reaſon to fear the Romiſh party would excite troubles in the kingdom. In that caſe, he foreſaw how difficult it would be to maintain three wars at once[t]. In ſhort, there was another reaſon which concerned him in particular, and made him deſirous of a peace with France, namely, the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might produce, whereas a peace enabled him to parry their blows. He was not ignorant there was a ſtrong faction already formed againſt him, as well by reaſon of the envy at his greatneſs, and of his diſobliging the nobility and gentry in the affair of the incloſures, as becauſe of the injury he had done to many of the counſellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare ſtate of privy counſellors. Among theſe the chief were, the earl of Southampton, who had reſumed his place in the council, and the earl of Warwick. This laſt was extremely ambitious; he envied the protector, and eſteemed him but little. As, of all the lords who had moſt acceſs to the court, he thought himſelf the only perſon fit to ſucceed him in the adminiſtration of the government; he reckoned, if he could but ruin him, he ſhould infallibly profit by his diſgrace. Upon that account he had formed in the council itſelf a ſtrong party, of which the protector had ſome knowledge, but which he ſaw himſelf unable to ruin at once.

All theſe conſiderations made the protector reſolve to propoſe to the council the reſtitution of Boulogne to France. He ſeconded his motion with all the reaſons he thought moſt plauſible, adding, that by concluding a peace with France, England would at the ſame time be freed from a burthenſome, and withal a fruitleſs war with Scotland, ſince it was not poſſible to obtain the end propoſed in beginning it. The propoſal was received by the council with marks of indignation, and conſidered as a real cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector to determine by his own authority. And therefore, though he plainly perceived the faction againſt him would carry it, he was willing his propoſal ſhould be debated in form. The reſult of the debate was, that Boulogne ſhould not be reſtored, but an alliance with the emperor endeavoured for the ſecurity of that place. Paget was appointed for the embaſſy, becauſe, being devoted to the protector, the ill ſucceſs which was expected from this negotiation, was deſigned to be thrown upon him, in order to blacken the protector himſelf.

The duke of Somerſet's enemies, having reſolved to execute the plot contrived againſt him, began with ſpreading reports to deſtroy his reputation. It was ſaid, he was more cruel than a wild beaſt, ſince he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice his own brother to his boundleſs ambition: That he was the cauſe of the inſurrections this ſummer, by countenancing the people, and intimating, he thought them unjuſtly oppreſſed: That afterwards he favoured the malcontents to the utmoſt of his power during their actual rebellion; and when their fury was ſtopt, granted them a general pardon, contrary to the mind of the council: That to maintain himſelf in the poſt he had uſurped, he entertained foreign troops, having extorted the council's conſent: That he was raiſing a much larger and more ſtately palace than the king's, and had pulled down ſeveral churches for the ſake of the materials, and alienated church-lands to bear the expence[u]: That he had the boldneſs to call himſelf "By the grace of God, duke of Somerſet," as if he was a ſovereign prince: That he had kept for himſelf the money raiſed by the ſale of the chantry lands: That he had broke through the eſtabliſhment ſettled by the late king, by ſeizing the regency alone, and excluding the other executors, who had no leſs right than himſelf: That he had ill provided the forts of the Boulonnois, that their loſs might render a peace with France abſolutely neceſſary: That he had demoliſhed Hadington in Scotland for the like reaſon: That he had moſt preſumptuouſly aſſumed the government of the kingdom, and procured the king's letters patents to countenance his ambition: That beſides, he uſed his power tyrannically, rejecting the opinions of the council, and acting in many things by his own authority. In ſhort, Paget being returned from his embaſſy, without ſucceeding in his negotiation, it was rumoured that he had the protector's orders to repreſent the impoſſibility of engaging the emperor in the defence of Boulogne, that it might give a colour to the baſe project of reſtoring that place.

As it was impoſſible all theſe reports ſhould be publiſhed, and the duke not hear of them, and gueſs the authors, the whole month of September was ſpent in diſputes and heats: his enemies only ſeeking an occaſion of quarrel to execute what they had reſolved. Mean while the protector, ſeeing his enemies acting almoſt openly, was afraid they had formed a deſign to carry away the king, and to that end corrupted thoſe about him. For this reaſon, to ſecure himſelf againſt ſuch a deſign, he placed his own ſervants about the king[w], with orders to watch narrowly what paſſed. This proceeding furniſhed his enemies with the pretence they were ſeeking.

On the 6th of October, the lord St. John, preſident of the council; the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; ſir Edward North, ſir Richard Southwel, ſir Edmund Peckham, ſir Edward Wooton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely Houſe in Holborn[x], and ſat as the king's council. Secretary Petre being ſent to them in the king's name, to aſk the reaſon of their meeting, they forced him to ſtay with them. Being thus met, they conſidered the ſtate of the kingdom, and laid on the protector the blame of all the pretended diſorders, and of the late loſſes in France, taking for granted, they would not have happened had he followed the advice of the council. Then they declared they had that very day intended to confer with him, but hearing he had armed his ſervants, and many others whom he had placed about the king, did not think they ought to expoſe themſelves to his violences. This done, they ſent for the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expreſly forbid them to own the duke of Somerſet for protector. The lieutenant of the Tower[y] promiſed to obey. The mayor and aldermen anſwered more cautiouſly. But in all likelihood moſt of them were now gained, as it plainly appeared two days after.

Upon the firſt news of the counſellors undertaking, the protector removed the king to Windſor, and armed ſuch as he could aſſemble at Windſor or Hampton-court. This furniſhed his enemies with a freſh occaſion to complain, that he had carried the king to a place where there were no proviſions fit for him, ſo they took care to ſend him what he might want from London. The ſame day, being the morrow after their meeting, ſeven counſellors: namely, the lord chancellor Rich, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir John Gage, ſir Ralph Sadler, and the lord chief juſtice Montague, came and joined with them. Whereupon they wrote to the king a letter full of expreſſions of their duty, complaining of the duke of Somerſet's not hearkening to their counſels, and of his gathering a force about his perſon, to make him believe they had ill deſigns againſt him, though they had nothing in view but his good and welfare. They wrote alſo to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and to Paget, ordering them to ſee that the king's own ſervants ſhould attend on him, and not the duke of Somerſet's.

On the 8th of October they went in a body to Guildhall, where the common-council were aſſembled. They declared they were ſo far from having any ill deſigns againſt the king[z], that their ſole aim was to take him out of the hands of the duke of Somerſet, who conſidered only his own private intereſt. Whereupon the common-council openly declared they were ready to ſupport them to the utmoſt of their power.

The duke no ſooner heard that the city of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, had forſaken him, but he was entirely diſcouraged. He called together the few counſellors then about the king, and, proteſting he had no deſign againſt any of the counſellors, offered to ſubmit to the judgment of two of thoſe that were preſent, and two of thoſe that were at London. This offer made him loſe five counſellors more, who ſeeing him thus yield, did not think it prudent to expoſe

[t] Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the ill ſtate of things this year, both at home and abroad, occaſioned that change to be made in the office of the daily prayers; where the anſwer to the petition, "Give us peace in our time, O Lord," which is ſtill continued, was now made, "Becauſe there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God." Tom. II. p. 129. But this petition and anſwer ſtand in the firſt liturgy, publiſhed in 1548. See his vol. III. Collect. p. 407.

[u] This was Somerſet-houſe in the Strand, which ſtill bears his name. To make room, he pulled down the houſes belonging to the biſhops of Worceſter, Litchfield, and Landaff, together with the pariſh-church. And, for a further ſupply of ſtone, timber, lead, and iron, he took down at St. Paul's a cloyſter, two chapels, and a charnel-houſe, and moſt part of the church of St. John of Jeruſalem near Smithfield. Hayward, p. 303. Stow, p. 596.

[w] Who was then at Hampton-court. Burnet, p. 135.

[x] Which was then the reſidence of the earl of Warwick. They met there privately armed. Hollingſhead, p. 1057.

[y] Sir Leonard Chamberlain. Hollingſhead.

[z] Or intending to alter religion. Burnet, p. 136.

Sir

themſelves for the ſake of a man they believed already undone. So, though they approved not the proceedings of thoſe at London, they joined with them however the next day, being the 9th of October. Theſe five were, the lord Ruſſel, the lord Wentworth, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Anthony Wingfield, and ſir John Baker, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

From that day the duke of Somerſet's affairs daily declined, every one forſaking him when he was ſeen himſelf to deſpair of maintaining his ground. Nay, upon an information to the privy counſellors, his enemies, that he had ſaid, if they intended to put him to death, the king ſhould die firſt; and boaſted it was in his power to carry the king out of the kingdom; they declared him unworthy of the protectorſhip, though they had no proofs of his ſpeaking theſe words. After that, they publiſhed a manifeſto, to inform the public of the reaſons of their conduct. Then they wrote to the king, that his royal father, having appointed them executors of his will, and regents of the kingdom, they had choſen the duke of Somerſet to exerciſe the office of protector, with the expreſs condition, that he ſhould do nothing without their advice; which condition he had not obſerved, but had made himſelf abſolute maſter of the government. Therefore they judged him unworthy of that honour, and praying his majeſty's leave to diſcharge the office committed to them by the late king; and that the forces, gathered about his perſon by the duke of Somerſet, might be diſmiſſed.

Of all the privy counſellors, only the archbiſhop of Canterbury and Paget ſtayed with the king, who, ſeeing the impoſſibility of withſtanding the oppoſite party, adviſed the king and the duke to give the council the ſatisfaction they deſired. The king conſenting to it, the counſellors at London had notice of it by an expreſs. As they had foreſeen the duke would be obliged to ſubmit, they had already ſent deputies[a] to Windſor, with a charge to ſee that the duke of Somerſet ſhould not withdraw, and that ſome of his confidents ſhould be put under an arreſt[b]. On the 12th of October, the counſellors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciouſly, and aſſured them, he took all they had done in good part. The next day they proceeded to the examination of the duke's friends, who were ſent to the Tower, except Cecil, who had his liberty. On the 14th, the duke of Somerſet was called before them, and the articles of his accuſation were read to him; the principal whereof were as follow:

I. That he had not obſerved the condition on which he had been made protector.

II. That he had treated with embaſſadors without notifying it to the council, and by his own authority had diſpoſed of governments and biſhoprics.

III. That he had held a court of requeſts in his own houſe[c].

IV. That he had embaſed the coin.

V. That he had iſſued out proclamations in the affair of incloſures, againſt the mind of the whole council.

VI. That he had not taken care to ſuppreſs the late inſurrections, but had even ſupported and encouraged them.

VII. That he had occaſioned the loſs of the forts in the territory of Boulogne, by neglecting to furniſh them with proviſions and ammunition.

VIII. That he had endeavoured to inſtil into the king an ill opinion of his counſellors, by perſuading him they intended to deſtroy him; and had even ordered ſome perſons to put the king continually in mind of it, leſt he ſhould forget it.

IX. That he had cauſed the lords of the council to be proclamed traitors.

X. That he had maliciouſly not only put the king in great fear, by carrying him ſo ſuddenly to Windſor, but caſt him into a dangerous diſeaſe.

XI. That he had armed his friends and ſervants, and left the king's ſervants unarmed; and that he intended to fly to Jerſey or Guernſey.

Upon theſe accuſations, to which it was then not a time to anſwer, he was ſent to the Tower; thoſe whom he had taken ſo much pains to humble, being become his proper judges. He could not indeed deny the truth of moſt of the facts laid to his charge. But the queſtion was, whether they were crimes; for he was accuſed neither of fraud, nor rapine, nor extortion; but that was to be decided only by the peers of the realm, or by the parliament. As ſoon as the duke was in the Tower, an order was made that ſix lords ſhould be the governors of the king's perſon, two of whom were in their courſe conſtantly to attend him[d]. Then it was eaſily ſeen that the earl of Warwick had been the chief promoter of the protector's ruin; ſince all the other counſellors ſuffered him, without oppoſition, to take upon him the principal adminiſtration of the government, though without any title which might give him a particular authority.

The enemies of the reformation gloried in the protector's fall. They were perſuaded the earl of Warwick was in his heart more catholic than proteſtant, and his ſtrict union with the earl of Southampton confirmed this belief. Accordingly Bonner and Gardiner, who were then in the Tower, wrote to him a hearty congratulation, upon his having freed the nation from the tyrant; ſo they called the duke of Somerſet. It was even thought for ſome time, that the duke of Norfolk was going to be releaſed. But the earl of Warwick was not yet fully known. That lord, who was wholly ſwayed by ambition, was properly of neither religion. He was far therefore from undertaking to deſtroy the reformation, which had too many friends in the kingdom. On the contrary, knowing how deſirous the young king was to eſtabliſh it, he openly declared in its favour. Thus the adherents of the pope and the old religion had not long reaſon to rejoice at the late revolution at court.

Bonner, biſhop of London, had been deprived and impriſoned ſome time before this turn. He was known to be ſtrongly addicted in his heart to the Romiſh religion, and to pay only an outward compliance to what was eſtabliſhed by public authority, whilſt, by a doubtful behaviour, he plainly ſhewed his diſlike of theſe alterations. They who were then at the helm, reſolved therefore to put him to a trial, which could not fail either to give them an advantage againſt him, or make him forfeit the eſteem and truſt of his party. He was ſummoned before the council, and, after a declaration of the cauſes of complaint againſt him, he was ordered to preach on a Sunday at St. Paul's Croſs, and to prove, in his ſermon, certain points, whereof this was one of the principal: "That the authority of a king was the ſame when he was in minority, as when of full age." He preached on the 1ſt of September, before a numerous audience, and touched upon all the points that were enjoined him, except the laſt. Beſides, he brought in ſome things which gave offence to the court. Whereupon the king appointed judges to examine the matter[e]. Dr. Burnet ſays, he behaved before the judges more like a madman than a biſhop. However, he was deprived[f], and ſent to the Tower. It was doubtleſs with joy that a pretence was found to be rid of ſuch a biſhop, who embarraſſed the reformers.

The earl of Southampton was no leſs deceived in his expectations than the reſt of his party. He imagined that, having been one of the principal inſtruments of the duke of Somerſet's ruin, he ſhould be rewarded for this ſervice with the office of high-treaſurer, or at leaſt reſtored to that of lord chancellor. But he found himſelf much miſtaken. Rich ſtill kept the great ſeal, and the treaſury was given to the lord St. John, who, ſome time after, was alſo created earl of Wiltſhire[g]. It was not the earl of Warwick's intereſt to advance to any high poſt ſo intriguing a perſon as the earl of Southampton, who beſides was looked upon as the head of the party againſt the reformation. He would thereby have loſt the king's favour, whom it was his buſineſs to perſuade, that religion was not concerned at all in what had paſſed with regard to the duke, his uncle. So, without a moment's heſitation, he forſook not only the earl of Southampton, but alſo all the Romiſh party, who had flattered themſelves with ſeeing ſome great change in religion. Southampton was ſo full of indignation to be thus ſlighted, that he could not forbear caballing againſt the earl of Warwick: but, perceiving Warwick was informed of his proceedings, and knowing his

[a] Sir Anthony Wingfield, ſir Anthony St. Leiger, and ſir John Williams. Burnet, tom. II. p. 137.

[b] Namely, ſecretary Smith, ſir Michael Stanhope, ſir John Thynn, Edward Wolfe, and William Cecil. Burnet, tom. II. p. 138.

[c] The intent of this court was to hear poor mens' petitions and ſuits. And, upon the hearing of them, he either decided their buſineſſes, or ſent his letters to the chancery in their favour; which was reckoned to be a ſtopping of the proceedings of the courts, or influencing the judges. Strype, tom. II. p. 183.

[d] Theſe were, the marquis of Northampton, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, the lords St. John, Ruſſel, and Wentworth; and theſe four knights, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Thomas Darcy, and ſir Thomas Wroth. Edw. Journ. p. 9.

[e] The commiſſion was iſſued out to Cranmer, Ridley, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, and Dr. Day, dean of St. Paul's. They, or any two of them, had full power to ſuſpend, imprſon, or deprive him, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Bonner, when called before them, ſaid of the witneſſes, that one talked like a gooſe, another like a woodcock, and that Hooper had mitrecited his ſayings, like an aſs as he was. See his trial at large in Fox, tom. II. p. 20, &c. and Burnet, tom. II. p. 123.

[f] On October 1. Fox, p. 39.

[g] William Paulet, lord St. John, was created earl of Wiltſhire on January 19; and, at the ſame time, John, lord Ruſſel, was made earl of Bedford. Stow, p. 603.

revengeful temper, relinquiſhed his projects. Shortly after, he withdrew from court, without taking leave, and lived at one of his manors, where he died with grief and vexation. Some even ſay he poiſoned himſelf [h].

Mean while, the war with France made the council very uneaſy. Henry II. it was plain, was reſolved to beſiege Boulogne, and it was juſtly feared that place was not tenable. Whilſt the duke of Somerſet was alone burthened with that incumbrance, his enemies would have it to be cowardice to reſign Boulogne to avoid a war, wherein they hoped to find an occaſion to ruin him. But when they had the government in their hands, they found difficulties in that affair, which they would not own ſo long as they thought the event would be laid to his charge. They reſolved therefore to ſend a ſecond embaſſy to the emperor [i], to perſuade him to take Boulogne into his protection, imagining Paget had magnified the difficulties. But the embaſſadors found the emperor very cold, and conſtantly alleging his alliance with France. He even told them, that ſo long as religion continued in England in its preſent ſtate, the Engliſh could not expect much aſſiſtance from him. This anſwer determined the council to make peace with France. We ſhall ſee preſently the effects of this reſolution [k].

The parliament met the 4th of November, without the duke of Somerſet's diſgrace occaſioning any change in the affairs of religion. It was ſtill the ſame parliament the duke of Somerſet had called, and the council had ſtill the ſame maxims with reſpect to the reformation, the earl of Warwick's policy not ſuffering him to make any change. The parliament began with a ſevere act againſt unlawful aſſemblies, in order to prevent any more inſurrections. But by another act, the ſtatute againſt vagrants, as too ſevere and contrary to the liberties of the nation, was repealed, and a law made in the late reign revived.

[1550] The 2d of January 1550, a bill of attainder againſt the duke of Somerſet, with a confeſſion ſigned by his own hand, was read in the houſe of lords. But as ſome of the lords ſuſpected the confeſſion to be extorted, four temporal lords and four biſhops were ſent to know the truth from his own mouth [l]. Next day they made their report, that the duke thanked the houſe for their kindneſs, and owned he had freely ſubſcribed the paper, after having confeſſed the contents before the king and council. He proteſted, however, he had no ill intention againſt the king or ſtate. Whereupon, he was fined by act of parliament in two thouſand pounds a year of land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loſs of all his places. Many thought this confeſſion very ſtrange, and much cenſured ſo abject a proceeding: but it was doubtleſs becauſe they wiſhed he had taken another courſe, which would not have failed to prove fatal to him. It is certain, among the articles of his accuſation, there were ſeveral which could be juſtified only by the intention, which would have been little ſerviceable to him in the houſe of peers, moſt of whom were not inclined to favour him. For inſtance, to mention only the chief article, could he deny that, contrary to the condition on which he was made protector, he had degraded as it were the other regents, and reduced them to bare counſellors? It is true, he might have alleged the king's patent: but it was the patent of a minor king, not eleven years old, who looking upon him as his governor, acted only by his advice, as it was ſaid in the very patent which conferred his authority on him. Wherefore the duke could never have cleared himſelf upon this article, nor upon ſeveral others. Conſequently his only remedy was to own himſelf guilty of all, and caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy. Beſides, it concerned him highly to get out of priſon on any terms, ſince it was very dangerous for him to remain any longer in the hands of his enemies. He was very ſucceſsful in this courſe. They who wiſhed his deſtruction, ſeeing the king had been very hardly prevailed with to conſent this trial, thought it was not yet time to puſh their hatred any farther, till they had ruined him in the king's favour. He came therefore out of the Tower the 6th of February, giving bond of 10,000l. for his good behaviour, and ten days after had his pardon. Thus his fall was not ſo great as his enemies expected. He forfeited however much of the eſteem he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reaſons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, ſince he had confeſſed all. But the king judged otherwiſe, ſince, on the 6th of April following, he gave him a place again in his council [m].

Mean while the parliament, knowing the friends of the Romiſh church drew from the duke of Somerſet's fall conſequences which might breed ill effects, thought it proper to confound their hopes. To that end an act of parliament was made, confirming the new liturgy, and ordering all miſſals, breviaries, &c. to be delivered to ſuch as ſhould be appointed to receive them, and all the prayers to the ſaints to be daſhed out in all the primers ſet out by the late king. Moreover, thoſe who had any images taken out of churches, were required to burn or deface them before the laſt of June [n]. Then the parliament was prorogued on the 1ſt of February, after granting the king a ſubſidy [o], which was followed by a general pardon, in which the priſoners of the Tower were excepted. It was during this ſeſſion that the eldeſt ſons of peers were firſt permitted to ſit in the houſe of commons [p].

After the late revolution at court, by the duke of Somerſet's diſgrace, the earl of Warwick had not forgot himſelf. On the 28th of October laſt he was made great maſter of the king's houſhold; a new title, introduced by Henry VIII. inſtead of that of ſteward of the houſhold, when he conferred this office on the duke of Suffolk [q]. But it was not ſo much by his poſts that the earl of Warwick was grown powerful and conſiderable, as on account of his directing the council, who acted only by his advice. Some of the counſellors looked upon him as their friend, others as the head of their party, and ſome were afraid of offending him. What he had lately done with regard to the duke of Somerſet, demonſtrated how dangerous it was to have him for an enemy.

Notwithſtanding all his greatneſs, the earl of Warwick was not a little embarraſſed concerning the affair of Boulogne. He had himſelf moſt exclaimed againſt the duke of Somerſet for propoſing to reſign that place, and ridiculed all his reaſons, and yet for theſe ſame reaſons, he reſolved at length to do what he ſo much blamed in another. But not to appear inconſiſtent with himſelf, he choſe to cauſe the reſtitution of Boulogne to be moved and reſolved in council, and to appear himſelf to be no farther concerned, than to comply with the opinion of the majority. It is not very difficult for one that directs an aſſembly, to procure what reſolutions he pleaſes without acting openly. But the difficulty conſiſted in the diſhonour of making the firſt ſtep, and the danger of ſhewing a deſire to conclude a peace with France. The earl of Warwick found an expedient to avoid this inconvenience, by employing one Guidotti, an Italian merchant, who lived at Southampton. This man coming to Paris, on ſome pretence, inſinuated himſelf into the conſtable's family, who was the king's chief favourite. In his converſation with ſome of the conſtable's officers, he ſaid, he verily believed the court of England might be eaſily brought to reſtore Boulogne for a ſum of money. The conſtable, to whom this was told, preſently gueſſed the meaning. He ſpoke himſelf to Guidotti, and charged him to intimate to ſome one of the council of England, that the king of France had rather end the affair of Boulogne by treaty than by arms. Whereupon Guidotti made ſeveral journies to London and Paris. At laſt he ſet the matter in ſo fair a way, that the courts,

[h] He died at his houſe called Lincoln Place, in Holborn (afterwards Southampton-houſe) July 30, 1550, and was buried in St. Andrew's, where a fair monument was erected to his memory. Stow's Ann. p. 604.

[i] They ſent to him, on October 18, ſir Thomas Cheny and ſir Philip Hobby. Burnet, tom. II. p. 140.

[k] This year, on May 8, Commiſſioners were appointed to viſit and reform the univerſity of Oxford. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 183.

[l] January 3, when the bill was read for the ſecond time; as it was for the third time, January 14. Journ. Parl.

[m] This year was publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh, of Tindal's tranſlation, reviſed by Coverdale; and alſo the form of ordination. Strype, tom. II. p. 200, 203.

[n] The other acts made in this ſeſſion were theſe: 1. That a form of conſecrating archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, ſhould be drawn by ſix biſhops, and ſix other men of the realm, learned in God's law, and ſet forth before the 1ſt of April next coming. The biſhops of Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Chicheſter, and Weſtminſter, proteſted againſt this act. 2. That the Cuſtodes Rotulorum ſhould be appointed by the lord chancellor.

[o] Twelve-pence in the pound of goods, and of every alien two ſhillings in the pound. See Statutes, c. 23. They alſo releaſed the relief on ſheep and clothes, granted 2 and 3 Edward VI. and continued that on goods for three years; which was of every perſon worth 10l. or upwards, in money, goods, &c. 12d. in the pound; and of every alien worth 20s. and under 10l. 12d. in the pound. Stevens, p. 232.

[p] Sir Francis Ruſſel, becoming by his brother's death heir apparent to the lord Ruſſel, it was on the 21ſt of January, carried upon a debate, that he ſhould abide in the houſe as he was before. So it is entered in the original Journal of the houſe of commons, communicated to Dr. Burnet, by Mr. Surle and Mr. Clarke, in whoſe hands it was then, and is the firſt journal that ever was taken in that houſe. See Hiſt. Ref. vol. II. p. 143.

[q] And on February 2, this year, William Parr, marquis of Northampton, was made lord great chamberlain of England; the lord Wentworth, lord chamberlain of the houſhold; ſir Thomas Darcy, vice chamberlain, and captain of the guard; and ſir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller. Stow, p. 603. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 203.

For

being equally desirous of ending it, agreed to send plenipotentiaries to some place in Picardy to treat of a peace and the restitution of Boulogne [r].

Monsieur de la Rochport, of the house of Montmorency, Gaspar de Coligny, afterwards admiral, and two more, were appointed by France; and the court of England made choice of the lord Russel, Paget, now made a baron [s], secretary Petre, and sir John Mason. Their instructions were a clear evidence that the council would have a peace at any rate. The substance of them was:

I. That as to the place of congress, they were not to appear very difficult; but, if possible, they were to have it at Calais or Boulogne.

II. They might offer the restitution of Boulogne.

III. But then they were to demand that the young queen of Scotland should be sent home, to consummate her marriage with the king of England.

IV. That the fortifications of Blackness and Newhaven should be demolished.

V. That the pension promised by Francis I. to Henry VIII. should be continued, and all arrears paid; but, if they could not obtain the first, they were to be satisfied with the arrears.

VI. That as for Scotland, they should affirm, England could not treat without the emperor's concurrence; but if the emperor would agree to it, the king of England would restore all the places he held in Scotland, except Aymouth and Roxburgh.

VII That if the French spoke any thing of the king's marrying Henry II.'s daughter Elizabeth, they should answer, they had no instructions upon that head, and should insist upon the king's being so young.

The plenipotentiaries meeting near Boulogne [t], those of France said plainly, it was not to be expected that the king, their master, would send back the queen of Scotland, since he designed her for his son the dauphin: that as for the perpetual pension, Francis I. promised it when forced by his affairs, but the king, his son, never intended to be tributary to England: that, however, they were ready to treat about the restitution of Boulogne for a sum of money: that moreover, the king, their master, did not mean the English should keep any one place in Scotland. This was talking imperiously. But Henry II. had discovered the intentions of the council of England, and was resolved to improve the occasion to destroy the grating claim of the kings of England to the crown of France, or at least to the perpetual pension promised by Francis I. in lieu of that claim. Some time after, the English embassadors received fresh instructions, empowering them to conclude a peace upon terms less difficult to be obtained than those first demanded. However, as the court of England would not absolutely desist from the pension, an expedient was found, with which that court was satisfied, namely, all claims of the two kings were to remain as before, except such as would be adjusted by the treaty, which was at length signed the 24th of March, and was in effect as follows:

I. That the city of Boulogne should be restored to France, with all the ordnance and ammunition found there by Henry VIII. when he took the place.

II. That in consideration of Henry's improvements, and charges in transporting provisions and ammunition, the king of France should pay the king of England the sum of four hundred thousand crowns of gold [u], half on the day of restitution, and half before the 15th of August.

It is to be observed upon this article, that the king of France very carefully avoided mentioning either the pension stipulated in the last treaty of peace, or even what was due to the crown of England since the time of Charles VIII. which had been always encreased afterwards by several treaties.

III. That for the security of the payment of the two hundred thousand crowns in August, France should give six hostages, and England the like number [w] for the security of the restitution of Boulogne.

IV. As to Scotland, it was agreed that the king of England should deliver to the queen of Scotland the two forts of Lauder and Dunglass, with all the ordnance, except what was brought thither from Hadington.

V. That if these two forts remained in the king of England's power, he should be obliged to demolish the fortifications of Aymouth and Roxburgh, which should never be rebuilt by England or Scotland; but, if he restored Lauder and Dunglass, he should however be obliged to raze Aymouth and Roxburgh, provided the queen of Scotland demolished also Lauder and Dunglass; and that none of these four places should be ever re-fortified.

VI. That the king of England should make no new war upon Scotland, unless he had fresh cause; that is to say, Edward relinquished his marriage.

VII. That the king of England's demands, claims, and pretensions, as well upon France as Scotland, and all the king of France's and the queen of Scotland's upon England, should remain as before.

Thus all the pains taken by Henry VIII. to secure a pension, or rather a yearly tribute, in lieu of the title he pretended to have to the crown of France, were rendered fruitless by this treaty; which contained, in favour of England, only an indeterminate reservation of the claim which had occasioned the effusion of so much blood since the reign of Edward III. There remains to the kings of England only the empty title of king of France, none of Edward VI.'s successors having ever seriously thought of prosecuting their pretended right.

The treaty being brought to London to be ratified, the earl of Warwick feigned sickness, not to be obliged to sign a peace he had so much exclaimed against. But this was only to impose on the public, since he had signed all the orders and instructions by virtue whereof the embassadors had concluded it.

The restitution of Boulogne opened the eyes of the people, with respect to the conduct of those at the helm. They, who had now delivered up that place for four hundred thousand crowns, in lieu of the two millions Francis had promised to pay, were the same who some months before had reviled the protector for only intending to restore it. The earl of Warwick, who had the chief direction of affairs, and whose interest it was to procure the people's affection, seeing them a little enraged, thought proper to divert them, by giving them some satisfaction in other respects. To that purpose, he called to a strict account those who had managed the king's money, or been guilty of misdemeanors in the exercise of their offices. He had also in this another motive, namely, to pay the king's debts, which were considerable. In this inquisition, his chief friends, who had served him as instruments to ruin the duke of Somerset, were least spared. The earl of Arundel was fined in 12,000l. payable in twelve years. Southwel was put in the Fleet, and the rest made their compositions with the court as well as they could. As there were few but what were guilty of some misdemeanor, this enquiry established the earl of Warwick, every one fearing he would find means to be revenged of those who expressed not great submission [x].

In the course of this year there were some changes in the bishoprics. The see of Westminster, vacant by the resignation of Thirleby, was united to that of London, and given to Ridley, bishop of Rochester [y]. Thirleby had the see of Norwich; Poinet that of Rochester [z]; and, on the 3d of July, John Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester [a].

This year, Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who had been now forty years in England, had leave to go and spend the residue of his days in his own country. The king permitted him

[r] For this good piece of service, Guidotti had a pension of 250l. per ann. allowed him by the court of England; and his son John a pension of 35l. 10s. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 227, 228. Edw. Journ. p. 11.

[s] He was summoned to the house of peers, Dec. 3, 1549, by the title of Baron of Baudesert. Journ. Parl.

[t] The latter end of January. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 148.

[u] Then of equal value with the English noble.

[w] The English hostages were, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford, eldest son of the duke of Somerset; the lord Mautravers, eldest son of the earl of Arundel; the lord Talbot, the earl of Shrewsbury's eldest son; the lord Strange, the earl of Derby's eldest son; and the lord Fitzwarin, eldest son of the earl of Bath. Rymer's Fœd. tom XV. p. 214.

[x] Sir Thomas Smith, sir Michael Stanhope, Thomas Fisher, and William Grey, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3000l. and sir John Thynn submitted to 6000l. fine, and then were discharged. Burnet, tom. II. p. 149.

[y] On February 24. Burnet, p. 149. Miles Coverdale was also made, August 14, next year, bishop of Exeter, in the room of John Vesey, who resigned, after having alienated almost all the lands belonging to that bishopric, and reserved to himself a yearly pension of 485l. Burnet, tom. II. p. 166. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 282, &c.

[z] Poinet, not having a house upon his bishopric, held in commendam a prebend of Canterbury; the vicarage of Ashford, in Kent; the rectories of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane, London, and of Towen, in the diocese of Bangor. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 241. But, by an order of council, of June 29, 1550, it was decreed, That no bishop should henceforth keep other benefice than his bishopric only. Strype, tom. II. p. 220.

[a] Upon the vacancies of these, and other sees, the best and almost all the manors belonging to them, were surrendered into the king's hands, and distributed among the courtiers; and, to make some sort of compensation, there

to enjoy his preferments [b], in conſideration of his having employed the beſt part of his life in writing the hiſtory of England [c].

Before we proceed to the next year, it will not be improper to mention what had paſſed in foreign countries.

Paul III. dying the 13th of November 1549, the cardinals who entered the conclave the 29th of the ſame month, agreed in few days to raiſe cardinal Pole to the papal throne, and even came in the night to his chamber to adore him, according to cuſtom. But he deſired them to defer the ceremony till it was day, telling them it ought not to be a work of darkneſs. This ſcruple, unheard-of till then, ſeemed to them ſo extraordinary, that ſome imputed it to ſtupidity. Others were afraid, if Pole was pope, he would reform the court of Rome, and the college of cardinals in particular. However this be, from that moment they thought of electing another pope. After which, being divided into three factions, they could not agree upon the perſon till the February following, when they choſe the cardinal de Monte, who took the name of Julius III. [d].

In Germany, the emperor having opened the diet of the empire about the end of July, would have obliged all the proteſtants to ſubmit to the determinations of the council, now removed back to Trent. Maurice, elector of Saxony, ſtrongly oppoſed it, but with ſo much caution and regard for the emperor, that he did not loſe his favour. On the contrary, the emperor agreed, that the diet ſhould declare him general of the army of the empire, to end the war by the ſiege of Magdeburg, the only proteſtant town which ſtill held out. Maurice had great deſigns, which the emperor knew not, till it was too late to hinder the execution.

Scotland enjoyed a great tranquility after the concluſion of the peace [e]. James Hamilton, earl of Arran in Scotland, and duke of Chateleraut in France, ſtill governed the kingdom as regent. But he was himſelf governed by the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, his natural brother, a man of a very lewd and infamous life. Let us return now to England, and ſee what paſſed there during the year 1551.

After the concluſion of the peace with France and Scotland, the principal affair in the kingdom was that of the reformation, which the young king wiſhed to bring to as high a degree of perfection as poſſible. He was kept in this diſpoſition by Cranmer, and the reſt of the reformers. The earl of Warwick appeared alſo very forward to complete the work, becauſe he thereby inſinuated himſelf more into his young maſter's favour. The conſtant maxim of the Romiſh party was to oppoſe with all their power any intended alterations, before they were eſtabliſhed by law. But they complied with them, at leaſt outwardly, when there was no remedy, till a favourable opportunity ſhould offer to throw off the maſk. It was not poſſible to be rid of theſe hypocrites at once, becauſe they gave no advantage by their outward behaviour. But they were narrowly watched, that their falſe ſteps might be improved. By this means, Bonner was put outo f the way the laſt year; and, by the ſame method, Gardiner was this year deprived on the 18th of April [f].

During all the reſt of the year, choſen commiſſioners were preparing a confeſſion of faith [g], which was the laſt mortal wound to he given to the old religion. Some places of the new liturgy were alſo corrected [h]. But the princeſs Mary refuſed to ſubmit to theſe or the former changes. She continued to have maſs ſaid in her houſe, and thereby drew upon herſelf great mortifications from the council and the king himſelf, who ſeemed reſolved to force her to a compliance. She was ſo alarmed at it, that ſhe formed a deſign to withdraw out of the kingdom, by means of ſome veſſels which the regent of the Low-Countries was to ſend upon the coaſt of England. But the deſign being diſcovered, the execution was prevented, though it ſhould ſeem that princeſs would have occaſioned leſs trouble and embarraſſment, had ſhe been out of the kingdom. In all appearance, the project of excluding her from the ſucceſſion was not yet formed, neither was the king's death thought ſo near as it was.

This princeſs's obſtinacy drew upon her the king her brother's diſpleaſure, who from thenceforward loſt much of the eſteem and affection he had for her. It was this probably that inſpired the earl of Warwick with the thoughts of excluding her from the ſucceſſion, and of forming, in favour of his own family, the project mentioned hereafter. It will be neceſſary however briefly to ſay here, that this project was, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth abroad; to cauſe Mary to be ſet aſide; and to marry one of his ſons to Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter of Henry Grey, marquis of Dorſet, and of Frances Brandon, who was the next in the ſucceſſion, after Henry VIIIth's two daughters [i].

At this time the ſweating-ſickneſs broke out in England with great violence, carrying off in twenty-four hours ſuch as were ſeized with it, in ſpite of all remedies [k]. If we may believe the hiſtorians, this ſickneſs was peculiar to the Engliſh nation. It did not ſeize the foreigners who were in England; and in other countries Engliſhmen were only afflicted with it. For this reaſon it was called the Engliſh ſweat. There is much the ſame thing to be obſerved among the Polanders, who were alone ſubject to a diſtemper they call plica [l], unknown, as it is affirmed, in all other countries. The duke of Suffolk, ſon of Charles Brandon by his ſecond wife, died of the ſweating-ſickneſs; as did alſo, two days after, his brother, who had ſucceeded him. So, the title of duke of Suffolk being void, the earl of Warwick reſolved to procure that honour for the marquis of Dorſet, father of Jane Grey, whom he deſigned for one of his ſons. He wanted the concurrence of that lord to ſet the crown on his daughter's head, to whom the mother was moreover to reſign her right. It is however very difficult to conceive that the earl of Warwick ſhould have formed this project ſo early, ſince Edward was in good health, in his fifteenth year only, and very likely to have a numerous iſſue. The earl of Warwick muſt therefore have known that the king was to die very ſoon. And this is what they would inſinuate, who make him form his deſign at the time I am ſpeaking of, and before the king was ſeized with his laſt illneſs, in order to repreſent him as the author of his death. However, it is pretended, all this lord's proceed-

there were beſtowed upon the ſame ſees, either worſe manors, or elſe rectories, and impropriated tithes. Thus on September 26, 1547, Shaxton, biſhop of Lincoln, reſigned to the king twenty-four manors; ſo that at preſent the revenues of that biſhopric are ſaid to conſiſt of impropriations. Buckden being the only manor it has left. May 20, 1548, the biſhop of Bath and Wells made the like reſignation or exchange of ten manors. And April 12, 1550, Ridley, biſhop of London, yielded up to the king the manors of Stepney and Hackney, in Middleſex, and of Branktree and Southminſter, in Eſſex; in the room whereof he had the manors of Feting, Kilvedon, &c. in Eſſex; of Greenford, Hanwel, Drayton, and Paddington, in Middleſex; the advowſon of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others; of which the reader may ſee an account in Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. II. p. 217, who there obſerves, that the advantage of the exchange was conſiderably on the biſhop's ſide. The ſee of Winchester was alſo regulated. See ibid. p. 272. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 166, 171, 226. King Henry VIII. had led the way in this general regulation, as it was called, of the biſhoprics, by a ſtatute made in the 37th of his reign, c. 16, when no leſs than ſeventy manors, all at the old rents, were taken at once from the ſee of York, and annexed to the duchy of Lancaſter, impropriations and tithes being given in lieu of them; and many were alſo at the ſame time diſmembered from the archbiſhop of Canterbury. See Stat. 37 Henry VIII. Strype's Mem. tom. II. p. 75, &c. Heylin, p. 18.

[b] His archdeaconry of Wells, and his prebend of Nonnington, in the church of Hereford.

[c] This year the city of London purchaſed from the king all the liberties of Southwark, for the ſum of one thouſand marks. Stow, p. 604.

[d] He gave a ſtrange omen of what advancements he intended to make, when he gave his own hat (according to the cuſtom of the popes, who beſtow their hats before they go out of the conclave) on a mean ſervant of his, who had the charge of his money; and being aſked, what he ſaw in him to make him a cardinal? He anſwered, As much as the cardinals had ſeen in him to make him pope. But it was commonly ſaid, that the ſecret of this promotion was an unnatural affection to him. Burnet. tom. II. p. 127.

[e] It had been included in the late peace made between the crowns of England and France; and accordingly took care to have this comprehenſion ratified. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 255—273.

[f] He muſt have been deprived ſooner; for J. Poinet, biſhop of Rocheſter, was tranſlated on March 23, to the ſee of Wincheſter, ſaid then to be vacant by the deprivation of Stephen the late biſhop.—See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 253. According to king Edward's Journal, it was on February 13.—January 28, this year, a commiſſion was given to ſeveral biſhops, and others of the clergy and laity, to enquire after, repreſs, and extirpate, the errors of the anabaptiſts, libertines, and other heretics. Rymer's Fœd. tom XV. p. 215.

[g] It is not known who were the compilers of theſe articles of the church of England, being forty-two in number, nor what method was taken in preparing them. Burnet thinks they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and that that they were by them ſent about to others, to correct or add to them as they ſaw cauſe. The reader may ſee them in Burnet's Collection, numb. 55. vol. II. with the difference between theſe and thoſe ſet out in queen Elizabeth's time marked in the margin.

[h] A general confeſſion and abſolution was added. And the commandments were put in the beginning of the communion ſervice. The chriſm, uſe of the croſs in conſecrating the euchariſt, prayers for the dead, &c. were laid aſide. Burnet, tom. II. p. 169, 170.

[i] Laſt year, on June 3, John, the earl of Warwick's eldeſt ſon, married Ann, daughter of the duke of Somerſet. And on the 4th of the ſame month, Robert, his third ſon, married ſir John Robert's daughter. Edw. Jour. p. 14, 15.

[k] This ſickneſs began firſt at Shrewſbury, in April, and ſpreading towards the north, ended not till October. Rapin. Whoever was ſeized with it, died, or recovered within nine or ten hours at moſt. If he took cold, he died within three hours; if he ſlept, within ſix hours, he died raving. It raged chiefly among young men, of a ſtrong conſtitution. Edw. Jour. p. 30.

[l] They that are troubled with it, loſe the uſe of their limbs, as if they had a palſy, and feel great pains in their nerves, which generally continue a whole year. After that, they fall into a great ſweat at night, and next morning their hair is glued together, and has a nauſeous ſmell, which continues ever after. If they cut their hair, the humour falls on their eyes, and makes them blind. This diſtemper is infectious, and communicated by coition. Atlas. Geog. tom. I. p. 199.

The

ings from the death of Jane Grey's two brothers, to the end of this reign, had relation to this project; as for inſtance, the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth to the king of Denmark's eldeſt ſon, which he cauſed to be privately treated, but without effect.

The marriage of the king himſelf with a daughter of France, which was negotiated and concluded this year, ſeems directly contrary to the earl of Warwick's deſigns, ſuppoſing they were already formed. Wherefore Dr. Burnet ſays, that this marriage was only to amuſe the young king. Hayward, who wrote the hiſtory of Edward VI. ſays alſo, that after the marriage was concluded, Edward thought himſelf in perfect ſafety, though indeed he was in extreme danger. But whatever the earl of Warwick's motive might be, the marquis of Northampton, the biſhop of Ely, and ſome other embaſſadors, were ſent with a ſplendid retinue to carry the order of the Garter to Henry II. and to propoſe a marriage between his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth and Edward. Henry being then at Chateaubriant, the Engliſh embaſſadors came to Nantes, from whence they were conducted to court. The marquis of Northampton, as head of the embaſſy [m], preſented the collar of the order to the king. Then the biſhop of Ely deſired him to appoint commiſſioners to treat with them about an affair tending to the common good of the two kingdoms. The commiſſioners being named, the embaſſadors propoſed the marriage of Edward with the princeſs Elizabeth, and the treaty was ſigned at Angers the 19th of July. The princeſs's portion was to be two hundred thouſand crowns, and her dower as great as any queen of England had ever enjoyed. But the marriage was not to be contracted by words of the preſent tenſe, till a month after the princeſs was twelve years of age. This hindered it from being conſummated, becauſe Edward died before that time. Shortly after, Henry II. ſent a noble embaſſy into England, of which the marſhal de Montmorency was head, with the order of St. Michael to the king.

Foreign affairs being finiſhed, the earl of Warwick applied himſelf to domeſtic, or rather to his own. He cauſed Henry Grey, marquis of Northampton, to be created duke of Suffolk, and himſelf duke of Northumberland [n]. William Paulet, earl of Wiltſhire, and lord treaſurer, was made marquis of Wincheſter [o], and ſir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke [p]. They who were on this occaſion dignified with new honours, were the intimate friends of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who ſought to eſtabliſh himſelf in the poſt he poſſeſſed of chief manager of the public affairs, though without any patent to give him that authority.

This lord could not however enjoy a perfect tranquility, ſo long as he ſtill ſaw ſuch a rival as the duke of Somerſet, who might one day be reſtored to favour, and who was really endeavouring to regain the poſt he had formerly poſſeſſed. Edward was near the time of his majority, and daily encreaſed in the knowledge of affairs. The duke of Northumberland had therefore to fear, than when the king ſhould compare his adminiſtration with the duke of Somerſet's, he would perceive the laſt had been wrongfully deprived of his dignity. Beſides, Edward ſtill expreſſed great eſteem for his uncle, and gave him frequent and public marks of it. All this made the duke of Northumberland very uneaſy, who plainly ſaw, it would be almoſt impoſſible to execute his projects whilſt he had ſuch an inſpector as the duke of Somerſet. He determined therefore to be rid of this troubleſome rival at any rate, and to that end made uſe of two ways. The firſt was to ruin him in the king's favour, by means of certain emiſſaries, who beſet him continually [q]. The ſecond was, to cauſe his enemy ſuch mortifications as ſhould throw him upon actions that would give an advantage againſt him. Theſe two ways ſucceeded to his wiſh. The king by degrees took a diſguſt at his uncle, and was thereby diſpoſed to receive any ill impreſſions againſt him. On the other hand, the duke of Somerſet could not, without extreme impatience, ſee himſelf daily expoſed to affronts, the more provoking, as they were done with deſign to inſenſe him. Few have the prudence or moderation to avoid falling into ſuch ſnares. It is pretended that, ſeeing himſelf thus puſhed, he reſolved to kill the duke of Northumberland at a viſit he was to make him. Others ſay, he intended to have invited him to dinner at the lord Paget's, and there he was either to kill or poiſon him. At leaſt the hiſtorians thus ſpeak of it, becauſe the report was ſpread both before and after his diſgrace, and even imbibed by the king. And yet his impeachment had no ſuch thing in it, but ran only, that he intended to ſecure the duke of Northumberland's perſon. However, it cannot be denied, he had contrived ſome plot to be reſtored to his poſt, and deviſed, and perhaps imparted to his confidents, ſeveral expedients which were imputed to him afterwards as ſo many crimes, though he had executed none. One of theſe confidents was the perſon that ruined him, being in all appearance bribed by his enemy. This man, ſir Thomas Palmer by name, having been ſecretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably ſo turned his diſcourſe as to make the king believe that bare projects or thoughts were fixed and ſettled deſigns [r]. However, the king, being perſuaded his uncle would have aſſaſſinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, conſented that he ſhould be brought to his trial. So, on the 17th of October, the duke was apprehended and ſent to the Tower, with many others accuſed of being his accomplices. The next day the ducheſs of Somerſet, with two of her women, were alſo arreſted; and after that, the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget underwent the ſame fate.

As ſoon as the duke of Somerſet was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were every where publiſhed, with circumſtances proper to impoſe on the people. Upon theſe extravagant accuſations it is that the hiſtorians, doctor Burnet excepted, have built their accounts of this event. What is moſt probable is, that the duke had projected to get himſelf declared protector in the next parliament, ſince the earl of Rutland affirmed it upon oath. As to the means he intended to uſe for that end, very likely he had deviſed ſeveral, but not yet fixed upon any, except that perhaps of ſecuring the duke of Northumberland's perſon. As the cuſtom of bringing the witneſſes face to face had been ſome time ſince laid aſide, we muſt be contented with knowing what the witneſſes depoſed againſt him, without any poſſibility however of receiving from thence an unqueſtionable proof of the truth of the facts. Every one is ſenſible what great alterations the confronting of witneſſes is capable of producing in ſeemingly the moſt poſitive depoſitions.

Palmer depoſed, that ſir Ralph Vane was to have headed two thouſand men to ſupport the duke of Somerſet's deſigns, who, with a hundred horſe [s], was to have fallen upon the guard; that being done, the duke intended to have gone through the city, proclaiming, Liberty! Liberty! And, in caſe he failed to raiſe the people, to have fled to the iſle of Wight. One Crane affirmed the ſame thing, and added, that the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were privy to the conſpiracy.

Upon theſe depoſitions, the duke was brought to his trial before the peers on the 1ſt of December, the crimes laid againſt him being caſt into three articles:

I. That he had deſigned to ſeize on the king's perſon, and the adminiſtration of the public affairs.

II. That he, with one hundred others, intended to impriſon the duke of Northumberland.

III. And that he had deſigned to raiſe an inſurrection in the city of London.

Theſe three articles, to which the duke of Somerſet's crimes were reduced, plainly ſhew, there was no proof of his having intended to kill or poiſon the three lords above mentioned, though the king had been made to believe it, and the people told the ſame. Of theſe three articles, the firſt and third were high-treaſon, and the ſecond, concerning the duke of Northumberland, was only felony. He poſitively denied the treaſonable articles; and for the other, which was placed the ſecond in the impeachment, he proteſted, he had never determined to kill the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, but had only talked of it, without any intention to do it.

[m] The reſt of the embaſſadors were, Thomas Goodrick, biſhop of Ely; ſir John Maſon, ſir Philip Hobby, ſir William Pickering, ſir Thomas Smith, and Dr. John Uliber. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 274.

[n] Henry Percy, the laſt earl of Northumberland, dying without iſſue, his next heirs were the ſons of Thomas Percy, who was attainted in the laſt reign for the Yorkſhire rebellion.

[o] Rapin by miſtake ſays Wiltſhire.

[p] Sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain of the king's houſhold, captain of the guard, and one of the four knights of the king's privy-chamber, was ſome time before, namely, on April 5, created baron Darcy, of Chich. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 302. Edw. Journ. p. 24. And William Cecil, made on September 6, 1550, one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, was now knighted (Edw. Journ.) as was alſo John Cheek, the king's preceptor.

[q] Some reported, that he had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king in divers counties. Hayward, p. 320.

[r] He afterwards denied all to the duke of Somerſet. See king Edw. Journ. p. 37.

[s] December 1550, there was appointed a band of horſemen, divided amongſt the nobles; an hundred to the duke of Somerſet. Theſe were the horſe, that, with the two thouſand men, were to ſet upon the Gens d'armes, who were nine hundred in number. See king Edw. Journ. p. 21, in Burnet, vol. II.

It muſt be confeſſed, here is a difficulty which is not eaſy to be reſolved. The duke of Somerſet is not accuſed of intending to kill theſe lords, and yet he juſtifies himſelf on that head. This ſeems to intimate, there was ſome ſuch article in the indictment. And yet, doctor Burnet, an exact hiſtorian, if ever there was any, who affirms that he took the accuſation out of the records of the council, ſets down but three articles, where there is no mention of theſe lords, who even ſat among the peers, his judges. On the other hand, it will appear preſently, that the duke was condemned for felony; which was ſtretching the rigour of the law as far as it could go, if he was guilty only of an intention to ſeize the duke of Northumberland; whereas, if he had really intended to kill theſe three lords, there was nothing in his ſentence but what was agreeable to an act of parliament. It muſt therefore be ſaid, either the famous hiſtorian above-mentioned has not exactly related the articles of accuſation, or the peers condemned the unfortunate duke for a crime he was not legally charged with. The faithfulneſs and exactneſs doctor Burnet has profeſſed, will not allow him to be accuſed of ſuch a fraud. But the character of the duke of Northumberland, and of moſt of the duke of Somerſet's judges, who, for the moſt part, were his profeſſed enemies, give but too much occaſion to ſuſpect that the fear of offending the duke of Northumberland, or ſome other motives, prevailed over juſtice [t].

After the peers had heard the depoſitions againſt the duke, and his defences, they unanimouſly acquitted him of treaſon, but found him guilty of felony. They proceeded, in all appearance, upon a ſtatute made in the time of Henry VII. [u], which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counſellor. This was ſtretching very far that ſevere law, which perhaps was never executed before, eſpecially upon a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king. Beſides, his charge did not run, that he had intended to kill theſe three counſellors, but only had deſigned to ſecure the duke of Northumberland's perſon. But what is moſt ſtrange in the trial is, that theſe three lords ſat as judges. Sentence being given, he aſked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, for his ill intentions againſt them. This aſking pardon has made ſeveral believe him guilty. But it is a queſtion, whether by theſe ill intentions we are neceſſarily to underſtand a deſign to aſſaſſinate them. When the people who were preſent at his trial, ſaw he was returned not guilty of treaſon, they ſhouted for joy ſo loud, that they were heard at Charing-croſs. But their joy was turned into ſorrow, when they heard he was condemned of felony.

Every one believed the duke would be pardoned, becauſe his execution was deferred almoſt two months. But ſo great care had been taken to prepoſſeſs the king againſt him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon. It appears in his Journal, that one Bartuile had affirmed upon oath, that the duke of Somerſet had hired him to kill the duke of Northumberland. That the duke himſelf had owned it at his coming to the Tower, though he had denied it at firſt. But it is very ſtrange this evidence was not produced at his trial. Nothing argues his innocence in this reſpect ſo much as the indictment itſelf, which ran, not that he had intended to aſſaſſinate the duke of Northumberland, but only had deſigned to ſeize and impriſon him. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be denied that the king believed him guilty of the firſt of theſe crimes, ſince we ſee in his letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, his favourite, then in France, that the duke had confeſſed it after ſentence, though he had before ſworn the contrary [w]. But the king's belief does by no means prove the fact. It ſerves alſo equally to prove that the young king was abuſed, who even ſhewed afterwards an extreme ſorrow for having conſented to his uncle's death. The duke of Somerſet was in hopes, however, of undeceiving the king. He had now engaged the lord chancellor Rich to be his friend, who, through a miſtake in the ſuperſcription of a note he ſent to the duke, diſcovered his deſign to uſe his endeavours for him. This occaſioned the great ſeals to be taken from him, and given to the biſhop of Ely [x].

As ſoon as the duke had received his ſentence, great care was taken to divert and entertain the king with pleaſing ſights, that he might not reflect upon this ſtrange condemnation. At the ſame time, all his uncle's friends were carefully hindered from coming near him. At laſt, on the 22d of January, he ſigned an order for his execution. The duke appeared calm and undiſturbed on the ſcaffold, and made a ſpeech to the people. He affirmed, "he had never offended the king by word or deed. He gave God thanks for making him his inſtrument to promote the reformation, and exhorted the people to perſiſt therein." When he had gone ſo far, he was forced to ſtop, by reaſon of an extraordinary noiſe among the people, which laſted ſome time. Sir Anthony Brown riding towards the ſcaffold, and crying to the people to give way, made many believe he was bringing a pardon. On the other ſide, a company of ſoldiers who had been ordered to attend at the execution, coming too late, cauſed others to imagine they were come to maſſacre them. This bred a terrible diſorder, and fatal to ſome of the ſpectators, who were ſmothered to death. When the noiſe was over, he calmly went on with his ſpeech, and ſaid, "he had always been moſt diligent about his majeſty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no leſs diligent in ſeeking the common good of the whole realm." Here again he was interrupted by the people crying out, "It was moſt true." Then "he prayed for the king, aſked forgiveneſs of all whom at any time he had offended; forgave all his enemies without exception; and deſired the people to bear him witneſs, that he died in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt." When he had ended his ſpeech, he turned to his private devotions; after which he laid his head on the block to receive the fatal blow.

Thus fell the duke of Somerſet, concerning whom opinions have been very much divided. Some have repreſented him as a very wicked man, capable of committing the moſt henious crimes; and others, as a very good Chriſtian. It is eaſy to ſee, that religion was the ſole cauſe of this diverſity. Had it not been for the prejudice religion begets in moſt men, his faults would not have been ſo much aggravated, which, after all, were ſome of the leaſt, men are guilty of. On the other hand, without this ſame prejudice, there would not have been ſo much pains taken to colour his ambition, which doubtleſs was a little too great. They who have made it their buſineſs to vindicate all his actions, have alſo very lightly touched upon the vaſt riches amaſſed by him during his adminiſtration. Of this, Somerſet-houſe, now ſtanding in London, is an authentic proof. But then, his enemies have made bare accuſations, artfully ſpread among the people, and inſtilled into the king, to paſs for evidenced crimes, though it manifeſtly appears, by the very articles of his indictment, that he was condemned only for an intention to commit an offence, not againſt the king or ſtate, but againſt ſome private perſons. It may therefore be affirmed, that the faults for which he was pardoned after his firſt condemnation, were much greater than that for which he ſuffered death. The people, who are ſeldom miſtaken in their judgment of great men, were ſo generally perſuaded of his innocence, that many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, conſidering him as a ſort of martyr. Nay, it happened in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, that a woman, ſeeing the duke of Northumberland leading to the Tower, ſhook one of theſe bloody handkerchiefs at him, ſaying, "Behold the blood which thou didſt cauſe to be unjuſtly ſhed, does now apparently begin to revenge itſelf on thee."

About a month after this execution, ſir Ralph Vane, ſir Miles Partridge, ſir Michael Stanhope, and ſir Thomas Arundel [y], who were ſaid to be the duke of Somerſet's chief accomplices, were alſo put to death. But they all proteſted they had never intended to form any plot, either againſt the king or any privy-counſellor. Vane added, he did not doubt his blood would make the duke of Northumberland's pillow uneaſy to him. As for Palmer, Crane, and Bartuile, who

[t] The marquis of Wincheſter ſat as high ſteward; and his judges, twenty-ſeven in number, were, the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquis of Northampton; the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntington, Rutland, Bath, Suſſex, Worceſter, Pembroke; and the viſcount of Hereford; the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evers, Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windſor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The lord chancellor was left out of the number, being ſuſpected of favouring the duke of Somerſet. Edw. Journ. p. 41. Burnet, tom. II. p. 179.

[u] Third of Henry VII. See Statut. c. 14.

[w] The king's words, as in Burnet, are: "The duke ſeemed to have acknowledged the felony, and after ſentence he had confeſſed it, though he had formerly vehemently ſworn the contrary." So it was not the deſign of killing, (as Rapin ſays by miſtake) but the felony, that the king ſaid he confeſſed. Burnet, vol. II. p. 181.

[x] The lord chancellor, intending to ſend the duke of Somerſet an advertiſement of ſomewhat deſigned againſt him by the council, and being in haſte, wrote only on the back of the letter, "To the duke," and bade one of his ſervants carry it to the Tower; without giving him particular directions to the duke of Somerſet. His ſervant, fancying it was to the duke of Norfolk, carried it to him. He, to make Northumberland his friend, ſent the letter to him. Rich, underſtanding the miſtake, prevented the diſcovery, and went immediately to the king, and pretending ſome indiſpoſition, deſired to be diſcharged; and upon that took to his bed. So it ſeemed too barbarous to do any thing farther againſt him. Burnet, tom. II. p. 182.

[y] The jury could not agree in their verdict concerning this laſt, ſo that they remained ſhut up without meat or drink from noon, January the 28th, till the next morning, the 29th. Edw. Journ. p. 46. They were executed on Tower-hill, February 26. Fox, p. 99.

This

had ſerved as witneſſes againſt the duke of Somerſet, they were eaſily diſcharged. Nay, it was obſerved, there was a great intimacy afterwards between Palmer and the duke of Northumberland, which gave occaſion to believe Palmer had been corrupted to betray the duke of Somerſet, who had honoured him with his friendſhip.

During the year 1551, the ſtate of the emperor's affairs was changed in Germany, when he leaſt ſuſpected it. Maurice, elector of Saxony, having formed the deſign of reſtoring his country to liberty, had ſecretly negotiated a league with France and the proteſtant princes of Germany. But before he declared himſelf openly, he had a mind to know what might be expected from England. To that purpoſe he ſent embaſſadors to Edward, to gain him to his intereſt, and procure a ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns, by telling him it was for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion. The embaſſadors were told, the king would moſt willingly enter into a religious league; but did not mean to be engaged, under that pretence, in a war for other quarrels. That if the elector of Saxony would confer more particularly with the proteſtant princes, and then ſend the king embaſſadors with fuller inſtructions and ſufficient powers, he ſhould have a more poſitive anſwer. Hitherto Maurice had but faintly preſſed the ſiege of Magdeburg: but when his private affairs were ſettled, he ſo ordered it, by the help of ſome friends in the town, that the inhabitants ſurrendered by capitulation. Then he broke up his army, who, parting into ſeveral bodies, quartered in the territories of ſome popiſh princes, putting them under heavy contributions. The catholics complained very much of their being expoſed to theſe oppreſſions. The emperor alone remained in an entire ſecurity, without having the leaſt ſuſpicion of the elector.

The council being removed back to Trent, was opened again in May 1551. But a quarrel between the pope and the king of France interrupting the ſeſſions, they were renewed in September; and though Henry II. proteſted againſt the council, the legates continued it, and cauſed ſeveral points to be decided, which are foreign to our purpoſe [z].

[1552] The parliament met the 23d of January 1552. The commons, ſeeing the great abuſe of the pernicious cuſtom of condemning people without confronting the witneſſes, had a mind to put a ſtop to it. To that end a bill was prepared, condemning, under divers penalties, thoſe who ſhould write or ſpeak againſt the king, with a proviſo, that none ſhould be attainted of treaſon on this act, unleſs two witneſſes ſhould come, and to their face aver the fact for which they were to be tried, except ſuch as ſhould confeſs it. The lords were very unwilling to agree to this proviſo [a], as if it concerned them leſs than the commons to be freed from oppreſſion: but at length the act paſſed as drawn by the commons.

In this ſeſſion alſo ſome progreſs was made in the reformation [b]. Among other things, the marriage of the clergy was declared good and valid, which had been for ſome time conſidered by the people as only tolerated.

The ſeſſion of parliament being about to end, and not above a hundred and thirty-ſeven members remaining in the lower houſe, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords to repeal the ſettlement of the duke of Somerſet's eſtate, made in favour of his children by his ſecond wife. In this bill was inſerted a clauſe, as the foundation of it, that the duke of Somerſet and his accomplices were juſtly attainted [c]. But the commons, agreeing to the repeal, rejected the clauſe. This ſhews their opinion of the duke's innocence.

In this ſame ſeſſion, the duke of Northumberland attempted to get Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, condemned; who had been accuſed of miſpriſion of treaſon [d]. The lords readily paſſed the bill for attainting him; but the commons would not proceed upon it, becauſe it was intended to condemn the biſhop, without confronting the witneſſes. The duke of Northumberland's aim was, to have had the dignity of palatine of Durham, annexed to that ſee, conferred on himſelf. We ſhall ſee hereafter, his project had better ſucceſs. Mean while, finding the commons had not much condeſcenſion for him, becauſe the parliament had been called during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration, he reſolved to have another which ſhould be more at his devotion. Accordingly this, which had now ſat five years, was diſſolved at the end of the ſeſſion [e]. Then the council came to a reſolution to call a new parliament for the next year only, in order to have time to take the neceſſary meaſures to cauſe repreſentatives to be choſen, who ſhould be more favourable to the court.

There were this year two conſiderable changes with reſpect to the biſhops. Firſt, Heath and Day, biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, were deprived, for too openly oppoſing the reformation. The ſecond change was more conſiderable. After the parliament had given the king power of nominating to the vacant ſees, his patents ran, that he appointed ſuch a one biſhop of ſuch a ſee, during his natural life. But, at the time I am ſpeaking of, it was thought proper to change the words into, "ſo long as he ſhall behave himſelf well [f]." So the biſhops, made by theſe patents, might be deprived of their ſees by a bare act of the king's will, without being forced to obſerve the uſual formalities in ſuch caſes.

The duke of Northumberland ſtill directed the affairs of the government, though he had no commiſſion to diſtinguiſh him from the other privy-counſellors. His proceedings againſt the duke of Somerſet putting every one in fear of being expoſed to his vengeance, not a man dared openly to oppoſe him. It has been ſeen that in the late parliament he attempted to render the duke of Somerſet's memory odious, by cauſing his ſentence to be approved by the two houſes. That project not ſucceeding, he took another method. He ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made of all who had been enriched by the chantry-lands, given to the king during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration. Great numbers were found, ſome of whom were condemned in heavy fines, and others found means to purchaſe the duke of Northumberland's favour. But it was not poſſible for the lord Paget to divert the ſtorm which fell upon him, the duke of Northumberland mortally hating him for having been entirely devoted to the duke of Somerſet [g]. He was not only fined in ſix thouſand pounds, but alſo, on pretence that he was no gentleman [h], was degraded from the order of the garter, which he had received from Henry VIII. as if that prince, when he gave it him, knew not his pedigree. Beſides the motive of hatred and revenge by which the duke of Northumberland was ſwayed, he had alſo another, which was to make way for his eldeſt ſon [i] the earl of Warwick, for whom he eaſily procured the vacant garter [k].

About this time the corporation of German merchants, who lived in the Steel-yard, was diſſolved, becauſe it was become detrimental to England, by engroſſing the whole woollen trade [l]. It was proved, that the Steel-yard men, in the year 1551, ſhipped forty-four thouſand cloths, and all the Engliſh merchants together did not export above eleven hundred. The regent of Flanders and the city of Hamburgh earneſtly

[z] This year the king founded a college, or a collegiate church, at Galway, in Ireland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 258, Strype, p. 259. And appointed a council, conſiſting of a preſident, and thirty other perſons, for the government of Wales. Ibid.

[a] This does not appear. The commons rejected the bill itſelf, and then drew a new one, which was paſſed. See Burnet, tom. II. p. 190.

[b] The new Common Prayer-Book, according to the alterations agreed upon in the former year, with the form of making biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, was appointed to be received every where, after the feaſt of All Saints next. Soon after, it was by the king's order tranſlated into French, by Francis Philip, and printed in 1553, for the uſe of the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, and the town of Calais. Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. II. p. 321. Strype, p. 377. And a letter was written on July 12, 1552, to ſir Peter Mewtas, captain of the iſle of Jerſey, to command him, that divine ſervice might there be uſed as in England. Edw. Journ. p. 58. By another act, the biſhopric of Weſtminſter was ſuppreſſed, and united to London; but the collegiate church, with its exempted juriſdictions, was ſtill continued. About this time, David's pſalms began to be turned into Engliſh rhyme, by Thomas Sternhold, one of the grooms of the king's privy chamber. He tranſlated only thirty-ſeven. The reſt were done by John Hopkins, and others. Heylin, p. 127.

[c] It was read thrice in the houſe of lords, on April 12. Journ. Procee.

[d] By one Mainvil. He was charged with conſenting to a conſpiracy in 1553, for raiſing a rebellion in the north. This charge was grounded upon a letter of his, found among the duke of Somerſet's papers. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 205.

[e] April 15. Journ. Parl. The acts made in this ſeſſion, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were as follow: 1. An act, enjoining the keeping of holidays and faſting-days. What days were particularly ſpecified, ſee in the act itſelf. 2. That no one ſhall quarrel in a church or church-yard, upon pain of ſuſpenſion; nor ſtrike, upon pain of excommunication; nor draw a weapon, upon pain of loſing one of his ears. 3. That no perſon ſhall foreſtall any market, or engroſs any goods, upon pain of forfeiture of the goods, and two months impriſonment for the firſt offence; half a year's impriſonment, and the double value of the things, for the ſecond; and the pillory, and forfeiture of all his goods, beſides impriſonment, for the third offence.

[f] The firſt patents with this clauſe in Rymer's Fœd. are thoſe of John Hooper, Durante vitâ naturali, ſi tamdiu ſe bene geſſerit. Act. Pub. XV. p. 298. May 10. Rapin. This year the ſee of Gloceſter, of which Hooper was biſhop, was quite ſuppreſſed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry; and Hooper was made biſhop of Worceſter. Burnet, tom. II. p. 203. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 297, &c. 320.

[g] He had been chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, and was charged with many miſdemeanors in that office: particularly, with ſelling the king's lands and timber without commiſſion; taking large fines for his own uſe; making leaſes in reverſion for above twenty-one years. Edw. Journ. p. 55.

[h] His father was one of the ſerjeants at mace in the city of London. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 390.

[i] Sir Andrew Dudley, his brother. See Strype, tom. II. p. 401.

[k] On February 2, this year, there was a king at arms appointed for Ireland, by the name of Ulſter. Edw. Journ. p. 46.

[l] Henry III. had been much ſupported in his wars by the aſſiſtance he received

ſollicited to have the company reſtored, but it was to no purpoſe. The court alſo ſet on foot a project for the advantage of the trade of England: namely, to open two free mart-towns in England, Hull, and Southampton. But it was not executed for want of time.

This year Cardan, the famous Italian philoſopher, paſſed through England in his return from Scotland, where he had been to cure the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's of a dropſy. His endeavours were crowned with ſucceſs; but he foretold the archbiſhop he was to be hanged. As he paſſed through England he waited on young king Edward, and was ſo charmed with him, that he every where ſpoke of him as of a miracle. It is ſaid, he caſt his nativity, and foretold to him a long and proſperous life. But for once the rules of his art were not juſt [m].

The affairs of Scotland underwent this year ſome alteration. The queen-dowager had been in France, on pretence of ſeeing her daughter; and had obtained of that court the regency of Scotland, in the room of the earl of Arran. In November 1551 ſhe returned to Scotland, through England, where ſhe was magnificently treated by the king, and her charges borne to the frontiers of the two kingdoms. At her arrival in Scotland, ſhe perſuaded the earl of Arran to reſign the regency to her, according to the deſire of Henry II. and his miniſters, the earl perceiving he could not keep it againſt their will. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's did not like his brother's reſigning his dignity. He caballed againſt the queen-regent; who had the addreſs to ſupport herſelf by the aſſiſtance of the reformed, promiſing them the free exerciſe of their religion in their own houſes. By this means ſhe eſtabliſhed herſelf in the government, in ſpite of the archbiſhop's attempts.

The revolution this year in the affairs of Germany was much more conſiderable. The elector of Saxony at length diſcovered his project, but not till after the king of France had proclaimed war againſt the emperor, and the conſtable, de Montmorency, taken Metz by ſurpriſe. Then Maurice, aſſembling his forces, marched directly to Inſpruck, where Charles V. was, and had like to have taken him priſoner. Maurice's declaration obliged the emperor at laſt to give the proteſtants ſome ſatisfaction, by granting them the famous edict of Paſſau, whereby the ſeveral princes and towns were ſecured in the free exerciſe of their religion. That monarch ſoon met with another great mortification. He inveſted Metz: but, by the brave reſiſtance of the duke of Guiſe, who defended the place, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege. Let us return now to the affairs of England [n].

The new parliament meeting the 1ſt of March 1553, the houſe of commons conſiſted of repreſentatives who for the moſt part were diſpoſed to follow the directions of the court. They gave the king a very conſiderable ſubſidy, grounded upon the great waſting of his treaſure during the duke of Somerſet's adminiſtration. This ſhewed what power the duke of Northumberland had in the houſe [o]. That lord procured likewiſe an act for ſuppreſſing the biſhopric of Durham, having firſt cauſed Tunſtal to be deprived [p]. This biſhopric being ſuppreſſed, the king founded two others; one at Durham, with 2000 marks revenue, and another at Newcaſtle, with 1000. But the temporality of the biſhopric being turned into a county palatine, was given to the duke of Northumberland. Probably, Tunſtal was deprived, and his ſee ſuppreſſed for that purpoſe.

The parliament ſat but one month. It was diſſolved the 31ſt of March, after the duke of Northumberland had procured a ſubſidy for the king, and a ſtain for the memory of the late duke of Somerſet [q]. The court had no farther need of a parliament, and the duke of Northumberland's intereſt required there ſhould be none, when he was preparing to execute his deſigns.

The young king had been ſeized ever ſince January with a diſtemper, which at length brought him to his grave [r]. This did not hinder his being made to ſign an order for viſiting the churches, and taking thence all the ſuperfluous plate and ornaments. The viſitors were likewiſe to examine very ſtrictly what embezzlements had been made in that reſpect. All this was done under colour of ſelling the ſuperfluities, and giving the money to the poor, who had, however, the leaſt ſhare [s].

The progreſs of the French in Germany beginning to make England uneaſy, the council reſolved to take ſome meaſures to ſtop their career. Nay, they ſeemed at firſt to have intended to join in a league with the emperor againſt France. But all this ended at laſt in the offer of the king's mediation, which produced no effect.

Mean while, Edward was ſtill troubled with a defluxion upon his lungs, which waſted him by degrees, and daily grew more dangerous. Some plainly affirm, a ſlow poiſon was given him, and threw the ſuſpicion upon the duke of Northumberland. Others only inſinuate ſuch a thing, without ſaying it poſitively. But after all, both ſpeak only by conjecture, without giving any proof. The young king ſaw death approaching, without any fears as to himſelf; but could not reflect without an extreme concern on the future ſtate of religion, under his ſiſter Mary, who was to ſucceed him. Very probably, the duke of Northumberland, who conſtantly attended him in his illneſs, took care to encreaſe his fears, on purpoſe to lead him more eaſily to the point he deſired. All hopes however of the king's recovery were not given over till the middle of May, when, it is likely, the phyſicians told the duke of Northumberland, his caſe was deſperate. Then it was that he married the lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth ſon, the only one unmarried, to Jane Grey, eldeſt daughter

received from the free towns in Germany; in recompence whereof he gave them great privileges in England. They were made a corporation, and lived together in the Steel-yard near the bridge. They had gone ſometimes, particularly in the reign of Edward IV. beyond their charters, which were thereupon judged to be forfeited; but by great preſents they purchaſed new ones. They traded in a body, and ſo ruined others by underſelling them. Trade was now riſen much: courts began to be more magnificent; ſo there was a greater conſumption of cloth than formerly. Antwerp and Hamburgh had then the chief trade in theſe parts of the world, and their factors in the Steel-yard (ſo called from the ſteel imported by them) had all the markets of England in their hands, and ſet ſuch prices both on what they imported or exported as they pleaſed, and broke all other merchants. Whereupon the merchant adventurers complained of them; and, after ſome hearings, it was adjudged that they had forfeited their charter, and that their company was diſſolved. Burnet, tom. II. p. 207. Strype, tom. II. p. 295.

[m] After the king's death, when nothing was to be got by flattering, he wrote the following character of him: ——"All the graces were in him: he had many tongues when he was yet but a child: together with the Engliſh, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French; nor was he ignorant, as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spaniſh, and perhaps ſome more: but for the Engliſh, French, and Latin, he was perfect in them; and was apt to learn every thing: nor was he ignorant of logic, of the principles of natural philoſophy, nor of muſic. The ſweetneſs of his temper was ſuch as became a mortal; his gravity becoming the majeſty of a king, and his diſpoſition was ſuitable to his high degree. In ſhort, that child was ſo bred, had ſuch parts, and was of ſuch expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man." Afterwards he adds, "He was a marvellous boy; when I was with him, he was in the fifteenth year of his age, in which he ſpoke Latin as politely and readily as I did. He began to love the liberal arts before he knew them, and to know them before he could uſe them; in him there was ſuch an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, had reaſon to lament his being ſo early ſnatched away.—— When the gravity of a king was needful, he carried himſelf like an old man; and yet he was always affable and gentle as became his age. He played on the lute; he meddled in affairs of ſtate; and for bounty, he did in that emulate his father; though his father, even when he endeavoured to be good, might appear to have been bad. But there was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the ſtudy of philoſophy." See the original, in Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. tom. II. Collect.

[n] This year the king's debts amounted to two hundred and fifty-one thouſand, or, according to Strype, two hundred and forty-one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds; and a commiſſion was granted to certain perſons, to ſell part of the chantry-lands for the payment of them. Edw. Journ. p. 51. Strype, tom. II. p. 312.

[o] They gave the king two tenths and two fifteenths, and a ſubſidy, to be paid in two years. At the paſſing the bill, there was a great debate about it in the houſe of commons, which ſeems to have been about the preamble, containing a long accuſation of the duke of Somerſet, for involving the king in wars, waſting his treaſure, engaging him in much debt, embaſing the coin, and having given occaſion to a moſt terrible rebellion. This was inſerted by the duke of Northumberland, to let the king ſee how acceptable he and his party, and how hateful the duke of Somerſet had been. The clergy did alſo give the king ſix ſhillings in the pound of their benefices. Burnet, tom. II. p. 215.

[p] He was deprived Aug. 14, 1552. Strype, tom. II. p. 367. The bill for diſſolving his biſhopric was firſt read on the 21ſt of March, and, for the ſecond and third times, on the 22d and 29th. Journ. Parl.

[q] But an act was made for the reſtoring in blood ſir Edward Seymour, knt. who was eldeſt ſon of the duke, by his ſecond wife. There was alſo a remarkable act made for avoiding exceſs of wines. It imported, that no perſon whatever ſhould keep in his houſe above ten gallons of French wine, for ſpending, upon pain of forfeiting 10l. ſterling, unleſs he could ſpend an hundred marks yearly in lands, tenements, or other profits certain; or was worth a thouſand marks of his own; or elſe was the ſon of a duke, marquis, earl, viſcount, or baron. When it was read in the houſe of lords, the duke of Suffolk, the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Weſtmoreland, Rutland, the biſhop of St. David's, and the lord Darcy, of Chich, diſſented from it. Journ. Parl.

[r] April 2, 1552, he fell ſick of the ſmall-pox and meaſles, which probably might turn to a conſumption. Edw. Journ. p. 49.

[s] Viſitors were appointed to examine what church-plate, jewels, and other furniture, was in all churches, and to compare their account with the inventories made in former viſitations, and to ſee what was embezzled, and how. They were to leave in every church one or two chalices of ſilver, with linen for the communion-table and for ſurplices; and to bring in all other things of value to the treaſurer of the king's houſhold, and to ſell the reſt of the linen, copes, altar-cloths, and give the money to the poor. Helyn, and others, urge from thence, that the king was ill-principled as to the matters of the church, becauſe he was now in the ſixteenth year of his age. But Burnet obſerves, that when all is done, it was only calling in the ſuperfluous plate that lay in churches, more for pomp than uſe. And that perhaps, being ſick, he did not much mind what papers the council brought him to ſign. Tom. II. p. 217.

Hollingſhead

of the new duke of Suffolk, by Frances Brandon, who was in Henry VIIIth's will the next in ſucceſſion after the princeſs Elizabeth. At the ſame time, Jane's two ſiſters were alſo married; the ſecond, the lady Catherine, to the earl of Pembroke's eldeſt ſon, the lord Herbert; the third, the lady Mary, who was crooked, to the king's groom-porter, Martin Keys. Theſe marriages were ſolemnized about the end of May [t], when there was no hope of the king's recovery. At laſt, one day, as the young king was expreſſing his great concern at the thoughts, that his ſiſter the princeſs Mary would do her utmoſt to deſtroy the reformation, the duke of Northumberland broke the ice. He repreſented to the king, that there was but one way to prevent the misfortunes England was threatened with, in caſe the princeſs Mary aſcended the throne after him; and that was, to ſettle the crown on the lady Jane Grey, his daughter-in-law. Indeed it was natural in excluding Mary to transfer the crown to his ſiſter Elizabeth, whom the king tenderly loved, and who was a hearty friend to the reformation. But, probably, the duke told the king, as he could exclude Mary but on the ſpecious pretence of her being illegitimate, the ſame reaſon ſubſiſted with regard to Elizabeth, ſince the marriages of their mothers were equally annulled. That therefore, either the ſucceſſion was to be left as ſettled by the late king, or the princeſſes were to be both excluded together. Very likely, the young king, who found himſelf dying, and only thought of ſaving the reformation from the impending deſtruction, was prevailed with by this argument to ſacrifice the princeſs Elizabeth. Beſides, he had a great eſteem and affection for Jane Grey, who was an accompliſhed lady both in body and mind.

However, the king having taken the reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the duke of Northumberland, three judges of the realm [u] were ſent for, and required to draw an aſſignment of the crown to Jane Grey. The judges deſired a little time to conſider of it. At laſt, they anſwered they could not preſume to do any ſuch thing without being guilty of high treaſon: Adding, that all the privy-counſellors who conſented to the aſſignment would unavoidably be liable to the pains expreſſed in the act of ſucceſſion. Upon which the duke of Northumberland was in ſuch a fury, that he had like to have beaten the judges; but they ſtood to what they had ſaid. On the 16th of June they were ſent for again, and at length by threats, and the expediency of a pardon under the great ſeal, were wrought upon to draw the ſettlement of the crown, which was ſigned by all the reſt of the judges, except Hales, who could never be prevailed with. All the privy-counſellors ſet their hands to it likewiſe on the 21ſt of the ſame month. Cranmer was abſent that day on purpoſe to avoid ſigning; but the king importuned him ſo much, that he ſet his hand at laſt as a witneſs, as it is pretended, and not as a privy-counſellor [w].

Mean while, the king's diſtemper encreaſing, without the poſſibility of finding any remedy, the council thought fit to diſmiſs the phyſicians, and put him into the hands of a certain woman, who undertook his cure. It was ſaid, this was done by the duke of Northumberland's advice, and that the woman ſhortened the king's days. But he was now ſo ill, that it was entirely needleſs to haſten his death. It is true, the woman inſtead of curing him, only put him to more pain by the medicines ſhe gave him; and this was ſufficient to inſpire the people with violent ſuſpicions of the duke of Northumberland, who was not beloved, nor was thought capable of any thing. At laſt the phyſicians were ſent for again. But it was not in their power to ſtop the violence of his diſtemper, which carried him out of the world on the 6th of July, after his giving ſenſible proofs of a true piety. Some days before his death, the duke of Northumberland got the council to write to the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth, deſiring them to come and keep him company in his ſickneſs. His aim was to have them in his power, that they might not obſtruct the promotion of his daughter-in-law Jane Grey. The two princeſſes, not imagining the king ſo near death, were upon the road, but hearing he was expiring, turned back, and the duke was diſappointed of his expectation [x].

BY indentures of the 1ſt and 2d of Edward VI. a pound weight of gold, of twenty carats fine and four carats allay, was coined into thirty pounds by tale, out of which the king had a great profit; and a pound of ſilver, of four ounces fine and eight ounces allay, was coined into forty-eight ſhillings: after which rate, every pound of fine ſilver made in current money ſeven pounds four ſhillings; and the king's profit on every pound weight was four pounds four ſhillings.——In the 3d year of this king, a pound weight of gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was to be coined into thirty-four pounds by tale, into ſovereigns at 20s. a-piece, half-ſovereigns at 10s. a-piece, crowns at 5s. and half-crowns at 2s. 6d. a-piece: and a pound weight of ſilver, of ſix ounces fine and ſix ounces allay, was to be coined into ſeventy-two ſhillings, which were to go for 12d. a-piece by tale; of which the merchant, for every pound weight of fine ſilver, received three pounds four ſhillings, and the king above four pounds gain.——In the 4th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard, of twenty-three carats, and three grains and a half fine, was coined into twenty-eight pounds ſixteen ſhillings by tale; namely, into ſovereigns at 24s. a-piece, half-ſovereigns at 12s. angels at 8s. and half-angels at 4s. a-piece.—In the 5th of this reign, a pound weight of ſilver, of three ounces fine and nine ounces allay, was coined into ſeventy-two ſhillings, at 12d. a-piece: and the merchant received for every ounce of fine ſilver, which he ſhould bring to the mint, ten ſhillings of ſuch money; by which means twelve ounces of fine ſilver was exorbitantly raiſed to fourteen pounds eighteen ſhillings.——In the 6th of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard aforeſaid, was coined into thirty-ſix pounds by tale: namely, twenty-four ſovereigns at 30s. a-piece, ſeventy-two angels at 10s. a-piece, or one hundred and forty-four half-angels: and and a pound weight of crown gold, of twenty-two carats fine and two carats allay, was coined into thirty-three pounds by tale: namely, thirty-three ſovereigns at 20s. a piece, or ſixty-ſix half-ſovereigns at 10s. a-piece, or one hundred and thirty-two crowns, or two hundred and ſixty-four half-crowns: and a pound weight of ſilver, conſiſting of eleven ounces one penny-weight fine, and nineteen penny-weights allay, was coined into three pounds by tale: namely, twelve crowns, or twenty-four half-crowns, or ſixty ſhillings, or one hundred and twenty ſix-pences, or two hundred and forty three-pences, or ſeven hundred and twenty pence, or one thouſand four hundred and forty half-pence, or two thouſand eight hundred and eighty farthings.

The gold coins of this king are ſovereigns, half-ſovereigns, angels, half-angels, crowns, half-crowns. The ſovereign has on one ſide the king's buſt crowned; reverſe, SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGIT. EVM. the arms in a ſhield crowned, between E. R. Another has the king's titles on the arms ſide; on the reverſe, the king, with a youthful countenance,

[t] Hollingſhead ſays, it was about the beginning of the month, p. 1085.

[u] They were, Montague, chief juſtice of the common-pleas, and Baker and Bromley; and were ſent for on June 11. Goſnald came with them on the 19th. Burnet, tom. II. p. 222.

[w] Burnet ſays, he does not know whether the archbiſhop uſed this diſtinction, though it ſeems probable that he did ſo, ſeeing that liberty was allowed to Cecil, who, in a relation which he made one write of this tranſaction, for clearing himſelf afterwards, ſays, when he heard Hales declare how much it was againſt law, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it as a counſellor, and that he only ſigned it as a witneſs to the king's ſubſcription, p. 223.

[x] His body was buried on the 8th of Auguſt, in the chapel of St. Peter's church in Weſtminſter, and laid near the body of Henry VII. his grandfather. The charge of his funeral amounting but to 475l. 2s. 2d. Strype, p. 432. He died in ſir Henry Sidney's arms, ſon-in-law to the duke of Northumberland. It is ſaid, king Edward was in body beautiful, of a ſweet aſpect, and eſpecially in his eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſs and luſtre in them. He kept a book, in which he wrote the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had ſtudied the buſineſs of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He alſo underſtood fortification, and deſigned well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as alſo in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired ſo great knowledge in foreign affairs, that the embaſſadors who were ſent into England, publiſhed very extraordinary things of him in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almoſt every thing he heard, which he wrote firſt in Greek characters, that thoſe about him might not underſtand them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal written with his own hand, is ſtill preſerved in ſir John Cotton's famous library; from whence the learned biſhop Burnet tranſcribed and publiſhed it, in his ſecond volume of the Hiſtory of the Reformation. In it the moſt conſiderable tranſactions in this reign are perhaps as well regiſtered (ſays biſhop Nicolſon) by the young king himſelf, as by any other hiſtorian.—June 26, a few days before his death, the king endowed Chriſt's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hoſpitals, in London, with the revenues belonging to the Savoy in the ſame city, which amounted then to 600l. a year; and gave licence for the purchaſing of lands, to the uſe of the ſame hoſpitals, as far as the yearly ſum of 4000 marks. Hollingſh. p. 1082. He alſo founded Chriſt's hoſpital, in Abington. Heylin, p. 141.—The expences of his houſhold yearly, during his reign, were as follow: The firſt year, 49,187l. 18s. The ſecond, 46,902l. 7s. The third 46,100l. 3s. The fourth, 100,578l. 16s. The fifth, 62,863l. 9s. The ſixth, 65,923l. 16s. Strype, tom. II. p. 454, 455. As for the prices of meat and other proviſions, during this reign, ſee ibid. p. 151, 223. Depoſit. p. 143.

bare-headed, the motto as in the laſt. The other ſort has the king's figure in armour crowned, holding a naked ſword in his right hand, and ball in his left. EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. FRANCI Z. HIB. REX. reverſe, the arms crowned between E. R. IHS. AVTEM. TRANSIÆ. PER MEDI. ILLO. IBAT. (Fig. 2.) The crown and half-crown have the ſame impreſſion as the former ſovereign. The ſilver monies of this prince, who was the firſt of that name that added the number to it, are contrary to thoſe of his father; the fine money of Henry VIII. having the half-face, and his bad the full; whereas king Edward's bad has the half, and his good the full. Of the baſe there are two ſorts of teſtoons, which give him half-faced; the one having this legend, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITE. M.D.XLIX. (Fig. 1.) and the other, INIMICOS EIVS INDVAM CONFVSI-ONE. It was on the former of theſe that biſhop Latimer remarked, it was ſuch a pretty little ſhilling, that he had like to have put it away for an old groat. The crown, half-crown, ſhilling, and ſix-pence, have all of them the king's titles thus, EDWARD VI. D. G. AGL. FRA. Z. HIBER. REX. Reverſe, the king's arms with POSVI, &c. only the crown and half-crown give him on horſeback, and and underneath the horſe 1551; another has the feathers on the horſe's head (Fig. 3.) whereas the ſhilling and ſix-pence give him full-faced; of which there are of two different mints: of York with the letter Y; and Throgmorton's mint in the Tower, an O or tun. (See Fig. 4.) Both theſe, as well as the ſix-pence, have a roſe on one ſide the king's head, and XII. or VI. on the other. The three-pence with the roſe and III. has the ſame inſcription as the ſhilling.

1 2 3 4

22. MARY.

[1553.] HENRY the Eighth's divorces from Catherine of Arragon and Anne Bullen: the acts of parliament confirming theſe divorces: other ſubſequent acts which ſeemed to repeal what the firſt had ordained: the power given to the king to appoint his ſucceſſors, and to place them in what order he pleaſed: in a word, that prince's laſt will itſelf had ſo embroiled the affair of the ſucceſſion, that it appeared full of contradiction and obſcurity. It would not have been poſſible to decide by the antient laws and cuſtoms of the realm, the queries ariſing from ſo many inconſiſtent acts, becauſe the makers of theſe new laws had not in view juſtice and equity, but only the gratifying of a prince to whom it was dangerous to refuſe any thing. Henry VIII. had foreſeen the difficulties and perplexities his two divorces might one day occaſion, and even ſeemed deſirous to prevent them. But he only encreaſed them by the new ſtatutes he obtained of the parliament, wherein his aim was not ſo much to procure the welfare of the kingdom, as to follow his humour, and cauſe his will to be a law. To ſet this matter in a clear light, it will be proper to inſert here a brief recapitulation of that monarch's proceedings with reſpect to the ſucceſſion.

It has been ſeen in the hiſtory of his reign, that after living eighteen years with Catherine of Arragon, his firſt wife, and having by her ſeveral children, of whom there was but one daughter alive, he had a mind to put her away. He pretended, his marriage was void; and becauſe the court of Rome, for reaſons of ſtate, would not condeſcend to annul it, he cauſed a ſentence of divorce to be pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, before he had aboliſhed the papal authority in his kingdom. He thereby afforded a very ſpecious pretence to queſtion the prelate's authority by whom the ſentence was pronounced. What is more, he took a ſecond wife, before he was legally divorced from the firſt; and by this precipitation, gave a freſh occaſion to diſpute the validity of his ſecond marriage. Here are already two contradictions in theſe his two firſt ſteps. He applied to the pope, as to his judge, and before he had ſolemnly renounced his authority, contemns it, and, in ſpite of the pope, whoſe juriſdiction ſtill was acknowledged in England, is divorced from queen Catherine. On the other hand, he owns there was need of a legal ſentence to juſtify his divorce, and yet he prevents the ſentence, by running into a ſecond marriage, before it was pronounced.

In the next place, he beheaded his ſecond wife for adultery; and yet, before the execution, pretended ſhe could not be his wife, and was divorced from her on a frivolous pretence. Theſe two divorces were confirmed by an act of parliament paſſed in 1536, wherein was alſo a manifeſt contradiction. The act declared Mary and Elizabeth, born of the two firſt marriages, illigitimate and incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, and yet it gave the king power to place them on the throne; ſince, without any limitation, it inveſted him with all the authority neceſſary to ſettle the ſucceſſion as he pleaſed.

There was likewiſe another contradiction in a ſtatute of the year 1540, wherein it was declared, that a marriage after conſummation ſhould not be annulled by reaſon of a precontract. Nevertheleſs Henry's divorce from Anne Bullen had no other motive. Thereby, the king and parliament owned they had injured Elizabeth in declaring her illigitimate. It will be ſaid, perhaps, this act was not to regard what was paſſed. But it is certain, it was made only with deſign to favour Elizabeth. Notwithſtanding, ſhe was not reſtored by this act, but it ſtill lay in the king's breaſt to give her place in, or exclude her from, the ſucceſſion.

In another act, made in 1544, there was a no leſs manifeſt contradiction. By this act, both houſes themſelves put in the line of the ſucceſſion Mary and Elizabeth after their brother Edward. Did not this ſeem to be making them an authentic reparation, and owning them for legitimate? And indeed, hitherto no baſtards had ever been on the throne of England. Nay, it might be queſtioned, whether it was in the parliament's power to place them there. At leaſt there would have been need of a very expreſs and authentic law for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, by a particular clauſe of this act, the king was allowed the liberty to impoſe conditions on theſe two princeſſes, without which they could have no right to ſucceed; a thing the parliament would not, nay, could not have done, if they had been owned for legitimate. It was not therefore on account of their natural right, but by mere favour, that they were enabled to ſucceed to the crown.

Henry followed the ſame plan in his laſt will. He put Mary and Elizabeth in the line of the ſucceſſion after their brother Edward, but in ſuch a manner that he let them ſee it was by mere grace, ſince he bound them to certain conditions, without which they were to forfeit their right. The difference he made between them and Edward, ſhewed he owned them not for legitimate, and thereby afforded a pretence to queſtion the right he gave them. But what conduced ſtill more to embroil the affair of the ſucceſſion was, that this will, paſſing over in ſilence the iſſue of Margaret, queen of Scotland, Henry's eldeſt ſiſter, placed next to Elizabeth the children of Mary, queen dowager of France, and ducheſs of Suffolk, the younger ſiſter. This was a manifeſt abuſe of the power granted him by the parliament, and conſequently it was furniſhing the queen of Scotland with a plauſible pretence to demand the annulling of a will which ſubverted the moſt ſteady laws of the kingdom.

Edward VI. completed this confuſion in the affair of the ſucceſſion, by conveying the crown to Jane Grey, contrary to the rights of Mary and Elizabeth. This was an act of abſolute ſovereignty, very unbecoming a king of England, and one that died a minor. But moreover, in this act of conveyance, there were contradictions no leſs palpable than thoſe

Henry

London, Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History &c.

QUEEN MARY I.

Howe sc.

From a Picture in Poſſeſſion of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Oxford.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

Henry VIII. had been guilty of. Edward owned for good and valid the act declaring Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. But at the ſame time he repealed, by his own authority, that which gave the king, his father, the power to ſettle the ſucceſſion. On the other hand, he followed his father's will, in giving the preference to the younger ſiſter's children; but withal, annulled the will, by excluding Mary and Elizabeth.

By this ſhort recapitulation, it may be eaſily perceived what a door to diviſions and civil wars was opened by Henry VIII. and his ſucceſſor. By the above-mentioned acts, four princeſſes, namely, Mary, Elizabeth, the queen of Scotland, and Jane Grey, could pretend to the crown after Edward's death, and each could find in theſe very acts, arguments to combat the claims of her adverſaries.

Mary reſted upon her father's will. But ſhe received, in her opinion, a much ſtronger ſupport, though ſhe durſt not openly allege it, from her natural right and the want of authority in thoſe who annulled her mother's marriage. On the other hand, it might be objected to her, that having been declared illegitimate by an act of parliament, that act was never repealed, and it was not in the king's power to place baſtards on the throne, in excluſion of the lawful heirs. That beſides, it was known to the whole nation, that the parliament was far from being free when ſhe was placed in the ſucceſſion after Edward; but, however, this act ought to have been preceded by an expreſs repeal of that whereby ſhe was declared incapable of ſucceeding.

The ſame thing could be alleged againſt Elizabeth. But ſhe might anſwer, that her mother's divorce was grounded only upon a clauſe which was afterwards declared inſufficient, and that by the act of the year 1540 ſhe was reſtored to her rights. Conſequently it was to her the crown was devolved, if her ſiſter Mary was incapable of ſucceeding.

The queen of Scotland could plead the illegitimation of Mary and Elizabeth, and affirm, it was her right to aſcend the throne of England, as grand-daughter to Henry VIII's eldeſt ſiſter. As to the objection of her being born out of the land, it was a groundleſs cavil, ſince the princes of the blood in England are never deemed foreigners, though born out of the kingdom.

Jane Grey had for her right Edward's aſſignment, approved by all the counſellors and the judges of the realm. But it muſt be confeſſed, it was a very ill-grounded right. Herein it is certain, the king, the council, and the judges, had undertaken what exceeded the bounds of their power. Beſides, the duke of Northumberland was known to hold the council in ſubjection, and it would have been eaſy to prove the judges were forced to draw and ſign the inſtrument.

Had this affair been to be decided by the law and impartial judges, many difficulties would doubtleſs have occurred. On the other hand, if each of the four princeſſes who might have pretended to the crown, would have maintained her right, and had been ſtrong enough to ſupport her pretenſions, to what calamities would the kingdom have been expoſed? But the affair took another turn, becauſe Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland endeavoured not to poſſeſs the crown. So Mary and Jane were the only competitors. This was very advantageous to Mary, becauſe her right was thereby put in the balance with only Jane's, the weakeſt of all. Undoubtedly this is what induced all the hiſtorians to declare for Mary's right, becauſe they compared it only with that of her rival. But if Elizabeth and the queen of Scotland had been each ſupported with a good army, perhaps all the advantage would not have been ſo readily given to Mary. Having thus ſeen the grounds of the quarrel, let us now proceed to the deciſion.

The duke of Northumberland took great care to conceal Edward's death, becauſe he expected Mary would come and throw herſelf into his hands. It muſt be confeſſed, this miniſter, though very politic, committed a very groſs error in neglecting to ſecure Mary and Elizabeth, immediately after Edward had ſigned the conveyance to Jane Grey. He might have eaſily effected it whilſt the king was alive. But, inſtead of ſuddenly taking ſo neceſſary a precaution, he expected they would come of their own accord into the ſnare he had laid for them, by cauſing them to be ſent for to keep their brother company in his ſickneſs. Mary had like to have been entrapped. She was within half a day's journey of London [a], when ſhe had notice from the earl of Arundel of the king's death, the aſſignment of the ſucceſſion, and the deſign upon her perſon. This news obliging her to take other meaſures, ſhe immediately turned back, and went to Kenning-hall in Norfolk. From thence ſhe wrote a letter to the council [b], which plainly diſcovered ſhe was informed of what they intended to conceal from her. She told the counſellors, ſhe thought it very ſtrange that the king, her brother, being three days dead, ſhe had not been advertiſed of it by them, ſince they could not be ignorant of her juſt right to the crown. That their neglect on this occaſion was a plain intimation of ſome ill deſign againſt her; but that ſhe was ready to take all in good part, and to pardon thoſe who would have recourſe to her clemency. That, in the mean while, ſhe required them to proclaim her queen. After writing this letter ſhe departed from Kenning-hall, and repaired to the caſtle of Framlingham, in Suffolk. Two reaſons induced her to retire to this place: The firſt, that the duke of Northumberland was much hated in thoſe parts, ever ſince the great ſlaughter he had made of the rebels who had taken up arms under Ket. The ſecond, that the caſtle of Framlingham being near the ſea, ſhe might, if the ill ſucceſs of her affairs ſhould oblige her to it, have an opportunity to fly with more eaſe into Flanders. Upon her arrival at this place, ſhe took the title of queen; and, being proclaimed at Norwich, ſent a circular letter to all the nobility, requiring them to come and aid her in maintaining her right. Let us now ſee what paſſed at London.

It has been obſerved in the foregoing reign, that the duke of Northumberland was become ſo abſolute in the council, that not one of the counſellors dared to oppoſe his will. Edward's death ſeemed likely to free them from this ſervitude. But, as probably the duke would have more authority under his daughter-in-law, Jane, than under Edward, every one dreaded to make him an enemy. It is not therefore to the council ſo much as to the duke of Northumberland, by whom the board was directed in all their reſolutions, that whatever was done in favour of Jane after Edward's death is to be aſcribed. This miniſter ſoon found it impoſſible to conceal long the king's death. Two days after, the news of it was public in London. Beſides, Mary's retreat plainly ſhewed how fruitleſs were the pains that were taken on that account. So the duke, thinking it no longer proper to hide his deſigns, cauſed himſelf to be ſent with the duke of Suffolk to give Jane notice of her deſtination to the throne [c], by virtue of Edward's letters-patents. Jane was then but in her ſixteenth year. But at that age, wherein the judgment hardly begins to be formed, her's had acquired ſuch a degree of perfection, as is rarely found in one ſo very young. All the hiſtorians agree, the ſolidity of her mind, joined to a continual application to ſtudy, rendered her the wonder of her age. She underſtood perfectly French, Latin, and Greek; and made uſe of theſe languages as helps to attain to the higheſt knowledge in the ſciences [d]. Herein ſhe was very like her couſin, king Edward, who had a tender friendſhip for her, as on her part ſhe had a great eſteem for him. She appeared much moved at his death, which however ſhe muſt have expected, ſince his recovery had been now ſome time deſpaired of. But, as ſhe knew not that his death was to procure her the crown, ſhe was extremely ſurpriſed at the news which her father and the duke of Northumberland told her. Inſtead of receiving it with joy, as they doubtleſs expected, ſhe told them, ſhe did not mean to enrich herſelf by the ſpoils of others; that the crown belonged to the princeſs Mary, and after her, to the princeſs Elizabeth; and that being acquainted as ſhe was with king Henry's will, ſhe was unwilling to aſpire to the throne before her turn. Againſt theſe reaſons were urged king Edward's and the council's authority, with the approbation of the judges; and it was endeavoured to convince her, that this unanimity was a clear evidence there was nothing in it contrary to the laws of the land. She found herſelf moved by theſe arguments, and the importunities of Guildford Dudley, her huſband, prevailed with her at length to receive the offered crown. It was however in ſuch a manner, as convinced the two dukes, that ſhe did it not ſo much from a perſuaſion of the juſtice of her title, as out of compliance and for want of reſolution. Accordingly the duke of Northumberland declared in his report to the council, that ſo far was Jane from aſpiring to the crown, ſhe was rather by enticement and force made to accept it.

[a] At Hunſdon, in Hertfordſhire. Hollingſh. p. 1084.
[b] On the 9th of July. Ibid.
[c] She was then at Durham-houſe, which was the place of her reſidence. Burnet, tom. II. p. 234.
[d] Roger Aſcham, tutor to the lady Elizabeth, coming once to wait upon her at her father's houſe in Leiceſterſhire, found her reading Plato's works in Greek, when all the reſt of the family were hunting in the park. He aſked her, How ſhe could be abſent from ſuch pleaſant diverſion? She anſwered, the paſtimes in the park were but a ſhadow to the delight ſhe had in reading Plato's Phaedon, which then lay open before her. Ibid. What a noble pattern is here for the education of young ladies of quality, and how different from the modern way of bringing them up!

Of

As ſoon as the duke of Northumberland had obtained Jane's conſent, it was reſolved that the council ſhould withdraw to the Tower with her [e], and ſhe be proclaimed. This reſolution being taken, the lord mayor of London was ſent for, and being informed of the king's death, and of the ſettlement in favour of queen Jane, the ceremony of the proclaiming was fixed to the next day, the 10th of July, and the 5th after Edward's death. Mean while the council wrote an anſwer to Mary's letter, ſigned by twenty-one counſellors [f] to this effect, "That Mary could not pretend to the crown, ſince ſhe was born of an unlawful marriage, diſſolved by a legal ſentence, confirmed by more than one parliament; that ſhe ought to give over her pretenſions, and acknowledge queen Jane for her ſovereign, who was now on the throne by virtue of the late king's letters patents: that if ſhe ſhewed herſelf obedient, ſhe ſhould find the counſellors all ready to do her any ſervice, conſiſtent with their duty to qneen Jane."

Jane was proclaimed in London with the uſual formalities. But there were none of the acclamations cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions; ſo aſtoniſhed were the people to ſee a queen proclaimed they had never thought of. Beſides, as the duke of Northumberland was very much hated, and as Jane was his daughter-in-law, when ſhe was heard to be proclaimed queen, the duke was imagined to be proclaimed chief governor, which was by no means pleaſing to the people. Nay, an accident happened on this occaſion, which was very ominous, and confirmed the Londoners in their prejudice againſt the duke of Northumberland. A vintner's boy [g] having ſome way expreſſed his ſcorn at the proclamation, was immediately ordered to be ſet in the pillory, with his ears cut off, and nailed to it; which was accordingly done. This proceeding, the odium whereof was caſt upon the duke, made it judged what was to be expected from his government, ſince this new reign began with an act of ſeverity.

The duke of Northumberland took care not to omit the cuſtom long ſince introduced, that the new ſovereigns ſhould withdraw to the Tower with the council, in the beginning of their reign. He could not doubt, Mary would pretend to the crown, and uſe all poſſible endeavours to take poſſeſſion, neither was he ignorant how the nobles and people ſtood affected with regard to the ſituation the ſtate was then in. For this reaſon, he was very glad to have the counſellors in the Tower, in order to be maſter, and cauſe them to come to reſolutions agreeable to his intereſts. As the change, which ſhortly after happened, proceeded from the diſpoſition of the ſeveral members of the ſtate, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a diſtinct notion how they ſtood inclined, in order to underſtand the cauſes of the revolution.

The council conſiſted of one and twenty counſellors, among whom there were few real friends of the duke of Northumberland; but every one feared him. Some, as the earl of Arundel, ſtill adhered to the Romiſh religion, though outwardly they complied with the new laws. Others, as the archbiſhop of Canterbury, were truly proteſtants. But the major part, without being really addicted to any religion, blindly followed that which was uppermoſt. As they had readily embraced that of Henry VIII. they had with the ſame eaſe followed that eſtabliſhed by Edward, being ready to reſume the Romiſh religion if it ſuited beſt with their temporal intereſt. This was particularly the duke of Northumberland's character. So, though he profeſſed the reformed religion, the proteſtants themſelves had a very ill opinion of him. They were perſuaded his pretended zeal for the advancement of the reformation was all grimace, and the pure effect of his policy. This diſpoſition of the counſellors manifeſtly ſhews, that a religious zeal alone was not capable of keeping them in Jane's intereſts. There was need of a much ſtronger motive to that end. But inſtead thereof, there was a reaſon which entirely diſengaged them from her party, namely, the ſlaviſh ſubjection they were held in by the duke of Northumberland. That lord, whoſe pride was intolerable, could not bear contradiction. The council ſeemed to have nothing to do, but to follow his directions without examination. Then, he was one of thoſe unreaſonable perſons, with whom, if you fail on a ſingle occaſion, all paſt ſervices are cancelled. This the earl of Arundel in particular had ſadly experienced. Though he had been very ſerviceable to the duke in ruining Somerſet, yet afterwards, becauſe he did not find him ſubmiſſive enough, he cauſed him to be condemned in a heavy fine, under colour of his having waſted the king's treaſure. This uſage was ſtill remembered by the earl, who only waited an opportunity to be revenged. The reſt of the counſellors were no leſs deſirous to free themſelves from the duke's yoke. But they were as priſoners in the Tower, where they apprehended the leaſt falſe ſtep would coſt them their life, before the quarrel between Jane and Mary was decided. And therefore, they approved of whatever the duke pleaſed to order, and the reſolutions tending to eſtabliſh Jane on the throne, were made in the council's name, though the duke alone was the author.

The reſt of the nobility, who had no ſhare in the government, where in much the ſame ſentiments with the counſellors. Whilſt the duke of Somerſet was protector, he was hated by the nobility, as appeared in the former reign. And therefore, they aſſiſted to the utmoſt the earl of Warwick to ruin him. But when that was done, they ſoon perceived they were no gainers by the change, ſince it gave them a much prouder and more formidable maſter than the perſon they were freed from. The new miniſter treated them afterwards with ſo much haughtineſs, that they had reaſon to regret the duke of Somerſet. Conſequently they earneſtly deſired to ſee him ruined, which they could not expect whilſt his daughter-in-law ſhould be on the throne. This made them incline to Mary, though that princeſs was little beloved in the kingdom.

The duke of Northumberland had been the principal author of Somerſet's fall, who was the people's idol. This was ſufficient to render him odious. Beſides he was counted a hard and cruel man, whoſe counſels always leaned to the ſide of ſeverity. After he had diſperſed the Norfolk rebels in the late reign, he cauſed ſo many to be executed, that he drew upon him the hatred of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. This hatred afterwards ſpread itſelf over the kingdom, when he came to be at the head of affairs. Wherefore, all the people in general wiſhed to be freed from this odious miniſter, and that could be only by the ruin of Jane's party. The Londoners in particular hated him mortally, becauſe they believed him guilty of king Edward's death.

Let us now conſider the Engliſh nation in reſpect to the two religions. Jane openly profeſſed the proteſtant religion, and ſhewed, ſhe was entirely convinced of the truth of its doctrines. Mary, on the contrary, was extremely addicted to the Romiſh church, and though, during Edward's reign, ſhe had pretended to adhere to the religion eſtabliſhed by Henry VIII. it was known to be only with deſign to ſilence thoſe who governed during her brother's minority. She was not only thought devoted to the pope, but alſo a favourer of the moſt abſurd doctrines of the Romiſh religion. It may eaſily be gueſſed, that all who were ſtill for the old religion in their hearts, paſſionately wiſhed that this princeſs might aſcend the throne. This was the only way they could hope to ſee their religion reſtored; whereas, if Jane reigned, they could expect only the continuance of the meaſures taken to aboliſh it. The duke of Northumberland, who probably was to be Jane's prime miniſter, had even appeared zealous for the reformation. So, to judge of him by his paſt conduct, the friends of the old religion could hope for no advantage from him. Some who knew him better than the reſt, were however ſenſible he was far from being a good proteſtant. But they knew alſo, though he might have favourable thoughts of their religion, they could expect nothing from him but what was agreeable to his temporal intereſt, and that this intereſt would naturally hold him attached to the proteſtant party. So the Roman catholics were all for Mary, and ready to lend their aſſiſtance to place her on the throne.

The better to underſtand the diſpoſition of the reformed at this time, it muſt be obſerved, that to conſider England in general, it may be ſaid, ſhe was wholly proteſtant. Hardly was there a man but what had ſubmitted, at leaſt outwardly, to the laws made for that purpoſe in the reign of Edward. But among the great numbers which were looked upon as proteſtants, there were many who were ſo only in name. Some ſtill halted between the two religions. Others were papiſts in their hearts; and very many regarding only temporal advantages, had embraced the reformation to make their fortunes. The ſmalleſt number was of thoſe, who truly convinced of the tenets of the new religion, were ready to ſacri-

[e] Of which Edward lord Clinton, high admiral, was appointed conſtable, in the room of ſir James Croft. Strype's Eccl. Mem. tom. III. p. 2.

[f] The archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord chancellor; the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquiſſes of Wincheſter and Northampton; the earls of Arundel, Shrewſbury, Huntington, Bedford, and Pembroke; the lords Cobham and Darcy; ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir Robert Cotton, ſir William Petre, ſir William Cecil, ſir John Cheek, ſir John Maſon, ſir Edward North, and ſir Robert Bowes. Burnet, tom. II. p. 235.

[g] One Gilbert Pot. Stow, p. 610.

Rapin

fice their all for its ſake. None but theſe therefore were real friends to Jane. As for the others, there were many who wiſhed indeed the reformation might prevail, and conſidered Mary's acceſſion to the throne as a misfortune, but were unwilling to hazard their lives and fortunes to prevent it. However, there was one thing wherein all the reformed, as well the zealous as the lukewarm and timerous, were agreed, namely, in their hatred of the duke of Northumberland, and their dread of falling again under his tyrannical government. Theſe two paſſions cauſed them to look upon Jane's reign as a misfortune to them and the kingdom. They were the more confirmed in this opinion, as, not foreſeeing what was to happen in Mary's reign, they flattered themſelves, that, content with the private exerciſe of her own religion, ſhe would leave the proteſtant in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it, or at moſt would be ſatisfied with giving her party liberty of conſcience; and this was what her friends every where, and on all occaſions, took great care to inſinuate. So Jane's cauſe was like to be but ill ſupported, eſpecially as Mary having no other rival, the Engliſh did not believe they ought, through a principal of religion, to depart from the rules of juſtice and equity, by depriving her of the crown, who had the beſt title. If their poſterity have not continued in the ſame opinion, it is to be wholly aſcribed to the cruelties exerciſed upon the proteſtants, wherever the Romiſh religion prevails.

It is certain, though Mary had for her all the well-wiſhers to the old religion, that party would not have been able to place her on the throne, if the people's hatred of the duke of Northumberland had not determined the proteſtants themſelves to declare for her. Moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians take great pains to prove the juſtice of Mary's title, to infer from thence that the proteſtants preferred right to their own intereſt. I will not deny that ſeveral acted from that principle. But very probably the dread of falling again under the government of the duke of Northumberland, helped Mary to more friends than the juſtice of her title, eſpecially as this title was not ſo clear but that it was liable to many objections. However, Mary being proclaimed at Norwich, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk declared for her, and furniſhed her with troops. The men of Suffolk, though ſtrongly attached to the reformation, ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion. It is true, they deſired to know of her, whether ſhe would leave religion in the ſame ſtate ſhe found it; which ſhe poſitively promiſed, reſerving to herſelf however the liberty of profeſſing her own religion. Upon theſe aſſurances, they reſolved to hazard their lives and eſtates in her quarrel. Many lords and gentlemen came alſo to Framlingham to offer their ſervice; and the earls of Bath and Suſſex, the ſons of the lord Wharton and Mordant [h], with many more [i], raiſed forces for her.

Mean time the council was drawing inſtructions for Richard Shelley, who was to go and inform the emperor of what paſſed in England. It was believed there was moſt danger from that quarter. Shelley went indeed [k], but the emperor would neither give him audience, nor receive Jane's letter, to notify her acceſſion to the crown, and to deſire his friendſhip.

Mean while the council received advices from all ſides that Mary's party gathered ſtrength; that ſhe had been proclaimed in ſeveral places; and had an army already, which daily encreaſed. Theſe advices, which flowed in very faſt, obliged the miniſters to raiſe forces to ſend againſt Mary's. Immediate orders were given to thoſe that were ready, to meet at Newmarket, with whom were joined ſome regiments levied in haſte at London. At the ſame time they ſent ſir Edward Haſtings, the earl of Huntington's brother, to raiſe Buckinghamſhire, and the earl of Northampton undertook alſo to raiſe Herefordſhire. The duke of Suffolk was appointed to command the army, becauſe the duke of Northumberland was unwilling to go away, for fear his abſence ſhould produce ill effects. But the earl of Arundel, who wiſhed for an opportunity to act for Mary, ſeeing the duke of Northumberland's preſence was an inſuperable obſtacle to the execution of his deſigns, found means to break his meaſures. He intimated to Jane, that the duke her father would be expoſed to great danger; that it would be more proper for the duke of Northumberland to head the army, and for the duke her father to ſtay with her. On the other hand he inſinuated, or cauſed it to be inſinuated, to the duke of Northumberland, that it would be very dangerous to put the army under the duke of Suffolk's command, who had never been very fortunate in his expeditions: that on ſuch an important occaſion, he ought inſtantly to head the troops himſelf, and that his name alone was capable of ſtriking terror into thoſe aſſembled by Mary, in a country where he had given ſingular proofs of his conduct and valour. Jane's tender affection for the duke her father cauſed her ſo ardently to embrace this advice, that all the duke of Northumberland's endeavours to make her alter her mind were ineffectual.

At ſo critical a juncture, the duke of Northumberland was much diſtracted in his mind. Indeed, he knew he was much fitter than the duke of Suffolk to command the army againſt Mary, and was very ſenſible all dpended upon it. But then he was afraid to leave the young queen in the hands of the council, of whom he was not well aſſured, and who complied with him purely out of fear: and the more, as the duke of Suffolk, the queen's father, was reckoned but a weak man. However, as it was not entirely in his choice to accept or refuſe the command, and beſides, all depended upon the ſucceſs againſt Mary's army, he reſolved to march. He left London on the 14th of July, without being wiſhed ſucceſs (as is uſual on ſuch occaſions) by the great crowds looking on as he paſſed, and went and headed ſix thouſand men aſſembled at Newmarket [l].

Though moſt of the counſellors had no great inclination to favour the duke of Northumberland's deſigns, they were obliged however to uſe great caution. They ſaw themſelves as priſoners in the Tower, under the direction of the duke of Suffolk, who was concerned to prevent all proceedings againſt his daughter. It was neceſſary therefore to ſeem very zealous for Jane's intereſts till a favourable opportunity offered to declare for Mary. To this end they appointed Ridley, biſhop of London, to ſet out queen Jane's title in a ſermon at St. Paul's, and to warn the people of the dangers they would be expoſed to if Mary ſhould mount the throne. Ridley diſcharged his commiſſion [m] like one that was perſuaded the reformation would very much ſuffer under Mary's government: And therefore, he largely inſiſted upon Mary's attachment to the Romiſh religion; and informed the audience of ſome things which had paſſed between him and her, and which were plain indications of her averſion to the reformation and the reformed [n]. Mary never forgave him this ſermon, which at that juncture was capable of doing her great injury. For it was at a time when her friends were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the people ſhe was not ſo zealous for the Romiſh religion as ſhe was repreſented, and that ſhe would make no change in that which was eſtabliſhed by law. Sands, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, afterwards archbiſhop of York [o], in the reign of queen Elizabeth, having received the ſame orders from the duke of Northumberland, chancellor of that univerſity, managed it more artfully, and, by keeping to more general terms, gave no offence to either party.

Mean while the duke of Northumberland was extremely embarraſſed. He had marched to Cambridge with ſix thouſand men [p], and from thence was advanced to St. Edmundſbury. But, inſtead of ſeeing his army encreaſe by the way, as he expected, it daily diminiſhed by deſertions. On the other hand, he heard of Mary's progreſs in Norfolk and Suffolk; and, to complete his misfortunes, news was brought him that ſir Edward Haſtings [q], who was to have joined him with four thouſand men he had raiſed, had declared for Mary, and proclaimed her at Buckingham. In ſhort, he was informed likewiſe, that the ſix men of war ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Suffolk, to prevent Mary's eſcape, had followed the example of Haſtings. All theſe things made him reſolve to return to Cambridge, from whence he wrote to the council for a ſpeedy ſupply. But the counſellors were then otherwiſe employed.

The news they received from all parts, of the proſperous ſtate of Mary's affairs, had now determined ſome of them to provide for their ſafety, by changing ſides, whilſt their change might be of ſervice to them. In all appearance, the earl of Arundel had already laboured to take off ſome of his colleagues from Jane's party. The marquis of Wincheſter, who

[h] Rapin ſays, the lord Mordant, which is a miſtake; it was ſir John Mordant his ſon.

[i] Sir William Drury, ſir John Shelton, ſir Henry Beddingfield, Henry Jernigham, John Sulierd, Richard Freſton, ſerjeant Morgan, Clement Higham, &c. Stow, p. 610. Godwin, p. 330. Compl. Hiſt.

[k] He was diſpatched July 11. Strype, p. 4.

[l] He marched out of London at the head of two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot. But as he rode through Biſhopſgate-ſtreet and Shoreditch, though there were great crowds of ſpectators, none cried out to wiſh him ſucceſs, which gave a ſad indication how ill they were affected to him. Burnet, tom. II. p. 238.

[m] On July 16. Hollingſh. p. 1087.

[n] Namely, when he went to wait on her, and offered to preach in her houſe, which ſhe refuſed. See Fox, at the end of tom. II.

[o] Rapin ſays of Canterbury, which is a miſtake.

[p] He had eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, when he arrived at Cambridge. Godwin, p. 331.

[q] The earl of Huntington's brother. Ibid.

[r] Sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque Ports, declared alſo for her. Ibid.

Mary

always went with the ſtream, was eaſily prevailed with. The earl of Pembroke had been one of the moſt zealous for Jane, becauſe his ſon had eſpouſed the new queen's younger ſiſter. But finding her affairs in an ill way, he reſolved, either of himſelf, or by the ſolicitations of the earl of Arundel, to ſcreen himſelf from the impending ſtorm, in doing Mary ſome ſignal ſervice[r]. Theſe three lords gained other counſellors, and they all reſolved to declare for Mary as ſoon as it was poſſible. The difficulty was to get out of the Tower, without giving ſuſpicion to the duke of Suffolk. Had the duke of Northumberland been preſent, they would have found it very hard to ſucceed; but the duke of Suffolk was far from having this penetration. The letter lately received from the duke of Northumberland furniſhed them with the wanted pretence. They repreſented to the duke of Suffolk, that the readieſt way to find the deſired ſupply, was to apply to the mayor of London, and to that end, it was proper the council ſhould meet ſomewhere in the city, the more eaſily to confer with the mayor, concerning the means of ſpeedily raiſing a body of troops: that the earl of Pembroke's houſe was convenient for that purpoſe, and there the affair would be forwarded more in two hours than in ſix in the Tower. But as it might be objected, that the mayor and aldermen could be eaſily ſent for to the Tower, they added, that at the ſame time audience might be given to the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, who ſcrupled to receive it in the Tower. Whether the duke of Suffolk did not ſuſpect them of any ill deſign, or at ſuch a juncture durſt not diſcover his ſuſpicions, he ſuffered the council to meet at the earl of Pembroke's [s], whom he did not miſtruſt, on the 19th of July.

As ſoon as they were met, the earl of Arundel made a ſpeech, repreſenting to them, that now or never was the time to ſhake off the tyranny of the duke of Northumberland; that they had ſufficiently experienced his inſolence, injuſtice, cruelty, treachery to his friends; and if, they were ſo unwiſe as to ſupport Jane on the throne, they would but render more heavy the yoke which the duke had already laid on their necks: that the only way was to declare for Mary; and when the people ſhould ſee the council take that courſe, the duke of Northumberland would be forſaken by all. The council's ſudden reſolution to follow the earl's advice, ſhews that the affair had been already determined among the principal members. After a ſhort debate, they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and, declaring their reſolution, they went together and proclaimed Mary in ſeveral parts of the city. Then they repaired to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was ſung. The ready compliance of the magiſtrates of London can be aſcribed only to their hatred of the duke of Northumberland. Let it be affirmed ever ſo much, that theſe magiſtrates longed for the re-eſtabliſhment of the old religion, and therefore gladly embraced the opportunity to ſet Mary on the throne, it is not likely that men, placed in their offices in Edward's reign, ſhould be ſo well inclined to the old religion, as to come to ſo ſudden a reſolution with that view, if there had not been ſome other motive. However, as ſoon as they came from St. Paul's, the council ſent an order to the duke of Suffolk, to require him to deliver up the Tower, and that Jane ſhould lay down the title of queen, and give over her pretenſions. The duke immediately obeyed, ſeeing no poſſibility of keeping the Tower at ſuch a juncture. As for Jane, ſhe ſaw herſelf ſtript of her dignity (held but nine days) with more joy than ſhe had ſeen herſelf cloathed with it. Then the council diſpatched orders to the duke of Northumberland to diſband his army, and behave himſelf as became an obedient ſubject to queen Mary. At the ſame time the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget were ſent to inform Mary of theſe tranſactions.

The duke of Northumberland heard what paſſed at London, before he received the council's orders to diſmiſs his troops; and, plainly perceiving it would not be poſſible to keep his army together, prevented the orders, and obeyed beforehand. His firſt thoughts were to fly out of the kingdom; but, it is ſaid, he was hindered by the band of gentlemen penſioners, who plainly told him, they had need of his teſtimony to juſtify their conduct. After that, he thought only of gaining Mary's favour, by expreſſing a zeal for her ſervice, as if it had been poſſible to deceive her by ſome external actions. To that purpoſe he went to the market-place in Cambridge, and proclaimed the queen, flinging up his own hat for joy, and crying, God ſave queen Mary. But all this ſignified nothing. The next day [t] the earl of Arundel arreſted him by the queen's order. Then was that proud and haughty man ſeen to cringe as much as he had been exalted in his proſperity. He fell at the earl of Arundel's feet to beg his favour, and ſhewed many other ſigns of fear, abjectneſs, and puſilanimity. This is the common character of men whom fortune raiſes above their birth and merit. Three of his ſons, namely, the earl of Warwick, his eldeſt; Ambroſe and Henry; ſir Andrew Dudley, his brother; John and Henry Gates; ſir Thomas Palmer, and doctor Sands, were apprehended with him, and ſent to the Tower the 25th of July. Upon this occaſion, a woman, ſeeing the duke of Northumberland paſs to the Tower, ſhook at him a handkerchief, dipt in the duke of Somerſet's blood, upbraiding him with having cauſed it to be unjuſtly ſhed.

When the duke of Northumberland was in the Tower, Mary met with no more oppoſition. All Jane's adherent's ſtrove to atone for their fault by a ready ſubmiſſion and ſupplication of the new queen's mercy. She received very graciouſly thoſe who came to pay their duty to her, though ſhe was determined to ſacrifice to her ſafety or vengeance ſome of thoſe whom ſhe looked upon as her principal enemies. Of this number were Jane Grey, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Northampton, Ridley, biſhop of London; Cheek, who had been Edward's preceptor; Robert Dudley, the duke of Northumberland's ſon; Guilford Dudley, Jane's huſband; Cholmley and Montague, judges. All theſe were ſent to [u], or detained in the Tower by the queen's expreſs order. But three days after, ſhe releaſed the duke of Suffolk, having pitched upon him for an inſtance of her clemency, becauſe ſhe thought him uncapable of creating her any diſturbance [w].

On the 3d of Auguſt ſhe came to London with her ſiſter Elizabeth, who had met her on the way with a thouſand horſe [x] ſhe had raiſed for her ſervice. When ſhe entered the Tower, ſhe releaſed the duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bonner, the ducheſs of Somerſet, and the lord Courtney, eldeſt ſon of the marquis of Exeter, whom ſhe ſhortly after created earl of Devonſhire. Thus, without any effuſion of blood, ſhe was peaceably ſettled in the throne, notwithſtanding the attempts to deprive her of it. She owed this good ſucceſs to the univerſal hatred of the duke of Northumberland; for, it may be truly affirmed, that as Jane Grey without that lord would never have borne the title of queen, ſo without him ſhe would doubtleſs have preſerved it. Very probably, the reſtoring of religion to the ſtate it was in before the alterations introduced by the two laſt kings, and perhaps the being revenged of her enemies, were the principal things intended by Mary when ſhe aſcended the throne. At leaſt, we ſhall ſee no other project in the courſe of her reign.

As the new queen had nothing in her thoughts but the eſtabliſhing of her religion, her firſt care was to conſult her truſty friends how to effect it. She was herſelf diſpoſed to keep no meaſures, but to force the kingdom to return immediately to what ſhe called, the Union of the Catholic Church. To that end, ſhe had now determined to ſend for cardinal Pool as legate, to reconcile England to the pope. But Gardiner, who was conſidered as a man of great experience, was of another opinon. He knew the reformation muſt be pulled down the ſame way it was ſet up, that is, by degrees, and therefore it was ſufficient at firſt to bring back religion to what it was at king's Henry's death. This advice was more prudent, and withal more ſuitable to the intereſts of the perſon who gave it. He was ſenſible the queen had a great eſteem and affection for Pool, and was afraid the cardinal, being in England, would diſpoſſeſs him of the chief place in the queen's favour; nay, quite ruin him with her, becauſe he was not his friend. Mean while, as this advice was not reliſhed by the queen, it was in danger of being rejected, if Gardiner had not uſed other means to compaſs his ends. He ſent a meſſenger to the emperor to repreſent to him, that what the queen propoſed was too hazardous, and in caſe Pool came ſo ſoon into England, his zeal for the ſee of Rome would undo all, becauſe the Engliſh were not yet prepared to ſubmit to the papal yoke [y]. That, on the contrary, by his method every thing would ſucceed to the queen's ſatisfaction, and to the advantage of religion, provided the queen would be pleaſed to make him chancellor, and thereby give

[r] Sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the Cinque-ports, declared alſo for her. Godwin, p. 331.

[s] At Baynard's caſtle. Ibid.

[t] July 21. Strype, tom. III. p. 13.

[u] Cholmley and Montague were committed on July 27, and the duke of Suffolk and ſir John Cheek, the 28th. Burnet, tom. II. p. 240.

[w] July 31, the queen made ſir Henry Jernegan vice chamberlain, and captain of the guard; and ſir Edward Haſtings maſter of the horſe. Stripe, p. 17.

[x] Two thouſand. See Strype, tom. III. p. 114.

[y] He obſerved to the emperor, That the Engliſh were averſe to the papacy upon a double account. The one was, for the church lands, which they had bought, and ſhould be in danger of loſing again. The other was, the fear they had of the papal dominion, which had been for about twenty-five years repreſented to them as a moſt intolerable tyranny. Burnet, tom. II. p. 242.

him the authority neceſſary to conduct ſo nice an affair. Probably, it was now the emperor projected the marriage between his ſon Philip, and Mary, either of himſelf or by Gardiner's ſuggeſtion. However, the emperor approving Gardiner's meaſures, wrote ſeveral letters to Mary, to perſuade her to moderate her zeal, leſt too much haſte ſhould ſpoil her deſigns. As ſhe had a great deference for his counſels, ſhe brought herſelf by degrees to comply with the biſhop's projects, to whom at length ſhe gave the great ſeal [z].

King Edward's funeral was ſolemnized at Weſtminſter the 18th of Auguſt. The new miniſters were for having the old aboliſhed office made uſe of on that occaſion; but Cranmer, ſupported by acts ſtill in force, ſtoutly oppoſed it, and officiated himſelf according to the new liturgy, giving the communion to as many as were deſirous to receive it [a]. But the queen had a ſolemn ſervice in her own chapel, performed with all the ceremonies of the church of Rome.

On the 12th, the queen in council declared ſhe would uſe no force upon conſcience in affairs of religion. Great care was taken to diſperſe this declaration, and to magnify it as a great inſtance of the queen's generoſity. But the proteſtants eaſily ſaw the difference betwixt her declarations in council, and her promiſes to the Suffolk-men. She had told theſe, that religion ſhould be left in the ſame ſtate as at Edward's death; but in the declaration, thought it ſufficient to give a general aſſurance, that the proteſtants ſhould not be forced to embrace the Romiſh religion; for this was the moſt natural meaning of her expreſſions. This reſtriction to her firſt promiſe greatly alarmed them.

The adherents of the Romiſh church were ſo confident of the queen's intention to reſtore their religion, that they made no difficulty of owning it publicly, and even inveighing againſt the proteſtant religion, though it had ſtill the countenance and protection of the laws. The day after the queen had made the declaration in her council [b], Bonner went to St. Paul's church, to hear a ſermon preached by his chaplain Bourn. The preacher ſpoke ſo honourably of Bonner, that he raiſed the indignation of his audience. Then, aggravating the pretended perſecutions ſuffered by this prelate in the late reign, he ſpoke of king Edward in ſo injurious terms [c], that the hearers loſt all patience. Some reproached, and others threw ſtones at him. One even threw a dagger, which he happily avoided, and which ſtuck faſt in the wood of his pulpit. At laſt the people grew ſo furious, that probably the preacher had been torn in pieces, had not Bradford and Rogers, two eminent proteſtant miniſters, interpoſed, and conveyed him from the danger into a neighbouring houſe. What recompence this ſervice met with will hereafter appear.

The proteſtants ſtill hoped the queen would keep her word; and even gave the reſtriction, ſhe had added by her declaration in council to her firſt promiſe, a favourable interpretation. But they were not long left in this hope. Shortly after [d], the queen publiſhed a proclamation, which was but too capable to remove their miſtake. The terms were ſo artfully managed, that they implied much more than they ſeemed to expreſs. The queen ſaid, ſhe had the ſame belief in which ſhe had been educated from her infancy, and intended to adhere to it during her life. She paſſionately wiſhed all her ſubjects would follow her example, but would uſe no force, 'till public order ſhould be taken by common aſſent.' This plainly diſcovered her intention to change religion by the parliament, and that then ſhe ſhould think herſelf diſcharged from her promiſe of not compelling conſcience. Then ſhe forbid her ſubjects to give one another the odious names of Papiſt and Heretic. The proteſtants conſidered the prohibition as levelled entirely againſt them, becauſe they clearly underſtood, that a diſobedience to it would be puniſhed in them, but not in their adverſaries. After that, all ſorts of unlawful aſſemblies were forbid, and this article had the ſame conſtruction with the foregoing. By another clauſe of the proclamation, it was forbid to preach without her ſpecial licence. A man muſt have been wilfully blind, not to ſee this was intended to exclude the proteſtants out of all the pulpits. Finally, the queen ſaid, it was her intention no man ſhould be puniſhed for the laſt rebellion, 'without her order.' Hereby he left all his fears. The proclamation ended with ſaying, the queen was reſolved to puniſh rigorouſly all thoſe who ſhould foment pernicious deſigns; but ſhe hoped to have no cauſe to execute the ſeverity of the law. This clauſe naturally inſpired the proteſtants with terror, for it was eaſy to foreſee that religion and the laws were going to be changed; and that thoſe who ſubmitted not blindly to the new ſtatutes would be conſidered as rebels.

The ſame day the proclamation was publiſhed [e], came on the trial of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Warwick, ſir Andrew Dudley, ſir John and ſir Henry Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer. Upon the evidence of Palmer and ſir John Gates, king Edward had conſented to the execution of his uncle the duke of Somerſet, and they were become the principal confidents of the duke of Northumberland. The queen made the duke of Norfolk lord high ſteward at the trial of theſe three lords. He was ſtill under condemnation, ſince the act of attainder againſt him had not been reverſed. But the queen had granted him a pardon, which indeed was not diſpatched till eleven days after. It was thought without doubt that the queen's promiſe was ſufficient, otherwiſe it is not eaſy to conceive by what ſort of right a man under ſentence of death could preſide in a capital trial, or even give his vote [f].

The duke of Northumberland, being brought before his peers, deſired information upon two points before he anſwered to the articles exhibited againſt him. The firſt was, Whether a man, acting by order of council and the authority of the great ſeal, could be guilty of treaſon? The ſecond was, Whether perſons, who had acted with him in the ſame affair, and were equally guilty, could ſit as his judges? This doubtleſs related to the marquis of Wincheſter, and the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, who were actually members of the council when Jane was proclaimed, and had given orders for her proclamation. After a ſhort conſultation, it was anſwered, that the great ſeal of an uſurper could give no authority nor indemnity to thoſe that acted by ſuch a warrant. To the ſecond point, he was anſwered, that none of the peers who ſat in judgment upon him, having been either condemned for, or even accuſed of the ſame crime, could be deprived of their right upon a bare ſurmiſe or report. It belongs to the lawyers to conſider whether theſe anſwers are very ſolid. It ſeems, as to the firſt, that if this maxim was admitted in its utmoſt extent, it would draw after it very dangerous conſequences. Let us, for inſtance, ſuppoſe an uſurper upon the throne of England, it is certain the adherents to the lawful king cannot avoid great danger, which way ſoever they turn. If they obey the uſurper, they will be guilty of treaſon when the lawful king is on the throne; if they refuſe obedience, they will be puniſhed by the uſurper. It ſeems, that the maxim, which allows that every ſubject ought to be faithful to the king on the throne who exerciſes the ſovereign power, is liable to fewer inconveniencies. As to the ſecond, let the peers inſiſt ever ſo much on their privileges, it is contrary to reaſon and equity, that accomplices of a crime ſhould ſit in judgment on him who committed it with them, when it is notoriouſly certain they were equally guilty. At leaſt it is unlikely this maxim ſhould be approved by the judges of the realm, if there was the leaſt room to believe the accomplices would vote for the accuſed, which might very eaſily happen.

The duke, ſeeing theſe two points determined againſt him, confeſſed himſelf guilty, and ſubmitted to the queen's mercy. The other two lords followed his example, and they were all three found guilty of high-treaſon. Of the ſeven condemned, three were deſtined to execution; the duke of Northumberland, ſir John Gates, and ſir Thomas Palmer. The biſhop of Worceſter [g] being ſent to the duke with the meſſage of death, he confeſſed to the biſhop, and declared he had always been a Roman catholic in his heart. He made the

[z] Auguſt 23. Godwin, p. 333.

[a] Day, the deprived biſhop of Chicheſter, preached the funeral ſermon. Godwin, p. 334. And very probably performed the reſt of the ſervice: for it does not appear likely, that Cranmer ſhould be ſuffered to officiate, he being now under diſpleaſure, and about this time confined to his houſe. See Burnet, tom. III. Collect. p. 409; and Hollingſhead, p. 1089.

[b] Auguſt 13. Rapin.

[c] Bourn taking occaſion of the goſpel of that day, to ſpeak ſomewhat largely in juſtifying Bonner, who was preſent, ſaid, "That he, upon the ſame text, in that place, that day four years, had preached before, and was upon the ſame moſt cruelly and unjuſtly caſt into the moſt vile dungeon of the Marſhalſea, and there kept during the time of king Edward." The matter of this ſermon tended ſo much to the derogation and diſpraiſe of king Edward, and his words ſounded ſo evil in the ears of the hearers, that they proceeded to the extremities here related. Fox, tom. III. p. 17. Ed. 1631. Heylin affirms, That the preacher "inveighed in favour of biſhop Bonner." Eccl. Hiſt. p. 192. And Hollingſhead ſays, That this matter being ſet forth with great vehemency, ſo much offended the ears of the audience," that they could not help inſulting Bourn, for reflecting on the adminiſtration of king Edward, whoſe memory was ſo juſtly dear to them, p. 1089.

[d] Auguſt 18. Rapin.

[e] Auguſt 18. Rapin.

[f] It was ſaid the duke of Norfolk had never been truly attainted, and that the act againſt him was not a true act of parliament; ſo, without any pardon or reſtitution in blood, he was ſtill duke of Norfolk. Burnet, tom. II. p. 243.

[g] Nicholas Heath.

Some

ſame confeſſion on the ſcaffold; but it was ſtill doubted whether this was done in hopes of a pardon[h], or he had really diſſembled during the whole courſe of his life. It is pretended, that to engage him to this public declaration, he had been flattered with the hopes of his pardon, even though his head were laid on the block. He died unlamented, his paſt conduct having given no perſon whatever any cauſe to love him. His two companions were executed the ſame day, being the 22d of Auguſt.

The proclamation, lately publiſhed by the queen, concerning religion, plainly ſhewed in what ſpirit ſhe deſigned to rule. But, immediately after, there were more convincing proofs. The inhabitants of Suffolk, relying on the queen's promiſe, and having tranſgreſſed the prohibitions contained in the proclamation, the court ſent an order to the magiſtrates of that county to look ſtrictly to the execution of it, and rigorouſly puniſh the diſobedient. Upon this, the inhabitants, not believing the queen would break her word, after the great ſervice they had done her, ſent deputies to pray her to remember what ſhe had promiſed them with her own mouth. The petition was rejected with great haughtineſs, and thought the more offenſive, as it juſtly reproached the queen with failure of her word. They were anſwered, that ſubjects were not to controul the actions of their ſovereign; and Dobbe[i], one of their number, was ſet in the pillory for ſpeaking more freely than the reſt.

A few days after, Bradford, one of the two miniſters who had reſcued Bourn, was ſent to priſon; and Rogers, his companion, confined to his houſe. Afterwards he was alſo thrown into priſon. The great changes meditated by the miniſters, made them afraid of meeting with obſtacles from thoſe who had moſt credit with the people, and therefore they were glad on divers pretences to ſecure them. Theſe proceedings made the proteſtants think they were going to be expoſed to a terrible ſtorm.

At the ſame time, all the biſhops, deprived in the reign of Edward, were reſtored by commiſſioners appointed by the queen to examine the cauſes of their deprivation. Five Roman catholic biſhops, Bonner, Gardiner, Tunſtal, Day, and Heath, were ſubſtituted in the room of five reformed[k]. Gardiner was made chancellor at the ſame time, and, a few days after, a commiſſion was given him by the queen, empowering him ſingly to grant licences to preachers, in conſequence of what ſhe had before enjoined by her proclamation. Some eccleſiaſtical proteſtants, not thinking proper to ſubmit to the order, were ſent to priſon. Hooper, biſhop of Gloceſter; Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's; and Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter; were of this number. The two firſt were impriſoned, the laſt commanded not to ſtir out of his houſe without leave.

After the Roman catholics plainly ſaw the queen's intentions, they had not patience to wait for the reſtoration of their religion by public authority, but boldly celebrated divine ſervice in ſeveral places, according to the old rites before the reformation; and though this was againſt law, the court connived at it, and ſilently approved it.

At the ſame time, the partiality of the queen and her miniſters appeared evidently in favour of the Roman catholics, againſt the proteſtants. Judge Hales, who had alone refuſed to ſign the inſtrument which transferred the crown to Jane Grey, was thrown into the Marſhalſea, for charging the juſtices of Kent to conform to the laws of Edward, not yet repealed, or rather for being a proteſtant[l]. For the ſame reaſon, Montague, who had been forced to aſſiſt in drawing the fore-mentioned inſtrument, was turned out of his office, fined in a thouſand pounds, and ſucceeded by Bromley, who had drawn and ſigned it without ſcruple.

In fine, ſince the ſhort time the queen had been on the throne, proteſtants were every where injured and oppreſſed, the magiſtrates not venturing or caring to protect them. Peter Martyr, profeſſor of divinity in Oxford, finding himſelf expoſed to the inſults of the enemies of his religion, was obliged at laſt to leave the place, and retire to the archbiſhop of Canterbury. But Cranmer, whoſe ruin was reſolved, was little able to protect him. Mean time Bonner launched out into invectives and railleries againſt Mr. Canterbury, as he was pleaſed to call him, and publiſhed every where, that he was ſo reſigned to the queen, that he had promiſed her a ſolemn abjuration of his errors. Cranmer refuted this calumny in a writing. He called the queen herſelf to witneſs, that he had never made her any ſuch promiſe, and offered to maintain publicly the truth of what he profeſſed, if the queen would grant him leave. The writing being publiſhed, Cranmer was called before the Star-chamber. He owned himſelf the author, though it was publiſhed without his conſent; and, contrary to all men's expectation, was diſmiſſed without any puniſhment. But the queen was not ſatisfied, though ſhe was adviſed to treat Cranmer with the ſame moderation he himſelf had uſed whilſt he was in authority. The queen herſelf owed her life to him, which was ſaved merely by his ſolicitation, when her father, Henry VIII. had deſigned to put her to death[m]. To this it was oppoſed, that if the queen treated with mildneſs the chief of the heretics, they would all grow obſtinate and inſolent, but the puniſhment of Cranmer would intimidate the champions of hereſy. This advice was very agreeable to the queen, who had conceived a mortal averſion to the archbiſhop, by reaſon of the ſentence of divorce pronounced by him againſt the queen, her mother; this injury making a ſtronger impreſſion upon her, than the ſervice received from him afterwards. So, three days after, Cranmer, being cited before the council, was ſent to the Tower on an accuſation of treaſon, and of publiſhing ſeditious libels. Old Latimer, who had been biſhop of Worceſter in the reign of Henry VIII. had been ſent thither the day before.

Shortly after, the court came to a reſolution of ſending away all foreigners that were come on the public faith and encouragement. Peter Martyr, and a Poliſh profeſſor, named John a Laſco, were included in the number[n]. This was the only act of mildneſs and equity ſhewn in this reign with reference to religion. But this ſufficiently diſcovered what was intended againſt the Engliſh proteſtants. The court's daily proceedings, before the repeal of any one law, ſo intimidated thoſe who had religion at heart, that great numbers, paſſing for Frenchmen, withdrew out of England into foreign countries[o]. Thoſe who made haſte to eſcape the impending ſtorm were wiſeſt and happieſt. For, ſoon after, others, who had taken the ſame reſolution, were arreſted by an order ſent to all the ports, to ſuffer no perſon to leave the kingdom as a Frenchman, without a paſſport from the embaſſador of France.

It was time now for the queen to reward thoſe who had done her ſervice. The earl of Arundel was made lord ſteward, ſir Edward Haſtings a peer of the realm, and ſome others, who had early declared for the queen, had employs and dignities conferred on them[p]. But the earl of Suſſex[q], who had been her general, obtained an honour unuſual in England, namely, to be covered in the preſence of the queen, as it is practiſed in Spain. He had his letters patents, under the great ſeal, the 2d of October.

As the parliament had been ſummoned to meet the 5th of October, it was neceſſary for the queen to be crowned before. The ceremony of the coronation was performed the 1ſt of that month, with the uſual ſolemnity, by the biſhop of Wincheſter, who forgot not one formality practiſed before the reformation. The ſame day a general pardon was publiſhed,

[h] Some ſay, that having a promiſe, and being put in hope of pardon, even though his head were upon the block, if he would recant and hear maſs, he conſented thereto, and denied in words that true religion which he had before profeſſed. Fox, tom. III. p. 16. He went to maſs in the Tower, and received the ſacrament after the popiſh manner. He begged his life with all poſſible meanneſs, "That he might do penance all the days of his life, if it were in a mouſe-hole." Gardiner interceded for him; but the emperor, being afraid he ſhould hinder the intended marriage between Philip and Mary, had him put out of the way. Burnet, tom. III. p. 222. He was buried in the Tower chapel. Stow, p. 615.

[i] Strype calls him Thomas Cobb. Mem. tom. III. p. 52.

[k] The reformed ejected biſhops were, Ridley, of London; Storey, of Chicheſter; Coverdale, of Exeter; Hooper, of Worceſter.

[l] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, he was fined a thouſand pounds, which was part of Montague's puniſhment. Hales was firſt put into the Marſhalſea, thence removed to the Compter, and after that to the Fleet; where he was ſo diſordered at the report of the cruelties which the warden told him were contriving againſt thoſe who would not change their religion, that it turned his brain, and he endeavoured to kill himſelf with a penknife. He was afterwards ſet at liberty, but never recovered his ſenſes; ſo that at laſt he drowned himſelf. Burnet, tom. II. p. 248.

[m] Her crime was, her reſolute adherence to her mother's intereſt. Burnet, tom. II. p. 240, 241.

[n] This laſt was a Pruſſian nobleman, miniſter of the German proteſtant congregation in London. They had a church granted them by king Edward (which was the church belonging to the late diſſolved monaſtery of the Auguſtin friers, near Broad-ſtreet, London, now called the Dutch church. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 242, &c.) but it was now taken from them, and their corporation diſſolved. Burnet, p. 250.

[o] Above a thouſand. Burnet, p. 251. See the names of the chief of them in Collier's Eccl. Hiſt. tom. II. p. 340.

[p] Sir John Gage was made lord chamberlain; ſir John Williams, who had proclaimed the queen in Oxfordſhire, lord Williams, of Tame, &c. Burnet, p. 251. Alſo, September 27, the order of the garter was reſtored to William lord Paget. Strype, tom. III. p. 34.

[q] See Heylin's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 190. This earl was Henry Ratcliff, of a family long ſince extinct. Courcy, baron of Kingſale, in Ireland, enjoys this privilege of ſitting covered in the royal preſence, by a grant made from king John to the famous Courcy, earl of Ulſter, from whom he is deſcended. The preſent baron aſſerted this ancient right of his family in the reigns of the late and preſent king.

On

but with ſo many exceptions, that few perſons could receive any benefit from it. All thoſe who had been arreſted before September were excepted by name[r].

Then came out a proclamation[s], by which the queen diſcharged the ſubſidies granted by the laſt parliament to the king her brother, for the payment of his debts[t]. This was to gain the good will of the enſuing parliament, and render it ſubſervient to her deſigns with reſpect to religion. Before the parliament met[u], the archbiſhop of York was ſent to the Tower, on a general accuſation of ſeveral capital crimes. Six days before, John Veſey, ſome time biſhop of Exeter, but deprived in the laſt reign, was reſtored by an order of the queen. This was with intent to ſtrengthen the catholic cauſe in the upper houſe.

The court had reſolved to abrogate all the laws made in favour of the reformation, and to reſtore the ancient religion. This was not to be done without the concurrence of the parliament. But if elections had been left free, it would have been difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, for the queen to ſucceed in her deſign. The number of the reformed was without compariſon greater than that of the Roman catholics, and conſequently the elections would not probably be favourable to her. But beſides the ordinary ways made uſe of by kings to have parliaments at their devotion, all ſorts of artifices, frauds, and even violences, were practiſed in this. As care was taken beforehand to change the magiſtrates in the cities and counties, and there was hardly one but who was a catholic, or had promiſed to be ſo, every thing tending to the election of catholic repreſentatives was countenanced. On the contrary, thoſe who were ſuſpected of an inclination to chuſe proteſtants, were diſcouraged by menaces, actions, impriſonments, on the moſt frivolous pretences. In ſeveral places, things were carried with ſuch violence, that proteſtants were not allowed to aſſiſt in the aſſemblies where the elections were to be made. In ſhort, in places where it was not poſſible to uſe theſe direct means, by reaſon of the ſuperiority of the reformed, the ſheriffs, devoted to the court, made falſe returns. As the diſputes ariſing from ſuch elections can only be decided by the houſe of commons, it is eaſy to imagine, that a houſe compoſed of ſuch repreſentatives failed not to approve of the elections that were favourable to the court, and reject all the others that were in the leaſt conteſtable. This is one of the greateſt abuſes belonging to parliaments, and which is but too frequent whenever the kingdom is rent into factions. By theſe methods, the court ſecured a houſe of commons ready to comply with their ſuggeſtions, and whoſe members had an intereſt in the change of religion, or were indifferent to all religious eſtabliſhments.

As to the upper houſe, which cannot be thus modelled to the liking of the court, the queen probably laboured ſo ſucceſsfully to engage it in her intereſts, that ſhe found no oppoſition from the peers. It is very ſtrange, that the lords, who but a few months before were all proteſtants, and had in their whole body but ſeven or eight who oppoſed the laws made in Edward's reign in favour of the reformation, were become almoſt all zealous catholics in queen Mary's. I pretend not to decide in which reign they diſſembled their ſentiments; but it is too clear that, in the one or the other, they were guilty of a baſe and ſcandalous prevarication. Mean while, to make this houſe ſtill more compliant, the court took care beforehand to make changes amongſt the biſhops in favour of their deſigns. Beſides both the archbiſhops, and the biſhops of Gloceſter and Exeter, in actual impriſonment, ſix others had been changed, as has been obſerved. Probably all the reſt, excepting two, were for preferring their ſees to their religion. The two I except, were Taylor biſhop of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford, who were even thruſt out of the houſe the firſt day for refuſing to kneel at the maſs. Such was queen Mary's firſt parliament, compoſed of a houſe of commons filled with the creatures of the court, and of a houſe of lords, who, through fear, avarice, or ambition, diſſembled their ſentiments, or, a few excepted, thought all religions alike. It is eaſy to foreſee what is to be expected from ſuch a parliament.

In the firſt ſeſſion, which laſted but eight days, care was taken that nothing ſhould be moved with regard to religion. The only public act was a declaration of treaſons and felonies, by which nothing was to be judged treaſon, but what was in the ſtatute of the 25th of Edward III. or felony, but what was ſo before the 1ſt of Henry VIII. This act ſeemed unneceſſary, ſince the like had been paſſed ſince Henry's death. But as ſome crimes, not contained in the ſtatute of Edward III. had been ſince declared felony, the intent of this was to aboliſh the late acts. It is true, this might have been attended with another inconvenience, namely, the diſcharge of ſeveral perſons then in priſon, had not an expreſs exception been made of all who were committed before the laſt of September, as they had been excepted out of the queen's general pardon.

By a private act, the attainder of the marchioneſs of Exeter, executed in the reign of Henry VIII. was reverſed, and her ſon the earl of Devonſhire reſtored to all his honours. Then the parliament was prorogued from the 21ſt to the 24th of October.

In the ſecond ſeſſion, the deſigns of the court were more open. The divorce of the queen's mother was immediately repealed. This act paſſed in fewer days than Henry had ſpent years in proſecuting the divorce[w]. In the preamble it was ſaid, "That the marriage of Henry with queen Catherine was not contrary to the law of God, and that man ought not to pat aſunder what God had joined: that king Henry's ſcruples had been ſuggeſted to him by malicious perſons, and ſupported by the deciſions of ſome univerſities, which had been previouſly ſecured by corruption and bribery: that Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had raſhly pronounced ſentence of divorce, upon the authority of thoſe deciſions and other groundleſs conjectures, and by a blameable preſumption had thought himſelf more knowing than all the other doctors." Upon theſe foundations, the parliament repealed the ſentence, and all the acts to confirm it. Gardiner, chief promoter of the act, muſt have been paſt all ſhame, to make the parliament talk thus of Henry's divorce, in which he was principally concerned, even before Cranmer was known to the court, which he had himſelf approved and adviſed, and at which he had aſſiſted as judge. But ſuch was the character of the man.

The princeſs Elizabeth being thus again declared illegitimate, by an act which reſtored Mary, found a great change in the behaviour of the queen, who no longer ſhewed her any affection. It is even pretended, that another ſecret cauſe alienated Mary from her, and that was, her love for the earl of Devonſhire, whom ſhe had ſome thoughts of marrying, but that the earl, too indiſcreetly perhaps, continued to pay his reſpects to Elizabeth.

The 31ſt of October, the lords ſent down to the commons a bill for repealing Edward's laws concerning religion, and ſix days after the commons ſent it back with their approbation. By the act it was ordained, that no other form of public worſhip ſhould be allowed from the 20th of December, but what had been uſed in the laſt year of Henry VIII. This ſhews Gardiner's influence on the parliament, ſince the act preciſely followed the plan he had propoſed.

Another act paſſed, decreeing the ſevereſt puniſhments againſt all who ſhould moleſt any preacher for his ſermons, or diſturb him in any part of the divine ſervice. The ſame puniſhments were ordained for thoſe who ſhould profane the ſacrament, or pull down croſſes, crucifixes, or images.

The commons at the ſame time ſent up another bill againſt thoſe who came not to church or the ſacraments, when the whole ſervice ſhould be ſet up. But the lords thought not proper to go ſo far at once.

Shortly after, the parliament revived an act of the laſt reign, forbidding any, to the number of twelve or more, to meet with deſign to change the eſtabliſhed religion, and declaring the offenders guilty of felony, that is, worthy of death. This act was directly contrary to that made by this very parliament, to repeal all new treaſons and felonies. But the pretence of religion covered all.

In this ſeſſion, the act of attainder againſt the duke of Norfolk in Henry's reign was reverſed, on pretence that all the neceſſary formalities were not obſerved[x].

Theſe were the moſt remarkable tranſactions of this firſt parliament, which, in a few days, overturned all that had been done with regard to religion in the reign of Edward VI.[y]

[r] On September 28, the queen made fifteen knights of the Bath; and October 2, ninety knights of the carpet: whoſe names ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. III. p. 35, 39.

[s] October 4. Rapin.

[t] The laſt parliament of king Edward had granted him two tenths and two fifteenths; and a ſubſidy of 4s. to be raiſed of the lands, and 2s. 8d. of goods and chattels. This ſubſidy of 4s. and 2s. 8d. was what the queen remitted. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 335, 336. And Strype, tom. III. p. 32.

[u] October 4. Burnet, tom. III. p. 222.

[w] It was read in the houſe of commons the 26th, 27th, and 28th of October; on which laſt day it was ſent up to the lords. Journ. Houſ. Com.

[x] By an act made during this ſeſſion, it was alſo ordained, That no perſon who is a ſheriff, ſhall at the ſame time exerciſe the office of juſtice of peace.

[y] This parliament granted the queen tonnage and poundage for life, upon the ſame foot as it was granted to king Edward VI.

King Henry's laws were not to be touched, becauſe they had difficulties, concerning which the pope was firſt to be conſulted.

The 3d of November [z], the parliament ſtill ſitting, Jane Grey, Gilford Dudley, her huſband, two other ſons of the duke of Northumberland [a], and Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, were brought to their trial. They all confeſſed their indictments, and received ſentence of death as traitors [b]. Cranmer's ſentence rendered him incapable of poſſeſſing any benefice, and conſequently his archbiſhopric was void in law. But two reaſons obliged the queen to diſpenſe with the ordinary forms, and leave Cranmer, though condemned, in poſſeſſion of his dignity. The firſt was, that intending to reſtore the clergy to all their privileges, ſhe was reſolved Cranmer ſhould be canonically degraded, but this could not be done till the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed. The ſecond was, that by a refinement of ſelf-love, ſhe was willing to pardon Cranmer his treaſon, to make the world believe ſhe proceeded againſt him from no motives of private revenge. But at the ſame time ſhe devoted him to death as a heretic, as ſoon as any laws ſhould be made upon that ſubject, as if ſhe only acted out of pure zeal for religion. Therefore at preſent the archbiſhop's revenues were only ſequeſtered, and himſelf detained in priſon till a proper time for his execution.

Since Mary's acceſſion to the throne, ſhe had appeared to be wholly employed in theſe public tranſactions. But at the ſame time, ſhe was forming ſecret deſigns which were not known till ripe for execution. The news of king Edward's death was no ſooner ſpread in the world, than the court of Rome conceived hopes of re-uniting England to the Holy See, and even began to project it. Cardinal Dandini, the pope's legate at Bruſſels, as of himſelf, ſent Commendone, afterwards cardinal, to ſound Mary's inclinations. Commendone, being unknown in England, eaſily concealed himſelf under a borrowed name, and, repairing to London, obtained a private audience of the queen [c]. This was ſoon after her coming to that city, ſince the envoy was preſent at the duke of Northumberland's execution, which was on the 22d of Auguſt. At this audience the queen told Commendone ſhe deſigned the reſtoration of the papal authority in England, and prayed him to intercede with the pope to ſend cardinal Pole as legate. But ſhe intimated to him, that the diſcovery of this ſecret would blaſt the deſign. The pope, communicating to the conſiſtory his intentions of ſending Pole into England, found at firſt great oppoſition. The cardinals feared to expoſe the honour of the Holy See, in ſending a legate without a ſolemn embaſſy from the queen. But the pope, telling them he knew more of the affair than he thought fit to communicate, they complied with his propoſal.

At the ſame time, the emperor was projecting a marriage for his ſon Philip with queen Mary. Gardiner was in the ſecret, whether it aroſe at firſt from him, or was only communicated to him by the emperor. However, this prelate neglected no endeavours to accompliſh it. The news of Pole's nomination to the legateſhip was equally diſagreeable to the emperor and Gardiner. Commendone had doubtleſs divulged at Rome queen Mary's queſtion to him, Whether Pole might not have a diſpenſation to marry? This occaſioned a belief, that it was her intention to make him her huſband. The emperor, being informed of this, and, apprehenſive that Pole's preſence might obſtruct the deſign he was meditating, reſolved to uſe his endeavours to prevent the legation, or at leaſt to retard it as long as poſſible. On the other hand, Gardiner could not, without the utmoſt concern, think of Pole's arrival, who might intercept his views upon the ſee of Canterbury, and perhaps the ſmiles of the queen herſelf. And indeed there was danger, that if the cardinal, who neither loved nor eſteemed him, ſhould inſinuate himſelf into the queen's favour (as it was very likely) he would uſe his credit to ruin him. He was therefore to find ſome expedient to keep him at a diſtance, and none was more natural than an inſinuation to the queen, that the cardinal's zeal for the Holy See would prejudice the affairs of religion in England: that the people were firſt to be managed and perſuaded to own the papal authority, to which they were extremely averſe; that beſides, Pole was not enemy enough to the proteſtants; and religion, in the preſent conjuncture, required to be conducted by other maxims than thoſe of that cardinal. The emperor, on the other ſide, believing it his intereſt to keep Pole where he was, wrote the ſame thing to the queen, and repreſented to her, that Pole would ruin her affairs, let her intentions be ever ſo good. In fine, he propoſed her marriage with his ſon, and ſupported his propoſal with all the reaſons moſt apt to perſuade her. Above all, he ſet forth the neceſſity of a foreign power in reſtoring religion in England, or at leaſt of an alliance capable to inſpire terror into thoſe who ſhould oppoſe her deſigns: that an alliance with the emperor and Spain was doubtleſs moſt advantageous, as France, being able to form projects in favour of the young queen of Scots, who was to marry the dauphin, was in intereſt concerned to raiſe and foment diſturbances in England. Mary was much pleaſed with the propoſal, which was probably made about the beginning of November. Beſides a zeal for religion, which might induce Gardiner to ſecond the emperor's deſigns, he ſaw a conſiderable advantage for himſelf, namely, the ſecuring his own credit, ſince Philip would be indebted to him for his marriage. Mean while, Pole was to be kept at a diſtance till the queen's marriage was concluded; and this the emperor did firſt by his own authority, in detaining him in his dominions [d]; but afterwards got the queen to ſend an expreſs to acquaint him that the intereſts of religion required a ſtop in his journey, becauſe the nation was not yet diſpoſed to own the papal authority.

While the legate was thus detained in Germany, or the Low-Countries, he tried ſeveral times to obtain leave to purſue his journey: but it was ſtill in vain. He knew not to whom this uſage was owing, and perhaps was never fully informed. However, he held a conſtant correſpondence, by letters, with the queen, on the affairs of religion; but his counſels were ſecretly oppoſed either by the emperor or Gardiner. It was his opinion, that, laying aſide all ceremony, the kingdom ſhould immediately be reconciled to the Holy See. Gardiner, on the contrary, believed the marriage ought to be concluded before the reconciliation was mentioned, that the conſideration of ſo powerful an alliance might awe thoſe who were inclined to ſtir. He thought Pole (and would have had others think him) a weak man, a ſhallow politician, and of little uſe in the cabinet. Pole, on the other hand, believed Gardiner a very improper perſon to direct the affairs of religion, becauſe, in his opinion, he relied too much on his intrigues and the arm of fleſh. Their little eſteem of each other ended at laſt in an open enmity.

The deſign of the queen's marriage was not conducted with ſufficient ſecrecy to keep it from the commons. They were ſo alarmed, that they ſent their ſpeaker, with twenty of their members, to pray the queen not to marry a foreigner. This convinced the queen ſhe could expect no more ſupplies from the commons, if ſhe refuſed to ſatisfy them in that point. But as ſhe had no ſuch intention, ſhe choſe to diſſolve the parliament [f]. Gardiner improved the juncture, to the obtaining conditions from the emperor, which he could not otherwiſe have expected. He repreſented to him, that the Engliſh were ſo averſe to the marriage, that the worſt was to be feared, unleſs he complied with two things abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt was, his conſent that the treaty of marriage ſhould contain terms ſo advantageous to England, as to ſilence the moſt zealous oppoſers. The ſecond was, his remitting conſiderable ſums to gain thoſe who would be wanted to curb the people, or who could moſt eaſily induce them to rebel. The emperor, not doubting of Gardiner's zeal for his intereſts, approved the advice, and left it entirely to him to preſcribe the conditions of the marriage; and moreover, put into his hands twelve hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſpoſed of as he ſaw fit [g]. Theſe particulars were printed in a little book, in form of a petition to the queen, by the Engliſh exiles at Straſburg. The author added farther, that Gardiner denied common

[z] Stow ſays, it was the 13th, p. 617.

[a] Sir Ambroſe, and Henry Dudley. Hollingſh. p. 1093.

[b] Cranmer appealed to the judges, for them to declare with what reluctancy he ſigned the inſtrument of the queen's excluſion. Burnet, tom. II. p. 257. If the queen did in earneſt forgive him the treaſon, it might be owing to this appeal; that is, if ſhe forgave the treaſon in earneſt; for the taking away his life afterwards, leaves it a very diſputable point, whether this injury, added to the divorce of her mother, or his religion, wrought moſt powerfully on her reſentments. The attainder of Cranmer, the duke of Northumberland, marquis of Northampton, &c. was confirmed afterwards by the parliament; and the bill for it was read in the houſe of commons the 27th and 28th of November, and December 4. See Journ. Comm. and Rymer's Fæd. tom. XV. p. 361.

[c] He came to Newport, where he gave out, he was the nephew of a merchant, lately dead, in London; and, hiring two ſervants, unknown to him, came over unſuſpected to London. Burnet, p. 258.

[d] At Dilling, a town on the Danube. Burnet, p. 259. Thuanus, lib. 13.

[e] By Goldwell, afterwards biſhop of St. Aſaph. Burnet, ibid.

[f] On Dec. 6. Journ. Parl.

[g] This ſum was equal to 400,000l. Engliſh, the crown being then a noble. The emperor made his ſon bind himſelf to repay him that ſum, when he had once attained the crown of England. Of this the emperor made no little a ſecret, that when, a year after, ſome towns in Germany, that had lent a part of this money, deſired to be repaid; he anſwered them, that he had lent his ſon 1,200,000 crowns to marry him to the queen of England, and had yet received of him only 300,000 crowns, but he had good ſecurity for the reſt, and the merchants were bound to pay him 100,000l. ſterling, and therefore he demanded a little more time of them. Burnet, tom. II. p. 263.

Theſe

juſtice in the court of Chancery to thoſe perſons who would not engage to ſecond the queen's intentions.

Whilſt the parliament was aſſembled, the convocation held its ſeſſions according to cuſtom. It is not known whether any biſhops, conſecrated in the time of king Edward, appeared in the upper houſe. If any did, the number could be but ſmall, and of ſuch too, as the lords vouchſafed to receive into their houſe; that is, men who were not likely to oppoſe any meaſures. Care was taken to fill the lower houſe with perſons entirely devoted to the court; ſo that only ſix members [i] had the inclination or courage to oppoſe the deciſion made in favour of tranſubſtantiation [k]. Theſe ſix members demanded a regular diſputation on the ſubject, which was granted. But three of them declined the diſpute [l], well foreſeeing what would be the reſult. The other three ſtood their ground; ſo a diſputation was had [m]. But the Roman catholics, for want of better arguments, received thoſe of their adverſaries with hootings, reproaches, menaces, and continual interruptions, and then publiſhed that they were vanquiſhed. This at leaſt is the account given by the proteſtants [n].

[1554] In the beginning of the year 1554, a magnificent embaſſy arrived at London from the emperor, with the count of Egmont [o] at the had of it, to ſettle the articles of the marriage. The queen entruſted Gardiner with the management of the negotiation [p], or rather with the care of drawing the treaty, ſince probably every thing material was agreed before the arrival of the embaſſadors. That able politician had a double deſign. The firſt was, to have ſuch conditions inſerted in the treaty as the parliament might approve. The ſecond was, to exclude the Spaniards from having any ſhare in the government. The emperor complied with every thing, in the belief, no doubt, that his ſon would find ways to evade the obſervation of the articles, which ſhould reſtrain him too much. To be convinced that this was his thought [q], let it only be conſidered, that ſo able a politician as Charles would never have parted with twelve hundred thouſand crowns to procure for his ſon the empty title of king of England. For indeed the treaty, as will appear, promiſed him no more. In all probability, Gardiner had the ſame thoughts with the emperor. But the buſineſs was to dazzle the parliament with conditions advantageous to the nation; for whoſe intereſts, though he affected a great zeal, he was probably but little concerned for what might happen after his death. Mean while, he acquired a high reputation, the public aſcribing to his capacity and prudence the terms of the marriage, which ſeemed to ſecure England from all Philip's attempts. The principal articles of the treaty, which was ſigned the 12th of January 1554, a few days after the arrival of the embaſſadors, were theſe:

That Philip, in virtue of the marriage, ſhould jointly with queen Mary enjoy the title of king of England, while the marriage ſubſiſted, ſaving always the rights, laws, privileges, and cuſtoms, of the king of England. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the queen ſhould have the ſole diſpoſal of the revenues of the kingdom, the nomination to all employments, offices, and benefices, which ſhould be conferred on the natural ſubjects of her majeſty, and no others.

That the queen likewiſe ſhould bear the titles belonging to her huſband.

That her dowry ſhould be ſixty thouſand pounds of Flemiſh money, forty Gros each [r], of which forty thouſand ſhould be aſſigned to her upon Spain, and twenty thouſand upon Brabant, Flanders, Hainault, and Holland. That ſhe ſhould enjoy the dowry in the ſame manner it was enjoyed by Margaret, ſiſter of Edward VI. and wife of Charles, duke of Burgundy.

That the children born of this marriage ſhould inherit their mother's eſtate, according to the cuſtom of the reſpective countries.

With relation to the father's eſtate, it was agreed, that the archduke, Charles, ſon of Philip, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Sicily, the duchy of Milan, and all other properties and domains ſituate in Lombardy or Italy; but in default of Charles and his iſſue, the eldeſt ſon of Philip and Mary ſhould ſucceed to the ſame ſovereignties.

That the firſt-born of Philip and Mary ſhould inherit Burgundy and the Low Countries, from which the archduke, Charles, ſhould be excluded, as the children of Philip and Mary were excluded from Spain and Italy.

That the younger ſons and daughters of Mary and Philip ſhould have their appendages and portions aſſigned them in England, without prejudice, however, to what they might expect from Philip, their father, or Charles, their grandfather, in the Low Countries, or Burgundy.

That in caſe only daughters proceeded from this marriage, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed to Burgundy and the Low-Countries; provided that, with the conſent of the Infante Don Charles, her brother, ſhe married a huſband out of theſe countries, or the dominions of the queen, her mother. That, on her refuſal or neglect to perform this covenant, prince Charles ſhould preſerve his right to the ſaid countries, with obligation, however, to aſſign a portion to his ſiſter, both out of Spain and the Low-Countries.

That if prince Charles died without iſſue, the eldeſt ſon or daughter of Philip and Mary ſhould ſucceed, as well to Spain and Italy, as the other dominions.

Laſtly, it was expreſly agreed, that, in all the forementioned caſes, thoſe children who ſhould ſucceed to either the paternal or maternal eſtates, ſhould leave them poſſeſſed of all laws, rights, privileges, and cuſtoms, belonging to the reſpective countries, and ſhould adminiſter the government by the natives of the ſaid countries.

A Clause annexed to the Treaty.

By this clauſe it was expreſly covenanted, that, before the conſummation of the marriage, Philip ſhould ſolemnly ſwear to the obſervation of the following articles:

That he would retain no domeſtic, who was not either an Engliſhman or ſubject to the queen, nor bring any foreigner into England to give uneaſineſs to the Engliſh. That if any of his retinue tranſgreſſed this article, he ſhould be puniſhed in ſuch a manner as ſhould be thought convenient.

That Philip would make no alteration in the laws, rights, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms of England.

That he would never take the queen out of her own dominions, unleſs at her own particular requeſt; nor carry out of England any of the children born of this marriage, without the conſent of the nobility.

That if the queen ſhould die firſt, without children, he would pretend to no right upon England, or its dependencies, but leave the ſucceſſion to the rightful heir.

That he would carry out of the kingdom no jewels, or other valuable things; nor alienate any thing belonging to the crown, or ſuffer any perſon whatſoever to ſeize them.

That England ſhould never, by virtue of this marriage, be concerned directly or indirectly in any war depending between France and Spain; but that the alliance between England and France ſhould ſubſiſt and remain in full force.

That he would not give any occaſion of rupture between France and England.

It would be very difficult to diſcover what advantages England could receive from this marriage, if the intereſt of the ſovereign and his miniſters were not commonly confounded with thoſe of the kingdom, though frequently very oppoſite. The court had in view the reſtoration of the Roman catholic religion in England, and therefore believed they wanted the aſſiſtance of Spain. On the other hand, this marriage was advantageous to the chancellor, who ſtrengthened his credit with Philip's protection. But at the ſame time England ran a great riſk of falling under the dominion of Philip, who probably meant not to be bound with chains of parchment.

The day after the treaty was ſigned [s], the queen granted a pardon to the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned with the duke of Northumberland.

[i] Theſe were Philpot, archdeacon of Wincheſter; Philips, dean of Rocheſter; Haddon, dean of Exeter; Cheney, archdeacon of Hereford; Ailmer, archdeacon of Stow; and Young, chanter of St. David's. Burnet, tom. II. p. 263.

[k] In the Collection of the Public Acts, there are about nine hundred and ſixty preſentations to livings a little before the parliament met. This diſcovers the changes which were made amongſt the inferior clergy. Rapin. On the 21ſt of December, the maſs began to be ſung again in Latin, throughout England, as in the former times of popery. Stow, p. 617.

[l] Haddon, Ailmer, and Young. Burnet, ibid.

[m] On October 18, 20, 23, 25, 27, 30. See Fox.

[n] This year, ſir Thomas White, merchant-taylor, and mayor of London, founded St. John's college in Oxford, upon the ſite of Bernard-college, which he purchaſed from the crown. He alſo erected ſchools at Briſtol and Reading. Hollingſh. p. 1092.

[o] This was the brave count Egmont, of whom the reader will find an account below, towards the cloſe of the year 1567.

[p] The commiſſioners appointed by queen Mary to treat with the emperor's embaſſadors, were Stephen Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter; Henry, earl of Arundel; William, lord Paget; ſir Robert Rocheſter, comptroller of the houſhold; and ſir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate. Rymer's Fæd. tom. XV. p. 337.

[q] See this explained in Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 339. Comp. Hiſt. vol. II.

[r] Of Flemiſh money.

[s] January 13. Rapin.

This

We have before ſeen, that about the end of the reign of Edward VI. the court had taken meaſures to prevent the company of the German merchants, called the Steel-yard, from engroſſing the whole woollen trade, in prejudice to the Engliſh, as till then had been practiſed. For this purpoſe the parliament had laid a heavy duty upon the goods, whether exported or imported by that company; and the act was renewed in Mary's firſt parliament. But the beginning of this year, the queen, to gratify the Hanſe-towns, ſuſpended the execution of theſe acts for three years, and diſcharged the company of German merchants from the payment of the extraordinary taxes impoſed upon them, all acts to the contrary notwithſtanding. This was the firſt effect of the queen's alliance with the emperor.

After the treaty of the queen's marriage with Philip was made public, complaints and murmurs were every where heard. The proteſtants in particular believed themſelves loſt, and feared to ſee erected in England a Spaniſh inquiſition. But they were not the only murmurers. Independently of religion, the greateſt part of the nation was not free from the fears of king Philip's introducing the Spaniſh tyranny into England; of which the Indies, the Low-Countries, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the duchy of Milan, afforded recent inſtances. In a word, few perſons could believe that the emperor had agreed to the articles ſtipulated in the treaty, with any deſign to obſerve them. At laſt, theſe murmurs grew into a conſpiracy againſt the queen, of which the marriage was either the cauſe or pretence. The duke of Suffolk, ſir Thomas Wyat [t], ſir Peter Carew, formed the deſign of a general inſurrection. Carew was to act in Cornwall, Wyat in Kent, and the duke of Suffolk in Warwickſhire, which is in the center of the kingdom.

Carew managed ſo ill, that his plot was diſcovered [u], and one of his accomplices arreſted, before he had concerted his affairs. This ſent him into France, and Wyat, upon his flight, haſtened the execution of his enterpriſe, though it was the deſign of the conſpirators to wait the arrival of Philip, for a more plauſible colour to their inſurrection. Wyat therefore, reſolving to puſh his point, though he was yet unprepared, went to Maidſtone with a few followers, and gave out, he took up arms to prevent England from being invaded. Afterwards he marched to Rocheſter, from whence he wrote to the ſheriff to deſire his aſſiſtance. But the ſheriff, inſtead of eſpouſing his cauſe, required him to lay down his arms, and aſſembled forces to oppoſe him.

This rebellion alarmed the court [w], where nothing was ready to allay it, the queen having diſmiſſed her forces, when ſhe thought herſelf out of danger. Wherefore ſhe ſent a herald to Wyat with a full pardon, if he would lay down his arms in twenty-four hours. But he refuſed the offer of pardon. Mean time, the court was ſo unprepared, that the duke of Norfolk was ſent with only ſix hundred of the city trained-bands [x], commanded by an officer named Bret. Whilſt this was doing, the ſheriff of Kent [y], as he was going to join the duke of Norfolk, met and defeated Knevet, who with ſome troops was marching to join Wyat, and killed ſixty of his men. This ill ſucceſs ſo alarmed Wyat, that he had now reſolved to conſult his own ſafety [z], when an unexpected accident inſpired him with freſh courage. Sir George Harper, one of Wyat's adherents, pretending to deſert him, went to the duke of Norfolk, and ſo artfully managed the trained-bands, that they took part with the rebels, and quitting the duke, joined Wyat [a].

With this reinforcement and his other troops, making together a body of four thouſand men, Wyat marched towards London [b]. He met near Deptford two meſſengers from the queen, who, in her name, aſked what would content him. He demanded the Tower and the queen's perſon to be put into his hands, and the council to be changed as he ſhould think proper. This demand being rejected, the queen repaired [c] to Guildhall, and acquainted the magiſtrates with Wyat's anſwer. She then ſpoke of her marriage, and told them ſhe had done nothing in it but by the advice of her council. And, to give them a proof of the confidence ſhe repoſed in them, ſhe reſolved to ſtay in the city, though many adviſed her to withdraw to the Tower [d].

Wyat in the mean time continued his march, and reached the borough of Southwark the 3d of February, expecting to enter the city without any difficulty. But the bridge being ſtrongly barricaded and guarded, he was obliged to march along the Thames to Kingſton [e], ten miles from London. Here he found the bridge broken, and ſpent ſome hours in repairing it. He then paſſed to the other ſide with his army, encreaſed now to near ſix thouſand men. After that, he continued his march to London; and, after ſome time loſt in repairing one of his broken carriages, reached Hyde-Park about nine in the morning, the 7th of February. The time, unſeaſonably ſpent in repairing the carriage, rendered his undertaking abortive. For, in that interval, Harper, who had been ſo ſerviceable in bringing over the trained-bands, deſerted, and poſting to court, diſcovered his intentions to march through Weſtminſter, and enter the city by Ludgate. This advice came ſeaſonably to the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton, who, at the head of ſome troops, had reſolved to engage him as he entered the city. But, obſerving he was entangling himſelf in the ſtreets, where he could not extend his troops, they thought it better to let him paſs, after orders given to ſhut the gate through which he deſigned to enter.

Wyat, ſtill prepoſſeſſed that the citizens would favour his undertaking, left his canon under a guard at Hyde-Park, and entering Weſtminſter [f], purſued his march through the Strand, in his way to Ludgate. As he advanced, care was taken to cut off his retreat by barricades and men placed at all the avenues. He believed himſelf now at the height of his wiſhes, when he found the gate into the city ſhut againſt him. He then firſt diſcovered his danger, and perceiving it was impoſſible to retire, loſt all courage. As he was endeavouring to return, a herald [g] came to him, and exhorting him not to ſacrifice the lives of ſo many followers, he ſurrendered quietly [h], and was ſent to priſon. This unfortunate man, who doubtleſs had but a ſlender capacity, fooliſhly imagined, without having good aſſurances, that the city of London would declare in his favour, and that proved his ruin. If his meaſures had been better taken, the queen and her miniſters would have been greatly embarraſſed, at a time when the government, weak as it was, had already created many enemies. But the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe ſo ſtrengthened the queen's authority, that henceforward ſhe found no more reſiſtance. After the taking of Wyat, his men being diſperſed, were taken at pleaſure, and filled the priſons.

While Wyat was acting in Kent and London, the duke of Suffolk had made but ſmall progreſs in the county of Warwick. He would not have been ſo much ſuſpected, had not an expreſs been ſeized, ſent to him by Wyat, to inform him of the reaſons which had obliged him to haſten his undertaking, and to pray him to be as expeditious as poſſible. Upon this advice, the earl of Huntington had orders to arreſt him. The duke was informed, and being not yet ſecure of fifty horſe, choſe to conceal himſelf in the houſe of one of his domeſtics [i], who baſely betrayed him to the earl of Huntington, by whom he was conveyed to the Tower the 11th of February. Such was the ſucceſs of this conſpiracy. Had it been managed by abler heads, it might have been attended with great conſequences. But few men of reputation cared to put themſelves under the conduct of ſuch leaders. If it had cauſed only the death of the principal actors, they might have been ſaid to meet the juſt reward of their folly. But it produced two conſiderable effects, one fatal to an illuſtrious and innocent perſon, and the other to all proteſtants. Not that religion had any ſhare in the conſpiracy. Wyat himſelf being a Roman catholic, and the queen in her proclamation not accuſing the proteſtants, though ſince ſome hiſtorians have been pleaſed to brand them. But as the queen's authority was ſtrengthened by the ill ſucceſs of this under-

[t] This ſir Thomas Wyat had been often employed in embaſſies, particularly in Spain; where he had made ſuch obſervations on the cruelty and ſubtilty of the Spaniards, that he could not look, without a juſt concern, on the miſeries his country was like to fall under. Burnet, tom. III. p. 224.

[u] It ſeems he was too haſty in raiſing men, and making other preparations. Godwin, p. 340.

[w] The news of it came to London, January 25. Idem, p. 341. Stow, 618.

[x] Five hundred, ſays Godwin, together with the queen's guards. Ibid.

[y] Sir Robert Southwell. Hollingſhead, p. 1094.

[z] He was ſeen to weep, and called for a coat, which he ſtuffed with money, deſigning to eſcape. Burnet, p. 285.

[a] Thereupon the duke of Norfolk fled, together with the earl of Arundel, and ſir Henry Jernegan, captain of the guard. But Wyat coming up that moment with a party of horſe, intercepted the reſt, and ſeized eight braſs guns, and all Norfolk's baggage. Godwin, p. 341.

[b] January 31. Hollingſhead, p. 1095.

[c] On February 1. Godwin, p. 342.

[d] She armed 500 men, moſt of them foreigners, whom ſhe placed in ſeveral parts of the city. Idem, p. 341.

[e] Where he arrived February 6, about four o'clock in the afternoon. Stow, p. 620.

[f] He advanced with five companies towards Ludgate, whilſt Cuthbert Vaughan, with two companies more, marched towards Weſtminſter. At Charing-croſs, ſir John Gage, lord chamberlain, went to oppoſe Wyat, but retired in diſorder. Godwin, p. 342.

[g] Clarenceux, king at arms.

[h] To ſir Maurice Berkley.

[i] One Underwood, whom he had made his ranger at Aſtley, near Coventry. Godwin, p. 341.

The

Howe.Sc.

PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN, NAPLES, SICILIE &c.

From an excellent Original, Painted by TITIAN, in the Noble Collection of His Grace WILL.m Duke of DEVONSHIRE.

Engraved for J. Harrison, N.o 115. Newgate Street, July 17. 1789.

BRITISH
JY'60
MUSEUM

taking, ſhe turned it entirely to the ruin of the reformed and the reformation. The duke of Suffolk being concerned in the conſpiracy, the court eaſily underſtood his deſign was to replace his daughter, the lady Jane, on the throne; and this determined the queen to ſacrifice her to her own ſafety.

Two days after the taking of Wyat, a meſſage was ſent to Jane Grey and her huſband, to bid them prepare for death. Jane, as ſhe had long expected it, received the meſſage with great reſolution. Mean while, Dr. Feckman, who brought it, and had orders to exhort her to change her religion, preposterouſly imagining ſhe deſired ſome time to be determined, obtained three days reſpite of her execution. But ſhe let him know, it was no ſatisfaction to her. She was well aſſured, the jealouſy of the government would not ſuffer her to live, and therefore ſhe had employed the whole time of her confinement in a preparation for death. Some have believed, that without this laſt attempt of the duke of Suffolk, the queen would have ſpared his daughter. But as afterwards ſuch numbers were put to death for their religion, it is not likely that Jane, ſo firmly attached to the proteſtant religion, would have been more mercifully uſed than the reſt, even though the queen could have prevailed with herſelf to pardon her treaſon. Be this as it will, ſhe was executed the 12th of February, after ſeeing the headleſs body of her huſband paſs by her, as he was brought back from execution to be interred in the chapel of the Tower. She ſhewed to the laſt moment a great conſtancy and piety, and an immoveable adherence to the reformation, owning, however, herſelf guilty of a great ſin in accepting a crown which belonged not to her. The duke of Suffolk, her father, was tried the 17th of the ſame month, and executed the 21ſt [i], with great grief for having been the cauſe of his daughter's death.

Next, Wyat was brought to his trial, where he offered to make great diſcoveries if his life might be ſaved. He accuſed even the princeſs Elizabeth and the earl of Devonſhire [k] as concerned in the conſpiracy. This did not prevent his ſentence, but only gained him a reſpite of two months, becauſe of the hopes of drawing from him conſiderable diſcoveries. Mean time the earl of Devonſhire was committed to the Tower [l]; and the princeſs Elizabeth, though indiſpoſed, was brought to London, and cloſely confined in Whitehall [m], without liberty to ſpeak to any perſon. On the 11th of March following ſhe was ſent to the Tower.

The 14th and 15th of February, Bret, commander of Wyat's forces, and fifty-eight more, were hanged. Some days after [n], ſix hundred priſoners, with halters about their necks, waited on the queen, and received their pardon. But this was not capable to efface the impreſſion made in mens' minds by ſo many executions for a conſpiracy in which was no effuſion of blood. The fault was thrown on Gardiner, who was accuſed of leading the queen to an exceſſive jealouſy of her authority, and the moſt extreme rigour. An affair happened at the ſame time, which alſo greatly alarmed and filled the people with fears of the queen's intending to rule with too extenſive a power. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, being accuſed and tried as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, was acquitted by his jury, for want of ſufficient proof to condemn him. For this the jury were ſeverely fined. So the juries were deprived of the liberty of judging according to their conſciences; and, inſtead of being governed by proofs, they were to examine how the court ſtood affected to the priſoners, and by that determine their verdict. This rigour exerciſed upon the jury was fatal to ſir John Throgmorton, who was found guilty upon the ſame evidence on which his brother had been acquitted.

The reſpite granted to Wyat had a quite contrary effect to what the court expected. This unhappy man, who had accuſed Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire, only in hopes of a pardon, finding he muſt die, fully cleared them in his ſecond examination; and, for fear his laſt declaration ſhould be ſuppreſſed, he renewed it at the place of execution [o]. As there was no other proof againſt them, and their accuſer himſelf had acquitted them with his laſt breath, no proceſs could be formed againſt them, though Gardiner paſſionately deſired the death of the princeſs. Nay, it is very probable, the queen would have gladly conſented to it, could ſhe have ſupported her rigour with any colour of juſtice [p].

After Elizabeth had ſuffered a long and ſevere impriſonment in the Tower, ſhe was removed to Woodſtock. This was not intended as a favour, but to take her out of the hands of the lord Chandois, lieutenant of the Tower, who had treated her with great humility and diſtinction. She was at Woodſtock committed to the cuſtody of ſir Henry Beningfield [q], who paying her no ſuch reſpect as ſhe had received from the lord Chandois, gave her room to ſuſpect a deſign againſt her life. It is even pretended, that certain perſons officiouſly undertook to murder her, in the expectation of pleaſing the queen and her miniſters, but that the ſtrictneſs with which ſhe wat kept, denied them acceſs.

The diſturbances occaſioned by Wyat's conſpiracy being entirely appeaſed, the queen reſumed her firſt deſign, of an utter deſtruction of the reformation. Though to this the authority of parliament was neceſſary, ſhe failed not to anticipate the deſign by her own authority, in virtue of her ſupremacy, which ſhe herſelf deteſted, and yet ſcrupled not to uſe againſt the proteſtants! For that purpoſe, ſhe gave inſtructions to the biſhops to viſit their dioceſes. Their inſtructions, drawn by Gardiner, contained a bitter narration of all the pretended diſorders introduced into the church in the reign of Edward. She afterwards gave the chancellor a particular order to purge the church of all married biſhops and prieſts.

Some days after [r], the queen granted a ſpecial commiſſion to Gardiner and five others [s], to deprive four biſhops who were married, namely, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of St. David's, Cheſter, and Briſtol, and all in actual confinement [t]. Two days after, the commiſſioners were ordered to deprive the biſhops of Lincoln, Gloceſter, and Hereford, for having behaved themſelves ill, and preached erroneous doctrines. The pretence to deprive theſe biſhops by a bare order of the queen, was taken from the letters patents of king Edward, in which it was provided that they ſhould hold their biſhoprics ſo long only as they behaved well; and therefore it was no injuſtice to deprive them, ſince their conduct was diſpleaſing. This was the pretence, but the true reaſon was, the court's deſire to fill theſe ſees with their creatures, before the meeting of the parliament. As to the inferior clergy, Dr. Burnet pretends, that of ſixteen thouſand then in England, twelve thouſand were turned out for having wives [u]. And indeed, in the Collection of the Public Acts, we meet with an infinite number of preſentations to livings, which ſufficiently ſhew the alterations made in the church. Mean time, in conſequence of the act of parliament, the maſs was every where reſtored, with the liturgy uſed in the end of Henry VIIIth's reign. Such was the conſtitution of the ſtate and church when the new parliament met the 2d of April 1554 [w].

The care of the court to have a parliament at their devotion had not been leſs than in the foregoing year. Nay, it was ſo much more ſucceſsful, as Gardiner had money in his hands to gain the electors and repreſentatives. The court

[i] The 23d, ſays Stow. His brother Thomas was beheaded April 27. Stow, p. 624.

[k] Edward Courtney.

[l] February 12, and the lady Elizabeth on the 18th, ſays Godwin, p. 343. Stow, p. 623.

[m] For a fortnight. Strype, tom. III. p. 84.

[n] The 20th of February.

[o] He was executed April 11. Godwin, p. 343.

[p] By Gardiner's malice a warrant was procured, ſigned by ſome privy-counſellors, for her execution. But the lieutenant, by an application to the queen, to know what was her pleaſure, and her denying any knowledge of the warrant, ſaved the life of the princeſs. See Fox, tom. III. p. 537. Burnet, tom. III. p. 227. Had the queen immediately diſplaced Gardiner, ſhe might have been thought innocent of ſo barbarous a deſign. But the confidence and truſt in which he continued till his death, gave a ſuſpicion at leaſt that ſhe would not have been diſpleaſed with an obedience to the warrant, which ſhe could have denied her knowledge of, as it wanted her hand, and perhaps obtained a belief by a ſacrifice of the counſellors concerned in it. Queen Elizabeth herſelf afterwards took that method in the affair of Mary queen of Scots.

[q] May 16. Rapin. On the 19th, according to Hollingſhead, ſhe was releaſed out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtody of the lord Williams, who treating her more courteouſly than ſome could have wiſhed, ſhe was put under the cuſtody of ſir Henry Beningfield, p. 1117.—The earl of Devonſhire was removed to Fotheringay caſtle, May 25. Godwin, p. 343.

[r] The 13th of March.

[s] Biſhop Tunſtal, Bonner, Barfew of St. Aſaph, Day of Chicheſter, and Kitchen of Landaff. Burnet, tom, II. p. 274. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 340.

[t] Holgate, Farrar, Bird, and Buſh. Thoſe deprived two days after, were Taylor, Hooper, and Harley. Story, biſhop of Chicheſter, renounced his wife, and fled beyond ſea; and Barlow, biſhop of Bath and Wells, reſigned and fled. Burnet, tom. II. p. 275. In the room of theſe deprived biſhops, were placed Morgan at St. David's, Cotes at Cheſter, White at Lincoln, Brokes at Gloceſter, Bourn at Bath and Wells. Parfew was tranſlated to Hereford, and Griffyn made biſhop of Rocheſter. Strype, tom. III. p. 116. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 374—376. 383, &c.

[u] This computation ſeems to be exaggerated. See Collier, tom. II. p. 366.

[w] The queen had at firſt ſummoned this parliament to meet at Oxford, becauſe that place had ſhowed itſelf very obedient and forward in reſtoring the popiſh religion; and London, on the contrary, did not much favour her proceedings about religion, and had given her ſome jealouſy during Wyat's inſurrection: but ſhe altered her mind. Hollingſh. p. 1102.

had a double design: the first to have the queen's marriage approved, the second to restore the pope's authority. For the first, it was not sufficient to have representatives well inclined to the intended alterations in religion, it was farther requisite, they should be little zealous for the good of their country, since the queen's marriage put England in evident danger of becoming one day a province to Spain. For the second it was necessary, not only that most of the commons should be convinced of the Romish doctrines, but also should be really papists, that is, persuaded that religion could not subsist without a pope. Now the men of this opinion were not very numerous among the Roman catholics. There were many more, who believing transubstantiation, invocation of saints, adoration of images, &c. were however persuaded that the papal authority was by no means necessary to the church, and were well content with its abolishment. To have persons returned proper for the designs of the court, or to gain those who were not so compliant, it was that Gardiner used all his interest with the emperor and queen to promise pensions. This was done with so little caution and secrecy, that with regard to a great number of members, their pensions were known. The parliament, when met, was so obsequious to the queen's will, that she was sometimes obliged to check the impetuous zeal of the commons.

The first act passed in this session gave occasion to many reflections: but the intent of it was unknown till long after, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when a certain person, let into the secret, discovered it to the earl of Leicester. The bill was brought in by the speaker. It imported, "That as the laws declarative of the royal prerogatives had been made in favour of kings, it might be pretended that the queen had no right to them: it was therefore declared, that these prerogatives did belong to the crown, whether it was in the hands of male or female; and whatsoever the law did limit or appoint for the king, was of right also due to the queen, who was declared to have as much authority as any of her progenitors." This bill occasioned some debates in the house of commons. Some feared that the pretence of securing to the queen her just rights covered a design of enlarging them beyond their just bounds; and that the last clause, 'that she had as much authority as any of her progenitors,' might encourage her to exercise the same power as William the Conqueror, who stripped the English of their lands, to bestow them on foreigners. The queen's marriage with the prince of Spain still encreased this suspicion, by the fear of having a despotic government, like that of Spain, introduced into England. It was therefore thought proper to alter the words of the act, in such manner as they should secure to the queen all her legal rights, without giving her an opportunity to usurp such as were not so. The court found no fault with the correction. Gardiner, who promoted the bill, had no intention to make the queen absolute, but to prevent Philip from seizing the government on pretence of sex. The example of Henry VII. furnished a just cause of fear. That prince had at first no pretension to the crown but what flowed from his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. However, when he afterwards found himself sufficiently strong, he resolved to reign in his own right, as heir to the house of Lancaster. Philip might have done the same thing, as descended from the same house. So that here Gardiner consulted at once the interest of the nation and his own. It was the nation's interest that Philip should not have an opportunity of seizing the government. Gardiner's likewise required the same, because, if Philip should once become master of England, the administration of affairs would probably be put into the hands of Spaniards, and consequently Gardiner be excluded. In a word, the true occasion of Gardiner's bill was this: A certain person had contrived a model of government, according to which the queen was to declare herself a conqueror; or assert, that as she came to the crown by common law, she was not bound by the laws which limited the regal power, because these restrictions were made for kings, and not queens. This plan was communicated to the Imperial embassador, who put it into the queen's hands, and prayed her to read it with attention. The queen doubtless read, and then delivered it to her chancellor to examine, and give his opinion upon it. He thereby saw what was the aim of the Spaniards, and set before the queen the consequences and peril of following, or even listening to such counsels. In a word, he so managed her, that she threw the project into the fire. It was not without reason that Gardiner began to be alarmed with respect to the Spaniards. Besides, that such projects as this gave him just cause to suspect them of some design upon the liberties of England, there was another thing that confirmed his suspicions: This was, the Spaniards had published a genealogy of Philip, which derived him from a daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and son of Edward III. Gardiner, therefore, thought it high time to break the Spanish measures; and this he undertook to do by the fore-mentioned act. But he took particular care not to be known for the author, for fear of forfeiting Philip's favour [x].

In this session the bishopric of Durham, suppressed in the end of the late reign, was restored to its ancient rights, and the act of suppression repealed.

The sentence against the duke of Suffolk and the fifty-eight men, executed for the late rebellion, was likewise confirmed.

Lastly, the parliament approved the treaty of marriage between the queen and Philip. But as Gardiner began to fear the Spaniards, he so ordered, that the parliament in approving the treaty, explained more clearly and enlarged the articles, by which the government of the kingdom was declared to belong only to the queen.

No more was desired of the parliament in this session [y]. If the zeal of the commons to please the court had been indulged, many rigorous acts against the reformation and the reformed would have been made. But the lords, by the court's direction, threw out the bills sent by the commons on that subject. Without doubt the ministers thought it not proper to begin the persecution before the consummation of the queen's marriage, lest some unforseen accident should retard the prince of Spain's arrival. For that reason, the parliament was dissolved [z] the 25th of May, after the queen's principal desire, the approbation of her marriage, was obtained.

At the end of this session of parliament, the court thought proper to interrupt the convocation, in order for a new conference to be held at Oxford, concerning the eucharist. The protestants complained publicly of the treatment they had met with, in the dispute held at London. From hence occasion was taken to lay a new snare for them, by appointing another disputation in presence of the university of Oxford, as if more justice was intended them. But this was in effect only to give them a fresh mortification. If the court had meant to act with sincerity, they would never have chosen, as they did, for managers of the dispute on the protestants side, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, all prisoners in the Tower, and the two first without controversy the most learned and able men of their party. But as it was resolved to confound them otherwise than by reasons and arguments, the court was glad to expose these three grave prelates to the insults of their enemies. They were therefore removed to Oxford [a], to dispute against some of the Romish clergy; at the head of whom was Weston, prolocutor of the lower house of convocation. The disputation or conference was managed like the former at London [b]. The three protestant bishops were forced to be silent, by reason of the continual interruptions and noises which hindered them from being heard, whence it was inferred they were vanquished. Those who are curious to see the particulars of the dispute, will find them in the History of the Reformation of England. But to mortify these bishops was not thought sufficient. The dispute, which lasted three days, being ended, they were summoned to abjure their pretended errors, and upon their refusal excommunicated [c].

Prince Philip being informed that nothing now retarded the consummation of his marriage, left the Groyne the 16th of July, and arrived the 19th at Southampton [d]. At his landing he drew his sword, and carried it naked some time. This mysterious action was variously interpreted. Some said, it signified that he would draw his sword in defence of the nation. Others believed, that he intimated to the English by this action, that he intended to govern them by the sword. The magistrates of Southampton presenting him with the keys of the town, he took and returned them without speaking a word. This gravity displeased the English, who used to be treated more affably by their sovereigns. The queen met him

[x] Another reason for this act might also be, to prevent any disturbance that might arise from an opinion broached by some of queen Mary's enemies, That it was unlawful for a woman to govern; to prove which, Knox and others wrote books soon after. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 344.

[y] A convocation met at the same time with this parliament. And in the writs of summons, the queen's title, of supreme head of the church, was omitted. See Fox, tom. III. p. 41.

[z] Rapin by mistake says, the parliament was prorogued.

[a] About April 10. Fox, tom. III. p. 44.

[b] It was held April 16, 17, 18. See Fox, ibid. &c. Godwin, p. 344.

[c] Twentieth of April.

[d] With a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail. Godwin, p. 345. John earl of Bedford, the lord Fitz-Walters, and many other noblemen, &c. were sent into Spain to attend on him. Hollingshead, p. 1118.

Ireland

at Wincheſter, where Gardiner married them the 25th of July. The ſame day they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jeruſalem, and by many other titles [e]. The emperor had lately made a preſent to his ſon of the kingdoms of Naples and Jeruſalem. Philip was but twenty-nine years of age, and Mary was thirty-eight. Many cheſts of bullion [f], brought by Philip, were landed, which no doubt were a great part of the one million two hundred thouſand crowns, promiſed to be ſent into England by the emperor, but which he was not inclined to part with before the conſummation of the marriage. This infuſed freſh zeal for the queen's intereſt into thoſe who had before been gained by Gardiner [g].

Philip, deſirous to acquire the affection of the Engliſh, began with acts of clemency, which would have produced that effect, had the reſt of his conduct been anſwerable to them. However, ſome perſons of diſtinction were the better for his generoſity. The princeſs Elizabeth was the chief. Gardiner was for removing her out of the way at any rate. He apprehended, if ſhe ſucceeded Mary, ſhe would be led by her own intereſt to ſubvert whatever ſhould be done in this reign with reſpect to religion. Beſides, it was known that, notwithſtanding all her caution, ſhe was reformed in her heart. Now, as it was reſolved to perſecute the proteſtants, there was ſome room to fear an inſurrection, under colour of aſſerting her rights. The queen herſelf was not far from Gardiner's ſentiments; but Philip interceded for Elizabeth, and freed her from this danger [h]. This was doubtleſs at firſt from a motive of generoſity. It has been pretended, that policy had afterwards a great ſhare in the preſervation of this princeſs; and two ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned. Firſt, it is ſaid, that when he had no longer hopes of children by queen Mary, he reflected, that, if Elizabeth died before the queen, the crown of England would devolve to the queen of Scotland, who would bring this rich inheritance to the dauphin of France. It is indeed true, that, by Henry VIII's will, the queen of Scots could not claim the Engliſh crown till after the poſterity of the ducheſs of Suffolk. But it was not likely the dauphin would regard the will; and he might happen to join the crowns of England and Ireland to thoſe of France and Scotland, which could not but be prejudicial to the houſe of Auſtria. The ſecond reaſon which induced Philip to ſave Elizabeth, was, as it is pretended, his hopes to marry her, if Mary died firſt. Beſides the princeſs Elizabeth, ſome other perſons obtained their pardon by Philip's interceſſion, namely, nine knights, and the archbiſhop of York [i]. It is preſumed that prelate was not firm to his religion, becauſe all the reſt who were releaſed were men who ſuited their religion to the times. Probably they had been engaged in Wyat's or the lady Jane's cauſe. Beſides, the archbiſhop of York was ſuffered to live in quiet during the reſidue of this reign.

Philip's grave manner and reſerved air gave great diſguſt to the Engliſh. None were ſuffered to come either into his or the queen's preſence, without a formal demand of an audience, as is practiſed by embaſſadors. This rendered the court entirely unfrequented, the Engliſh nobility not enduring to conform to cuſtoms ſo oppoſite to their own.

The old duke of Norfolk died in September, about a year after obtaining his liberty [k].

Mary's third parliament met the 11th of November [l], diſpoſed as the court could wiſh [m]. The money, come from Spain, produced ſuch effects, that moſt of the repreſentatives only wanted occaſions to ſignalize their zeal for the queen. The court was ſo ſenſible of this, that, without any law yet made to reſtore the papal authority, two noblemen were ſent to receive cardinal Pole, as legate, and bring him over into England. One of theſe was the lord Paget, who, having been a principal friend and confident of the duke of Somerſet, and one of that protector's inſtruments to eſtabliſh the reformation in the reign of Edward, was nominated in this of Mary, to meet the pope's legate [n]. Such change had a new reign produced amongſt the nobility. Whilſt the legate in Flanders was preparing for his voyage, an act paſſed in parliament to repeal his attainder in the reign of Henry VIII. This coſt but three days [o], in order to avoid the inconvenience of ſeeing a legate arrive in the kingdom, ſtill liable to a ſentence of death.

Pole arrived the 24th of November [p], and, after communicating his inſtructions to the king and queen, he laid before them, and both houſes of parliament (ſent for on purpoſe) the occaſion of his legation. This, he ſaid, was to bring back to the fold of Chriſt the ſheep that were gone aſtray: that the pope, who held on earth the place of ſovereign paſtor, was ready to receive them; and therefore he exhorted the Engliſh to embrace an opportunity at once ſo favourable and happy. The queen, who paſſionately deſired to ſee the pope's authority reſtored in England, was ſo moved on this occaſion, that ſhe fancied ſhe felt a child ſtir in her womb. This news was immediately publiſhed in all places, and even, by an order of council [q], Te Deum was ſung at St. Paul's. Some flatterers ſpared not to ſay, that as John Baptiſt leaped in his mother's womb at the ſalutation of the virgin, ſo here a happy omen followed on the ſalutation from Chriſt's vicar ſpeaking by the mouth of his legate. The queen's women, who ſaw her ſo fond of her imaginary conception, humoured her in this belief, till the middle of the next year, when, to her great mortification, ſhe diſcovered her miſtake.

The 29th of November the two houſes preſented a petition to the king and queen, praying their interceſſion with the legate for a reconciliation of the kingdom with the church, from which a horrible ſchiſm had long diſunited it. They promiſed in the ſame petition to repeal all the acts againſt the pope's authority. Upon this, the legate came to the parliament, and in a long ſpeech enlarged upon the pope's affection and tenderneſs for the kingdom of England, and the extraordinary favours which in every age that nation had received from the Holy See. Then he enjoined for penance the repeal of all the laws againſt the papal authority, and, granting a full abſolution, which was received by both houſes on their knees, abſolved alſo the kingdom from all cenſures.

The repeal promiſed by both houſes could not be ready before the beginning of January. By this act the pope's authority was reſtored to the ſame ſtate as before the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII. But the five following articles inſerted in it were ſo many reſtrictions upon the papal power.

I. That biſhoprics, cathedrals, and colleges, ſhould remain in their preſent condition.

II. That marriages contracted within the degrees forbidden only by the canons, and not the law of God, ſhould be deemed good and valid.

III. That inſtitutions into benefices made during the ſchiſm ſhould be confirmed.

IV. That all judicial proceſſes ſhould alſo be confirmed.

V. That the alienations of the lands of the church ſhould be authorized, and the poſſeſſors ſubject to no cenſures or proſecutions on that account.

The legate ratified all theſe articles, but with a denunciation of the judgments of God on all thoſe who poſſeſſed the

[e] Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Auſtria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Habſpurg, Flanders, and Tyrol. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 404.

[f] Twenty-ſeven cheſts, each a yard and four inches long, and ninety-nine horſe-loads and two cart-loads of coined gold and ſilver. Burnet, p. 286. Strype computes, that this prince's revenues were yearly worth two millions four hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling. Tom. III, p. 128.

[g] Auguſt 12, the king and queen made their entry into London. Stow, p. 625.

[h] She was releaſed about the latter end of April. Godwin, p. 349.

[i] Robert Holgate. The knights were, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir James Croſts, ſir Nicholas Throgmorton, ſir Nicholas Arnold; ſir Edward Warner, ſir George Harper, ſir William Saintlow, ſir Gawin Carew, and ſir Andrew Dudley; as alſo, William Gibs, Cuthbert Vaughan, Harington, Tremain, &c. They were releaſed January 18. Stow, p. 626. Edward Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, likewiſe reaped the benefit of this generoſity, who, to give no more jealouſy, retired into Italy, and the year after died, ſome ſay, of poiſon, being buried at Padua, and put an end to that illuſtrious family, of which he was the eleventh earl. Burnet, tom. II. p. 287. Holliſh. p. 1129.

[k] He died at Framlingham, in Suffolk, where he was buried October 2. Stow, p. 625. Strype, tom. III. p. 200.

[l] In the writs of ſummons, it was remarkable, that the queen omitted her title of ſupreme head of the church, as ſhe had done a little before in the writs of ſummons to the laſt convocation. Rapin, by miſtake, makes this to be a ſeſſion of the former parliament.

[m] The king and queen rode together in their robes to this parliament, having two ſwords, and two caps of maintenance, carried before them. Hollingſh, p. 1122.

[n] The other was ſir Edward Haſtings. Fox, p. 105. Strype, p. 156.

[o] It was twice read in the houſe of lords on November 17, and the third time on the 19th; when it was ſent down to the commons, who read it twice on Nov. 19, and the third time on the 20th, and ſent it up the 21ſt. The king and queen paſſed it on the 22d. Journ. Parl.

[p] He landed at Dover the 21ſt, and came to London the 24th. Fox, p. 108.

[q] Dated November 27. In the ſame order, all prieſts and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters were enjoined, in their maſſes and other ſervices, continually to pray Almighty God that he would continue and bring to good effect what he had ſo graciouſly begun. Forms of prayer were compoſed on this occaſion by doctor Weſton, dean of Weſtminſter; and printed copies of them diſperſed through the kingdom. In one of them they prayed God to "give the queen a male infant, in faſhion and body comely and beautiful, and in pregnant wit notable and excellent." See the order and forms in Hollingſh. p. 1123—1126. and Fox, tom. III. p. 115, &c.

Dated

church-lands. As this article was the moſt important and obſtructive to a re-union, the court of Rome had not been a little embarraſſed to ſettle it. The nobility and gentry, enriched with the plunder of the church in the two laſt reigns, were not to be alarmed. On the other hand, the canons make the lands of the church ſo ſacred, that the pope himſelf, however extenſive his power be in other reſpects, cannot alienate them. Conſequently, Julius III. could not conſent to the alienation made in England, without violating the canons: nay, his conſent would have been of no force, ſince he would have exceeded the bounds of his power. Mean while, had he inſiſted upon the neceſſity of reſtitution, and told the Engliſh, that without it he could not poſſibly abſolve them, the affair of the re-union of England, the concluſion whereof was ſo paſſionately deſired by the pope, would have been in danger of miſcarrying. This was one of thoſe nice affairs which called for ſome of thoſe expedients the court of Rome ſeldom wants. The expedient now uſed was to deceive the Engliſh. The pope firſt gave Pole a general power [r], which was not thought ſufficient however to remove the uneaſineſs of the perſon concerned. Afterwards he ſent him another [s], authorizing him, "to tranſact with the poſſeſſors of church-lands for the rents they had unlawfully received, and for the moveables they had conſumed; in reſtoring firſt, if the legate thought proper, the lands they unjuſtly poſſeſſed [t]." This clauſe "in reſtoring firſt, if the legate thought proper," had a very equivocal meaning. It might ſignify, that the legate had the liberty to oblige the poſſeſſors to reſtitution, or to diſpenſe with it; or elſe, that he had power to tranſact with them for the received rents before or after the reſtitution of the lands. In all appearance, the pope underſtood the clauſe in this laſt ſenſe, but was willing to give room to believe, that he underſtood it in the firſt. This power appearing inſufficient to the emperor and the court of England, the pope gave a third not leſs equivocal, and which, under a heap of general terms, contained certain reſtrictions, which left him free to act afterwards as he ſhould pleaſe; for his preſent buſineſs was to blind the poſſeſſors and the parliament, in giving them a ſeeming ſatisfaction. This laſt power ran, "That whereas he had before given power to his legate to tranſact with the poſſeſſors of the church's goods, and to diſcharge them the rents they had unjuſtly received, or the moveables they had waſted; nevertheleſs, to the end that the entire reduction of England might become ſo much the more eaſy, by the greater hopes which the pope gave of condeſcenſion and compliance on this occaſion (unwilling as as he was to keep back the great work of the ſalvation of ſo many ſouls by any human conſiderations, and deſirous to imitate the good father going out to meet the prodigal ſon) he gave power to his legate, agreeably to the confidence he repoſed in him, to tranſact and agree, by authority of the Holy See, with the poſſeſſors of the goods of the church, for whom the queen ſhould intercede, and to give them a diſpenſation for the future enjoyment of them; with reſervation, however, of ſuch things, wherein, for the greatneſs and importance of them, he ſhould think fit to conſult the Holy See, for its approbation and confirmation."

This laſt power, far from correcting what was defective in the former, was ſtill more equivocal and uſeleſs. Firſt, for the word Tranſact, which was in the firſt power, and remained likewiſe in this, it is manifeſt, that the pope did not mean by it a bare acquieſcence of his legate to a poſſeſſion deemed unjuſt, and that, on this occaſion, a tranſaction imported at leaſt ſome previous reparation to be made to the church. But for fear the term Tranſact ſhould not be ſignificant enough, the pope added in this laſt power the term Agree, which evidently ſhewed in what ſenſe he would have this tranſaction underſtood. Wherefore the bare acquieſcence of the legate was uſeleſs, ſince he thereby exceeded his power, which was to Tranſact and Agree. Secondly, under theſe terms, Future Enjoyment, was an equivocation, ſince the Future might imply either a perpetual or a temporary enjoyment. Thirdly, the legate could grant a diſpenſation for the enjoyment of theſe lands but to thoſe for whom the queen interceded, ſo that the queen might chuſe whether ſhe would intercede for any perſon: nay, it is very likely ſhe would have ſcrupled it, ſince it will appear, ſhe herſelf made reſtitution of all ſuch lands as were in her poſſeſſion. Fourthly, all that the legate could do on this occaſion was inſignificant without the pope's confirmation, who could revoke it; ſo that the legate's power was only proviſional. Laſtly, the obligation to conſult the Holy See in matters of importance, was alſo an uncertain expreſſion, and liable to endleſs cavils.

Pope Julius III. died before he was informed of the ſucceſs of this affair. But if we judge of him by the terms of the power granted to his legate, he acted with no ſincerity, and his ſucceſſor plainly refuſed to confirm the legate's acquieſcence. It was therefore a manifeſt illuſion put upon the poſſeſſors of the church lands, ſince, according to the canon law, they could thereby acquire no juſt title. On the other hand, they could not poſſeſs them with a ſafe conſcience, ſince the legate, at the ſame time that he gave his conſent to their enjoyment of theſe lands, denounced the judgments of God ready to fall on their heads. It will be aſked, perhaps, how the Engliſh could ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ſo palpable an artifice? To this may be anſwered, firſt, that the king and queen, being in the ſentiments of the court of Rome, aſſiſted the fraud as much as poſſible, and the parliament, corrupted with Spaniſh gold, ſeemed not to ſee what they ſaw. In the ſecond place, the legate's powers were probably ſhown only to the king and queen, who appeared ſatisfied with them; and the parliament, without examining theſe powers, ſuppoſed the legate ſufficiently authorized. I have a little enlarged on this ſubject, becauſe it is very material at preſent, and poſſibly may be more ſo hereafter. The Engliſh may ſee by this, not only the impoſſibility of the court of Rome's acting with ſincerity in this affair, but that, though a pope ſhould have the beſt intentions towards the poſſeſſors of church-lands, his conſent would be inſignificant. His ſucceſſors might always ſay, with ſome foundation, that he had exceeded his power. However, the poſſeſſors were, or ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and the rather becauſe the parliament made a law which in ſome manner diſpelled the fears of the perſons concerned. This law imported, that whoever ſhould diſturb the ſubjects, in their poſſeſſion of any lands or goods once belonging to the church, on pretence of any eccleſiaſtical authority, ſhould fall into a præmunire.

The affair of the reconciliation being ended, and the government become entirely popiſh, the parliament paſſed an act to revive the ſtatutes of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. againſt heretics [u]. The commons were ſo haſty, that if their zeal had been indulged, they would have finiſhed at once what the court deſired to do only by degrees. They brought in ſeveral bills, which were rejected by the lords, for fear of alarming the proteſtants, and driving them to deſpair. But the commons were almoſt indifferent whether their bills were approved or rejected, becauſe, whatever happened, their zeal for the queen was rendered indiſputable. This was the real aim of all their proceedings.

Afterwards an act was made by way of ſupplement to the ſtatutes of treaſons and felonies. It was in favour of Philip that this act was renewed, by which, if any perſon aſſerted, that Philip had no right to the title of king of England during his marriage with the queen, he was to be ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, and to forfeit all his goods. Moreover, that prince having conſented to take upon him the guardianſhip of the children he might have by the queen, and to govern the kingdom for a ſon till he was eighteen, and for a daughter till fifteen; it was alſo enacted, That conſpiring his death, during that time, ſhould be treaſon. It was likewiſe death by another act, for any to pray, "That God would turn the queen's heart from idolatry, or ſhorten her days [w]."

The ſtatutes againſt heretics were no ſooner revived, than the court took into conſideration how to reduce them. Their number was great, and without doubt much greater than that of their adverſaries. But theſe had the government for them. In this party were thoſe who were indifferent to all religions, and theſe appeared the moſt zealous, becauſe it was a ſure means to render them acceptable to the court. On the other hand, the proteſtants could not make any advantage of their numbers, becauſe they were without ſupport. Beſides, many of them concealed their ſentiments, for fear of loſing their lives and fortunes. Others, by a principle of conſcience, choſe to ſuffer, rather than reſiſt. So thoſe who would have uſed force againſt the attacks of their enemies, would proba-

[r] Dated March 8, 1554. Burnet, tom III. p. 230.

[s] It is part of the firſt. See Burnet, ibid.

[t] Ac cum poſſeſſoribus bonorum eccleſiaſticorum (reſtitutis prius ſi tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebite detentis) ſuper fructibus male perceptis, ac iſtis mobilibus conſumptis, concordandi, & tranſigendi, ac eos deſuper liberandi & quietandi, &c. Burnet, tom. III. Collect. p. 217.

[u] 5 Richard II. 2 Henry IV. 2 Henry V.

[w] The other acts now made were theſe: 1. An act confirming that of 22 Henry VIII. which enjoined Egyptians (or Gypſies) not to come into the kingdom, upon pain of forfeiting their goods. The preſent act makes it felony in any Egyptian to remain a month in England; and forbids the bringing of them into the realm, under the penalty of forty pounds. 2. That perſons arreſted for manſlaughter, or felony, ſhall not be bailed, but in open ſeſſions, except it be by two juſtices of the peace at leaſt. See Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. Mar. c. 4. 13.

Sir

bly have been ill ſupported, and the rather, becauſe the emperor would not have failed to aſſiſt the queen, had it been neceſſary. The proteſtants therefore, with the greateſt conſternation, ſaw a ſtorm ready to fall on their heads, without any poſſibility to avoid it.

In the council, held at court on this ſubject, Pole was for gentle methods rather than force, thinking this would only inflame inſtead of curing the evil, and at moſt, would but encreaſe the number of hypocrites. He added, that the beſt means of converting the proteſtants, was the reformation of the clergy, whoſe irregular lives had firſt given birth to hereſy. Gardiner, on the contrary, maintained, that only rigour was capable to have a good effect upon the proteſtants. That in the reign of Henry VIII. it was notorious, all ſubmitted to the ſtatute of the ſix articles through fear of puniſhment. As Gardiner had in many things complied againſt his conſcience, he could not believe that others had more reſolution than himſelf. For that reaſon he thought the puniſhment of ſome of the moſt obſtinate, would be attended with a blind compliance in all the reſt to whatever was enjoined. Hence it appears, he was little concerned to gain men's hearts, provided the prevailing religion found no more oppoſition. The queen, who was a furious bigot, embraced his opinion. But to ſhew Pole that his counſels were not wholly neglected, ſhe charged him with reforming the clergy, and left to Gardiner the care of extirpating hereſy.

Towards the end of the year, the queen ſent viſcount Montague [x], the biſhop of Ely, and ſir Edward Karne, to Rome, with a tender of ſubmiſſion to the pope from the king, the queen, and the three ſtates of the realm.

[1555] The reſolution being taken to proſecute with the utmoſt rigour the proteſtants, Gardiner, firſt author of that advice, very readily undertook to execute it. He it was, who, in ſpite of all the difficulties which naturally occurred in the queen's marriage, had at laſt accompliſhed it. He it was alſo, who, by intreagues, had found a way to diſpoſe parliaments to favour the queen's intentions with regard to religion, and had effected the work of reſtoring the Roman religion and the papal authority. He thought therefore nothing more was wanting to complete his glory, than the forcing the proteſtants into the pale of the church, or at leaſt to an outward ſubmiſſion to the laws newly enacted, which is the utmoſt bounds of man's power. For that purpoſe he reſolved to begin with Hooper and Rogers. The firſt had been biſhop of Gloceſter, the other was a clergyman of great repute among the proteſtants. It was he, who, with Bradford, had reſcued Bourn from his danger when he preached at St. Paul's. This action, charitable as it was, had received ſo ill a conſtruction, that the court took occaſion from it to arreſt Rogers, in order to remove out of the way a man, who was regarded as one of the chiefs of the proteſtants, from his great credit and influence with the people. It was an artifice frequently uſed in the beginning of this reign by the court, to impriſon, on frivolous pretences, thoſe whom they deſigned to ſacrifice, with intent to detain them till laws were made to condemn them. Hooper and Rogers were of this number, and the firſt martyrs of this reign. They were condemned by commiſſioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at their head [y], and delivered over to the ſecular arm. Hooper was burnt at Gloceſter, and Rogers at London [z]. Hooper was three quarters of an hour in torment, the fire not being well kindled, ſo that his legs and thighs were firſt burnt, and one of his hands dropped off before he expired [a]. Theſe executions were followed by thoſe of Saunders and Taylor, two other clergymen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed zeal for their religion [b]. Taylor's puniſhment was remarkable for his being put into a pitch-barrel, and for having before the fire was kindled a faggot from an unknown hand thrown at his head, which made it ſtream with blood. Afterwards, as he was repeating the 51ſt Pſalm in Engliſh, one of the guards ſtruck him over the mouth, and bid him pray in Latin. He was therefore obliged to be ſilent, and continue his ejaculations, till the moment came which was to finiſh all his ſufferings. But while the fire was kindling, one of the guards, either through impatience, or pity, knocked out his brains with a halbert, and delivered him from more cruel torment [c].

Gardiner, finding himſelf miſtaken in his conjectures, and that the puniſhment of theſe four clergymen produced not the effect he expected, transferred to Bonner a commiſſion, which could not but draw upon him the public hatred. This was no favour to the proteſtants; for if Gardiner's zeal was cruel, Bonner's was furious.

Mean while, theſe few executions cauſed an univerſal conſternation. The bigots only triumphed. The reſt who had any ſenſe of humanity, could not without the laſt concern behold men expoſed to ſuch cruel ſufferings, who were accuſed of no crime, and ſolely for their religious opinions. It could not but be obſerved, how differently the proteſtants behaved from the Roman catholics. In Edward's reign, very few had ſuffered impriſonment for their religion; and in Mary's, no puniſhment was thought too cruel for thoſe proteſtants who dared to perſevere in their opinions. The biſhops themſelves ſeemed aſhamed, for in a ſolemn embaſſy they declared, they had no hand in theſe barbarities. So all the hatred fell upon the king and queen, and particularly the king, as he was bred in a country where the inquiſition prevailed. Philip hearing of it, ſaw that the affection of the Engliſh would be entirely loſt, if they were ſuffered to continue in this ſentiment. Beſides, he was reſolved not to be the dupe of the biſhops, who cleared themſelves at his expence. He therefore ordered his confeſſor, Alphonſo, to preach before him, who, before all the court, charged the biſhops with the cruelties complained of by the whole kingdom [d]. He even challenged them to produce in the whole ſcriptures one paſſage which allowed chriſtians to burn men for matters of conſcience. It was not without aſtoniſhment that a Spaniard was heard to exclaim againſt burning heretics, and condemn cruelties ſo common in Spain. The biſhops were ſo amazed, that the fires remained extinguiſhed for ſome weeks, but about the middle of March they were re-kindled, the biſhops chuſing to incur the public hatred rather than not perſecute the proteſtants. The truth is, the court was no leſs inclined to cruelty than the biſhops. But each had a mind to throw the whole blame of the perſecution on the other. Bonner, biſhop of London, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a fury unbecoming, not only a clergyman and chriſtian, but even a cannibal. From this time the executions of the proteſtants were continued, with a barbarity which clearly ſhewed, that thoſe by whom they were ordered were not at all forced. The biſhops condemned without mercy all who were brought before them, and the civil magiſtrates executed the ſentences even more rigorouſly than commanded by the laws [e].

About the end of April, the princeſs Elizabeth was conducted from Woodſtock to Hampton-court, where Gardiner, attended by a great number of privy-counſellors, exhorted her ſeriouſly to merit the queen's pardon by an ingenious confeſſion of her crimes. But ſhe poſitively denied to have ever juſtly offended the queen. At laſt Philip prevailed for an enlargement of her liberty at a ſeat in the country [f], where ſhe was permitted to retire. As ſhe knew all her actions were narrowly obſerved, ſhe avoided concerning herſelf in any affair which might give the leaſt ſuſpicion. During the reſt of this reign, ſhe applied herſelf wholly to her ſtudies, and made a conſiderable progreſs. But ſtill ſhe led an uncomfortable life, as ſhe was forced to diſſemble her religious ſentiments to hear maſs, and frequently confeſs herſelf, to eſcape

[x] Sir Anthony Brown, created viſcount Montague, or Montacute, on September 2, this year; as was alſo William Howard, baron Howard of Eſſingham, March 11; Sir John Williams, baron of Tame, April 5; Sir Edward North, baron of Chartlege, April 7; Sir John Bruges, baron Chandois of Sudley, April 8; and Gerard Fitz-Gerald, earl of Kildare, and baron of Ophelly, May 14. Stow, p. 623, 624, 625.

[y] See the names of the reſt of the commiſſioners in Strype's Mem. tom. III. p. 180.

[z] John Rogers was brought up in the univerſity of Cambridge, and for ſeveral years officiated as chaplain to the Engliſh merchant adventurers at Antwerp. In king Edward's reign he returned to England, and was made prebend of St. Paul's, and reader of the divinity lecture in the ſame cathedral. On the 28th of January, he was convened before the commiſſioners, excommunicated on the 29th, and burnt February 4. He left a wife and eleven children. At the ſtake he had it in his power to have ſaved his life by a recantation: but neither hopes nor fears could prevail on him to deſert his religion: on the contrary, he ſaid, "He reſigned his life with joy, in teſtimony of the doctrine he had preached." Fox, tom. III. p. 118, 119, &c.

[a] John Hooper, brought up at Oxford, was, on account of his religious opinions, forced to fly into Germany, in Henry VIIIth's time; where he remained a conſiderable time. He had been very diligent in procuring Bonner's deprivation, which undoubtedly was the cauſe of his ruin. He was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 145. Godwin, p. 349.

[b] Laurence Saunders, brought up at Eaton-ſchool, and King's-college in Cambridge; and afterwards miniſter of Church-Langton, in Leiceſterſhire, and of Alhallows, Bread-ſtreet, London; was burnt at Coventry, February 8. Fox, p. 132, &c.

[c] Doctor Rowland Taylor, rector of Hadley in Suffolk, was burnt February 9. Fox, p. 166, &c.

[d] He preached on February 10, 1555. Idem, p. 181.

[e] Robert Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's, was burnt at Caermarthen, March 30.——As was Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, in Smithfield, on March 16. Thomas Gauſton, at Raleigh, and Thomas Higbed, at Horndon on the Hill, in Eſſex, the 26th; John Lawrence, at Colcheſter, the 29th; George Marſh, at Cheſter, April 24th; John Cardmaker, canon of Wells, and John Warne, upholſterer, in London, May 30, in Smithfield; and others in ſeveral other places. The earl of Oxford, and the lord Rich, were very buſy againſt theſe poor people. See Fox, tom. III.

[f] Probably at Hatfield. But ſhe was obliged to keep in her family Thomas Pope, one of the privy council, Gage, and ſome others, who were to be conſtant ſpies upon her actions. Godwin, p. 349.

the dangers she was continually exposed to[g]. In this she was a little less scrupulous than her sister Mary had been in Edward's reign. But it may be said for her, that there was a great difference between the characters of Edward and Mary. The fear of death could not oblige Mary to dissemble her religion, because she was never threatened with it, whereas Elizabeth saw death continually before her eyes upon the least advantage against her.

While the queen was thus expressing her zeal for the Romish religion, she felt a load upon her conscience, which she could no longer bear. This was the possession of the abbey-lands adjudged to Henry VIII. Pope Julius III. pretended to consent that the possessors of the church-lands should not be disturbed. But he plainly shewed that nothing was farther from his intentions; for even before the affair of the reconciliation was ended, he published a bull, excommunicating all who had taken possession of any church or abbey-lands, as well as the princes who favoured or assisted them. Gardiner indeed had endeavoured to remove the queen's uneasiness, by telling her the bull concerned Germany alone, and had no authority, unless received in England. But it was easy to see, that a defect of formality could not excuse a practice in England, which was condemned by the pope as a heinous crime in Germany. Be this as it will, the queen, who believed herself near the time of her delivery, would not run the risk of dying excommunicate. She sent for the ministers[h], and told them it was her fixed resolution to part with the church-lands in her possession, to be disposed of as the pope should judge proper. At the same time she ordered them to acquaint the legate with her intention, and give him a list of those lands that still continued in the crown.

Pope Julius died the 23d of March, a few days before this restitution. Marcellus II. succeeded him the 9th of April. The new pope was preparing to make a great reformation in the church, but death surprised him whilst he was meditating this project, the 22d day after his exaltation.

The news of Marcellus's death being brought to England, the queen formed the design of raising Pole to the pontificate. She even made some advances towards it, but on the 23d of May the cardinals assembled in conclave elected cardinal Caraffa, who assumed the name of Paul IV. The see had not of a long time been filled with a pope more haughty, or more proud with his power. He was no sooner raised to the papal chair, than he resolved to carry his authority as high or higher than any of his predecessors. The embassadors of England[i] arrived in Rome the very day of his election, but were not admitted to audience till a month after. This delay was owing to Mary's assuming the title of queen of Ireland, which the pope would not suffer, pretending that the Roman pontiff only had a right to erect kingdoms. As the embassadors had no instructions to relax on this article, their audience would have been long deferred, if the pope had not thought of an expedient. He privately erected Ireland into a kingdom[k], and at the same time sent to the embassadors to acquaint them, that otherwise he would not suffer them to give their queen that title in a public audience. This difficulty being removed, the embassadors were admitted to audience; and the pope with a great ceremony told them, that in token of his esteem of the king and queen of England, he had erected Ireland into a kingdom, by virtue of his power to create new kingdoms and supplant old ones. Afterwards, in private audiences, he warmly pressed the restitution of the church-lands, and told the embassadors, that he expected the whole should be restored without any exception. He said also, he intended to have the payment of St. Peter's pence continued; for which purpose, he would shortly send a collector into England; and that the English were not to expect St. Peter would open the gates of heaven to them, so long as they usurped his patrimony on earth. The embassadors, not to exasperate this haughty pontiff, were contented to answer him with submission, but did nothing, as indeed they had no power to meddle with these points.

While this passed at Rome, the privy council being informed that the justices of peace, and particularly those of the county of Norfolk, were indulgent to the protestants, sent instructions to them to act more agreeably to the intentions of the court. This shews the bishops were not alone guilty of the cruelties exercised against the protestants, but that the court was equally possessed with this furious zeal. In these instructions was an article enjoining the justices to have spies in every parish, for giving information of all persons who were remiss in their duty in point of religion. This was so like an inquisition, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards, which rendered them extremely odious, there being nothing more contrary to the English humour and government. Notwithstanding these instructions, and the court's severe orders, the violences already committed occasioned such murmurs, that Bonner himself, whether through fear or some other motive, moderated his fury so far, as to send away without trial persons brought before him for heresy. This conduct drew from the king and queen a severe letter to him[l], in which, after expressing their surprise, they exhorted him not to be remiss. This was sufficient to renew the persecution with more fury than before. Bradford, who had been some time under sentence of death, was burnt in July[m]. Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable old Latimer[n], who had been bishop of Worcester in the reign of Henry VIII. suffered martyrdom in November. I omit many other martyrdoms in several places of the kingdom, because my design is not to write a history of the church. Let it suffice to say, that in the course of this year, sixty-seven persons were burnt; amongst whom were four bishops, and thirteen other ecclesiastics[n].

When the king and queen wrote to Bonner to rekindle his zeal, the queen believed herself upon the point of being delivered. The 29th of May, the courtiers were in a readiness to convey the news to different parts of the kingdom[o]. In the beginning of June, a rumour was every where spread that she was delivered of a prince. The bishop of Norwich sung Te Deum in his cathedral. One priest, more officious than the rest, described in his sermon the lineaments of the new-born prince. But this pretended pregnancy ended at last in some moles cast forth by the queen at several times.

[g] Her answer to the dangerous questions concerning Christ's real presence in the sacrament, has something in it at once artful and solid:

Christ was the word that spake it;
He took the bread and brake it:
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it.

[h] William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, and lord treasurer; sir Robert Rochester, controller; sir William Petre, secretary of state; and sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards. Fox, p. 221. Burnet, tom. II. p. 308.

[i] Anthony Brown, viscount Montacute; and Thirleby, bishop of Ely; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; sir Henry Hussey, &c. Strype, tom. III. p. 210, 227.

[k] On the 7th of June. Burnet, p. 310.

[l] Dated May 24. The queen particularly required of him "to perform the office of a good pastor, and either to reclaim the heretics, or proceed against them according to law." Burnet, tom. II. Coll. p. 285.

[m] John Bradford, born at Manchester in Lancashire, was fellow of Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, and made by bishop Ridley, prebend of St. Paul's. He was condemned January 31, and burnt July the 1st, with one John Lease, a tallow-chandler, in Smithfield. Fox.

[n] These two excellent prelates were burnt together at Oxford, October 16. Their behaviour was comparable to any thing left upon record of the primitive martyrs. Ridley was born of a good family in Northumberland, and brought up at Newcastle-school, and Pembroke-hall in Cambridge; of which last he was master. He was chaplain to king Henry VIII. by whom he was promoted to the see of Rochester, and translated by king Edward VI. to that of London. He was one of the ablest champions of the reformation. His piety, learning, and solidity of judgment, were admired by his friends, and dreaded by his enemies. The night before his execution, he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him die. And when the good woman melted in tears, he spoke to her with an assurance, which was capable to banish her sorrow, in the thought that so much firmness on so melancholy an occasion, could be the only gift of heaven, inspiring and animating him against his approaching agony. He comforted Latimer at the stake, who was ready to return the kind office. He was so little diverted by the terrors before him, that he even gave a serious attention to the sermon preached by a furious bigot; and was sufficiently calm to have answered the exceptionable parts of it, which he offered to do; but he was not allowed to display his eloquence and reason, which might have shaken his audience, and made more work for his persecutors. He left the world with an act of justice, by a petition sent to the queen, that either the tenants of the bishopric of London might be confirmed in their leases, or their fines restored out of his goods, seized when he was imprisoned. His torment was lingering, by the ill-placing of the faggots to burn him: and his legs were almost consumed before the fire reached his vitals.——Latimer was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, and brought up at Cambridge. He was made by king Henry VIII. bishop of Worcester, which see he resigned, as has been already related. He had a noble simplicity, and in his sermons arraigned the vices of great sinners with plainness, which, unadorned with human eloquence, found a way to their hearts, and made the Felixes of the age tremble before him. One illustrious robber made restitution in his hands of money stole from the public, or the treasury, moved by one of his discourses on restitution, which pierced his conscience, and obliged him to sacrifice gain to godliness. He comforted Ridley at the stake (who had done as much for him) and unshaken with all the triumphs of reigning popery, prophesied, that "they two should light such a candle in England, as by God's grace should never be extinguished." He was soon out of his pain, and fell asleep; and finished a life, which, through a course of eighty years, and in the corruption of the last ages, preserved the piety, simplicity, and integrity, of the first. Fox, tom. III.

[o] Among the rest, John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, son of sir Peter Philpot, knt. was burnt in Smithfield, December 18. As were several others at Canterbury. See Fox.

[o] William Howard, the lord admiral, was appointed to go to the emperor; Ratcliff, lord Fitz-walter, to the French king; sir Henry Sidney, to the king of the Romans; and Richard Shelley, to the king of Portugal. Strype, tom. III. p. 219.

Fox

This was a grievous disappointment to the queen and the whole court[p]. King Philip was no less dismayed. He had only married in hopes of having children by the queen, and thereby uniting England with the monarchy of Spain. This accident, and perhaps the opinion of the physicians, that there was no likelihood of any children, entirely destroying these hopes, he grew weary of a wife, who had neither youth nor beauty, and resolved to apply more closely to his other affairs. Besides, he was doubtless informed, by the emperor, his father, of his intention to resign to him his Spanish dominions. He left England therefore the 4th of September[q] to go into Flanders, leaving the queen extremely mortified at his coldness, of which she was but too sensible.

Before the king's departure, a discovery was pretended of a conspiracy against the queen. Several persons were arrested, and some put to the torture. But, as no confession was drawn from them, very likely the conspiracy was only a false surmise, designed to incense the queen against the persons accused.

In the course of this year, a strict enquiry was made after them who had pillaged the churches and monasteries, and particularly after those who were employed in the visitation under Henry VIII. This was a good expedient to draw large sums from those men, who were forced to open their purses to escape a severer punishment.

The parliament met the 21st of October, and did nothing considerable, besides the making an act to approve and confirm the queen's resignation of the first fruits and tenths[r]. The lords were desirous to make a law to confiscate the estates of those whom the fear of persecution had driven out of the kingdom, but the commons rejected the bill. Most of the members began no longer to pay the same deference to the court as formerly, whether their pensions were withdrawn, after a compliance to almost whatever was desired, or they would not be the instruments of restoring to the clergy an authority so odious to the nation. Besides, most people were grown weary of the cruelties exercised against innocent men. However, the queen met with great mortifications in this session. When she desired a supply of money, the commons, with great freedom, replied, it was not just to burden the people with expences which she might easily have supplied, if she had kept the church-lands. So it was with great difficulty that she obtained a moderate subsidy[s]. The parliament, seeming resolved not to be directed any more by the court, was dissolved the 9th of December[t].

It is not surprising that the good intelligence between the queen and the commons began to decrease, since the minister, who had hitherto been employed to manage that house, was no longer in the world. I mean Gardiner, who died in the beginning of the session, in which he had been but twice present[u]. He was seized with his sickness the very day he received the news of the death of Ridley and Latimer, which he impatiently waited for. He refused to sit down to dinner till he had received it, and was without that satisfaction till four in the afternoon. He then dined with a good appetite, and after dinner was seized with a suppression of urine, which brought him to his grave in a few days. It is said, that during this indisposition, he felt some remorse for his past conduct; and sometimes said, he had erred with St. Peter, but not mourned with him. He was a man entirely attached to the world, of great wit, and of equal craft and dissimulation[w]. He directed his talents solely to the supporting and augmenting his own authority. Pope Paul IV. promised him a cardinal's hat. It is also pretended, that, to procure the archbishopric of Canterbury, promised to Pole, he had so slandered him to the court of Rome, that the pope had resolved to recal and even punish him as a favourer of heresy, because he did not approve the violent methods practised for the conversion of protestants. Gardiner's hope of succeeding to the archbishopric was the reason that Cranmer was suffered to live, because Gardiner waited till Pole was recalled; though, in all appearance, his religion was that of the church of Rome; he had conformed to all Henry VIII.'s changes. But the hope he had groundlessly conceived, that Henry would at last return to his first sentiments in religion, put him upon some practices which rendered him suspected, and robbed him of the fruit of his dissimulation. During the reign of Edward, he dissembled so far as to comply outwardly with the laws concerning religion; but at the same time he sufficiently discovered that it was with regret. To this was owing his deprivation; those who then managed the religious affairs, being persuaded that his dissimulation did more harm than good. In the reign of Mary, he was no longer forced to conceal his sentiments. Nay, perhaps he affected a greater zeal than he really had for the Romish religion, to recommend himself the more to a bigotted queen. By this he acquired her favour, and became her first minister, having artfully gained the emperor to his interest. When he saw his credit firmly established, he turned his revenge upon his enemies into barbarity. They had been contented to detain him in prison; but he could only be satisfied with burning them alive. Ridley and Latimer, amongst others, felt the terrible effects of his vengeance. He had not so long deferred the satisfaction of causing Cranmer to perish in the flames, if his own interest had not induced him to spare his life for some time. It is pretended he was natural son of Richard Woodvil, brother to queen Elizabeth, king Edward IV.'s wife; and that this was the cause of his so sudden advancement to the bishopric of Winchester in the reign of Henry VIII. Dr. Burnet has clearly proved, in his History of the Reformation, that Gardiner was one of the principal authors of Henry's divorce with Catherine. This, one would think, should have rendered him equally odious with Cranmer to queen Mary: but his zeal for the Romish religion effaced all. After his death, the chancellorship was executed by commission[x], from the 13th of November to the 1st of January following, when Heath, archbishop of York, had the seals delivered to him.

The day after dissolving the parliament, the queen received a bull from Paul IV. erecting Ireland into a kingdom, the pope presuming that the erection made in the reign of Henry VIII. was null and invalid. Probably the queen, who was full of scruples, was not displeased to receive this bull without her desiring it.

The king's absence, and Gardiner's death, did not hinder the fires from being re-kindled, about the end of the year, for the burning of protestants. This shews that Philip and Gardiner were not the only authors of these violences, but that the source of them lay in the queen's furious bigotry.

It was likewise about this time that Charles V. resigned all his Spanish dominions to Philip at two different times[y]. The following year he resigned likewise the imperial dignity to his brother Ferdinand[z]. Paul IV. long refused to own the new emperor, pretending that the resignation of the empire ought to have been made to him[a].

The 21st of March, Cranmer suffered the martyrdom to which he had long been destined. He had been declared he-

[p] Fox relates, that a woman told him, before witnesses, in 1568, that she lived near Aldersgate, and was delivered of a boy on June 11, 1555, and after she had borne it, the lord North and another lord came to her, and desired to have her child from her, with very advantageous offers, as that the child should be well provided for, &c. But she would in no case part with the child. Fox, tom. III. p. 271. This, as Burnet observes, being at a time that the queen seemed to be every day looking for her delivery, may give some suspicions. Tom. III. p. 244.

[q] He set out from London for Dover, Aug. 29. Strype, p. 227.

[r] This bill was read in the house of lords on the 20th, 21st, 23d, and 26th of November, the viscount Hereford, and the lord Cobham dissenting from it. And in the house of commons it was read November 24, 26, and December 3. On which last day it was carried, upon a division of one hundred ninety-six, against one hundred twenty-six. Journ. Parl.

[s] The laity granted her, from every person worth from five pounds to ten pounds, 8d. in the pound; and from ten to twenty pounds, 12d. in the pound; and from twenty pounds and upwards, 16d. And all strangers to pay double. The clergy granted 6s. in the pound, to be paid in three years. Stevens, p. 238, &c. Stow, p. 627.

[t] The acts made in this parliament were as follow: 1. That every man, for every hundred and twenty sheep he feeds, shall keep a milch cow, and rear a calf. 2. That two surveyors shall be chosen in Easter week in every parish, who shall take care to have the highways mended. 3. That purveyors shall not take victuals within five miles of Oxford or Cambridge. 4. An act for the regulation of watermen and bargemen upon the river Thames.

[u] He died of a dropsy, November the 12th, or, according to others, the 13th; and was buried in the cathedral of Winchester, where his effigies upon his monument is yet to be seen, though somewhat defaced. Godwin, p. 351. Strype, ibid. Com. Hist.

[w] He was a man of some learning; for he understood the canon and civil law as well as most of his time: he wrote Latin with ease and purity; and few of his cotemporaries excelled him in the Greek language. Burnet, 321. —As to his person, his successor, bishop Poinet, gives this description of him: He was of a swarthy colour, hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, hooked nose, wide nostrils, a sparrow mouth, great hands, and long talons, rather than nails, upon his toes, which made him go uneasily. Strype's notes on Godwin, p. 351.

[x] The seal was delivered to sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolls. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 426.

[y] Oct. 25. Strada, l. 1.

[z] Charles, after his retirement, delighted very much in mechanical curiosities, and particularly had great variety of clocks, which he tried a long time to cause to strike exactly together, but could never bring it about. Whereupon he broke out into this remarkable exclamation: "How vain and foolish is it for princes to endeavour to make all their subjects be of one mind in religion, when no art is able to make a few clocks strike together. Burnet, p. 330.

[a] This year, the heralds were incorporated by the queen's letters patents, bearing date July 18. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 425. This year also, on March 14, died John Russel, the first earl of Bedford, and was buried on the 22d, at Cheyne's, in Buckinghamshire. Stow, p. 626.

James

retic in April 1554. But this declaration was attended with only a bare excommunication; the power of the judges who had condemned him, reaching no farther. At laſt, in September 1555, he was tried at Oxford before two commiſſioners [b], one delegated from the pope and one from the queen. His accuſation contained, that he had been twice married: That he had kept a wife ſecretly in the reign of Henry VIII. and openly in that of Edward: That he had publiſhed heretical books, forſaken the communion of the Romiſh church, and denied the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. He owned all theſe facts, and upon his confeſſion was cited to appear before the pope within eighty days; a needleſs citation, ſince he was detained a priſoner. The 14th of February, Bonner and Thirleby were ſent to Oxford to degrade him. Bonner executed his commiſſion with his uſual inſolence, and with ſevere railleries and invectives againſt Cranmer during the ceremony. But Thirleby melted into tears. Cranmer was clothed in pontifical robes made of canvas, to render him ridiculous; and then ſtript of that ludicrous attire, piece by piece, according to the ceremonies of degradation practiſed in the church of Rome [c]. But what was ridiculous, was his being condemned for non-appearance at Rome, though he was all the while a cloſe priſoner.

Death ſhould of courſe have immediately followed the ſentence of the commiſſioners and his degradation. But ſo many ſnares were laid to overcome the conſtancy of this prelate, that by infirmity, and the hopes of ſaving his life, he was prevailed with to ſign an abjuration [d]. His enemies, it ſeems, ſhould have been ſatisfied with engaging him in this weakneſs, but his death was what they wanted, and nothing leſs would content them. The queen, who pretended a merit in forgiving him his private offences, and in being moved only by a zeal for religion, ſeeing all her meaſures broke by his abjuration, pulled off the maſk, and ſigned a warrant for burning him, notwithſtanding his abjuration. Then it was that Cranmer came to himſelf, and, full of ſhame and confuſion, retracted at the ſtake, and reſolved the hand which had ſigned the fatal abjuration ſhould firſt ſuffer. He held it extended in the fire till it dropped off [e], and then was obſerved to beat his breaſt with the other. Thus he expired, teſtifying a repentance for the fault he had committed. His heart was found entire in the aſhes after his whole body was conſumed, which occaſioned divers reflections foreign to my purpoſe. The enemies of the reformation triumphed in the fall of this prelate, and the proteſtants excuſed him in the beſt manner they could [f]. Pole was conſecrated archbiſhop of Canterbury the day after his death. It ſeems he had his Congé d'elire with his election, and his bulls from Rome diſpatched before that, becauſe the order for the reſtitution of the temporalities bears date the 21ſt of March, the day of Cranmer's death [g]. It is therefore without foundation that Pole is accuſed of haſtening his death, to take poſſeſſion of his archbiſhopric, becauſe there was almoſt a month between the queen's warrant for burning Cranmer and the execution. Pole had no need of Cranmer's death to be poſſeſſed of the archbiſhopric, vacant ever ſince his predeceſſor's condemnation. And indeed, he was now archbiſhop of Canterbury before Cranmer died, having been elected in England, and approved by the pope, as is expreſſed in the order for reſtoring the temporalities, dated the 21ſt of March.

All the reſt of the year was a continual and violent perſecution of the proteſtants. The furious Bonner, who had the care of puniſhing heretics, not content to burn them one by one, ſent them in troops to the flames; ſo that in the year 1556, eighty-five periſhed by his barbarity. The very women were not ſpared, and the fury of the perſecutors fell upon innocent infants. In the iſle of Guernſey, a woman big with child being condemned to be burnt, and the violence of the fire burſting her womb, a boy fell into the flames, which, being ſnatched out by one more merciful than the reſt, was, after a ſhort conſultation, thrown in again by command of the magiſtrates who aſſiſted at the execution.

While, by theſe violent proceedings, the utter ruin of the proteſtant religion was endeavoured, the queen, on the other hand, laboured to ſupport that of the church of Rome, by repairing old monaſteries and founding new ones [h]. Perhaps ſhe had more advanced her deſign to reſtore the religious houſes, had not the nobility and gentry taken the alarm. It happened, even in the laſt ſeſſion of the parliament, that ſome of the commons, upon hearing a propoſal concerning that affair, laid their hands on their ſwords, and boldly ſaid, They knew how to defend their own properties. The queen ſeeing ſo many obſtacles, and not thinking it proper at that time to puſh the affair, reſolved to wait a more favourable opportunity, and proceed gradually. Mean while, ſhe gave a commiſſion to Bonner and ſome others, to raze out of the public records whatever had been done by Henry VIII. againſt the monks and the pope, and particularly the accounts of the viſitations of monaſteries, and the renunciations of the papal authority by the monks. This has made the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of that time very defective, and yet, notwithſtanding the care of the commiſſioners, many records of this nature eſcaped their diligence, and remained to this day.

The war ſtill continuing between France and Spain, without the intervention of the Engliſh, Philip was deſirous of either a peace or a truce, to have leiſure to fix himſelf firmly on the throne, lately reſigned to him by the emperor his father. His queen had mediated for this peace or truce, and obtained that the two kings ſhould ſend their embaſſadors between Calais and Arders, where they had indeed met the 21ſt of May the laſt year, but without coming to any concluſion [i]. The advancement of Paul IV. to the papal throne rendered the peace ſtill more difficult. He was a pope of the moſt extravagant pride, and though fourſcore years old, was forming vaſt projects. He cannot be better compared than to Julius II. He had two nephews, one a cardinal, and the other governor of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and both mortal enemies of the family of the Colonni, whoſe ruin they had reſolved, and conſequently the king of Spain's, who ſupported it. To effect their deſign, they perſuaded the pope their uncle, that they had diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Spaniards. In conſequence of this pretended diſcovery, they opened the packets of the duke of Alva, viceroy of Naples, and therein pretended to find inconteſtable proofs. They committed cardinal Colonni to priſon, and arreſted the envoys of Philip and the queen of England. Then they ſeized Palliano and Nettuno, two towns belonging to the Colonni.

But not ſatisfied with this, they ſoon after induced their uncle the pope to declare war with Spain, without having either money or troops to ſupport it. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe to the king of France, who was in actual war with Philip. For that purpoſe, he propoſed to him the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples, and offered him all his forces to execute the deſign, provided he would aſſiſt him in the war he had undertaken. The propoſal being laid before the council of France, the cardinal of Lorrain ſupported it with all his intereſt. The cardinal had then ſuch influence over the court, that no perſon almoſt durſt contradict him, though it was eaſy to ſee that a league with the pope could bring no advantage to the king. The cardinal's aim was to procure for his brother the duke of Guiſe the command of the army which ſhould be ſent into Italy.

This league, offenſive and defenſive, was therefore begun

[b] James Brooks, biſhop of Gloceſter, was commiſſioned from Pole, and the king and queen delegated two aſſiſtants, which were Dr. Martin and Dr. Godwin, p. 352.

[c] His behaviour in this ceremony was uniform and becoming. He was not ſorry, he ſaid, to be thus cut off, with all this pageantry, from any relation to the church of Rome, but declared it to be great injuſtice to condemn him for not going to Rome when he was ſhut up in priſon; and denying the pope had any authority over him, appealed from this ſentence to a free general council. Burnet. p. 333.——This ſpectacle, as Godwin obſerves, was ſufficient, not only to extort compaſſion from his enemies, but even to melt inanimate things into tears. The primate of England, that lately flouriſhed in the higheſt honour and authority with princes, moſt venerable for his ſanctity of life, for his age, perſon, learning, gravity, and innumerable excellencies of mind, now, by the malice of the Romaniſts, dreſſed in a ridiculous old habit, baited with ſcurrility and contemptuous revilings, and dragged to a moſt inhuman and tormenting death, p. 353.

[d] He was prevailed upon to ſubſcribe not only one form of recantation, but ſix diſtinct ones, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Mem. tom. III. p. 233, &c.

[e] While he was burning, he ſometimes cried out, That unworthy hand. Fox.

[f] He died in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the twenty-third of his primacy; and left a ſon of his own name, who was reſtored in blood, 5 Eliz. Strype's Mem.

[g] Rapin by miſtake ſays, he was made archbiſhop the day Cranmer died. Though he had been elected and approved by the pope, Pole thought it indecent to be conſecrated as long as Cranmer lived, yet his chooſing the next day for it, brought him under the ſuſpicion of having procured his death; ſo that the words of Elijah to Ahab concerning Naboth, were applied to him, Thou haſt killed and taken poſſeſſion. Burnet, tom. II. p. 340.

[h] Laſt year ſhe founded a-new the monaſtery of the Franciſcans at Greenwich; and this year built two houſes for the Dominicans in Smithfield; a nunnery at Sion; a Carthuſian monaſtery at Sheen; and turned Weſtminſter again into a monaſtery. Burnet, p. 340.

[i] The Engliſh embaſſadors were cardinal Pole (accompanied by ſir William Cecil, for whom he had a particular eſteem) the chancellor Gardiner, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget. They went over to Calais May 8. Strype, tom. III. p. 218.

February

at Paris, and ſigned at Rome, where the cardinals of Lorrain and Tournon had repaired the beginning of October 1555. The pope promiſed the inveſtiture of Naples to a ſon of France; and the king, on his part, engaged to ſend into that country an army of twelve thouſand foot, five hundred men at arms, and as many light-horſe. But, ſhortly after, by the mediation of Mary, Henry II. and Philip concluded a five years truce, ſigned the 5th of February 1556. The pope complained loudly, that the king of France had left him to the vengeance of the Spaniards. Indeed, the duke of Alva had now approached Rome, and taken ſome places, and, amongſt the reſt, Oſtia, which the pope's nephews had neglected to ſtore. In this extremity, the pope and his nephews had no other refuge than to prevail with the king of France to break the truce with Spain. It was with this view that cardinal Caraffa repaired to Paris, as legate a latere, declaring that he came to effect a peace between the two crowns. At the ſame time, the pope loaded with praiſes the queen of England for mediating a truce; and exhorted her not to leave her work unfiniſhed, but endeavour to change the truce into a firm and laſting peace. Mean time, the legate, by his intrigues and magnificent promiſes, prevailed at laſt with the king to break the truce, without alleging other reaſon than that the pope was oppreſſed by the Spaniards, though his holineſs had firſt declared war againſt Spain.

In January 1557, cardinal Pole viſited both the univerſities. Whilſt he was at Cambridge, Bucer and Fagius, two German divines, dead ſome years before, were ridiculouſly cited before the commiſſioners to give an account of their faith, and, upon their non-appearance, both were condemned to be burnt. The ſentence was followed by a warrant from the court to execute it, and the two bodies, in their coffins, were tied to ſtakes and conſumed to aſhes [k]. At Oxford, Peter Martyr's wife was dug out of her grave by order of the legate, and buried in a dunghill, becauſe, having been a nun, ſhe had broke her vow. At firſt a proceſs was intended againſt her as an heretic. But as ſhe had never learned to ſpeak Engliſh, no witneſs could be produced to ſwear he had ever heard her utter any hereſy. If all had been thus dug up who might have been preſumed to die heretics ſince the reformation, there would have been work enough. In all apppearance, the ſuffering Peter Martyr to go out of the kingdom was heartily repented. If the body of his wife was thus treated, what muſt he have expected, had he been ſtill in the hands of his perſecutors [l]?

The violences hitherto acted, upon both the dead and the living, had a quite contrary effect to what the queen had imagined. The eccleſiaſtics only continued their rage; but the magiſtrates began to relax, and ſcrupled to be the inſtruments of theſe barbarities. The council, being informed of it, wrote circular letters to all the towns, to inflame their zeal in the perſecution of heretics. But theſe letters produced no great effect.

The queen, and her miniſters, enraged to hear from all parts that the number of the proteſtants encreaſed rather than leſſened, reſolved, as ſome have aſſured, to erect an inquiſition in England, like that in Spain. To that end, a commiſſion was granted the laſt year, empowering twenty-one commiſſioners [m] to ſit upon trials of hereſy, with a power ſo unlimited, that no other rules were preſcribed than their diſcretion, nor any perſon whatever exempted from their juriſdiction. This was followed by a perſecution, in which ſeventy-nine proteſtants periſhed.

While theſe things paſſed in England, the duke of Guiſe arrived in Italy, with the army deſigned for the conqueſt of Naples. He ſtayed ſome time at Rome, where he found nothing ready of what the pope had promiſed. Nevertheleſs he entered the kingdom of Naples in April, where he performed no great exploits. Shortly after, he was recalled by the pope to the relief of Rome, cloſely blocked up by the duke of Alva.

On the other hand, Philip, finding the French had broken the truce, reſolved to exert his utmoſt to eſtabliſh his reputation in the beginning of his reign. He raiſed for that purpoſe an army of fifty thouſand men, who were to act in Picardy; and, to make himſelf the more formidable, tried all ways to gain the queen to his intereſts, notwithſtanding the agreement in their marriage-articles, and his oath to give no occaſion of rupture between England and France. His creatures about Mary perpetually inſinuated to her, that ſhe was ill treated by the king of France; who, not content with receiving the Engliſh fugitives that retired into his dominions, had even given penſions to ſeveral. Theſe inſinuations began to operate on the queen. But, to put her quite out of humour with Henry, an artifice was uſed, which ſucceeded according to the deſires of thoſe who contrived it, probably to do Philip ſervice. Dr. Wotton, the Engliſh embaſſador in France, ſent for one of his nephews to Paris, and gave him proper inſtructions to accompliſh the project. This young man, applying himſelf to one of the king's gentlemen, deſired a private audience of the king, ſaying, he had an affair of great conſequence to communicate to his majeſty. The king, refuſing to ſee him, ordered him to apply to the conſtable of Montmorency. Wotton, in his conference with the conſtable, told him, he was ſent by the inhabitants of Calais, who were generally proteſtants, and deſirous to put themſelves into the hands of the French king, provided they might have liberty to profeſs their religion. The conſtable, liſtening to this propoſition, bid him explain how it might be effected; and, liking the project, told Wotton to come to him again and talk of the affair. But Wotton [n], inſtead of returning to the conſtable, croſſed the ſeas back into England, and made his report to the queen and her miniſters of what paſſed at Paris. Whereupon the queen thought the king of France was no longer to be regarded, ſince, in the midſt of peace, he was forming projects to ſurpriſe Calais. It appears, that in February ſhe had reſolved upon a rupture with France [o], ſince, by an order of the 19th of the ſame month, commiſſioners were ſent to the ſheriffs and juſtices of peace to levy forces, and have them in readineſs to march upon the firſt notice. Shortly after, another affair happened, which furniſhed her with the deſired pretence to declare war with France.

One Stafford [p], having ſecretly obtained aſſiſtance from the court of France, aſſembled ſome Engliſh fugitives, and, embarking them, landed them in Scotland, towards the end of April, and marched directly to Scarborough, where he ſeized the caſtle, and publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the queen, pretending ſhe had forfeited all her right to the crown by introducing Spaniards into the kingdom. He had even the boldneſs to aſſume the title of protector of England. But the earl of Weſtmoreland, aſſembling ſome troops in the north, re-took Scarborough, and made Stafford priſoner, with three of his accomplices [q].

King Philip arrived the 20th of March [r] in England, where eight thouſand men were ready to paſs into the Low Countries. Shortly after his arrival, the queen ſent a herald to declare war againſt France. The 17th of June, the eight thouſand Engliſh [s] under the conduct of the earl of Pembroke, left England, and joined the Spaniſh army commanded by the duke of Savoy; after which Philip himſelf departed in July [t], to return to Bruſſels.

The duke of Savoy, having made a feint for a month to attack ſeveral places in Picardy, fell ſuddenly upon St. Quintin [u], which was in ill condition, and had only a garriſon of three hundred men. All that the conſtable, who commanded the French army, could do, was to detach his nephew, admiral Chatillon, with three thouſand men, to throw himſelf into the town. The admiral ſucceeded in part, having got in the night through the quarters of the beſiegers. But inſtead of three thouſand, only ſeven hundred followed him, the reſt having loſt their way. With this reinforcement he made a gallant defence, in hopes that the conſtable, though much

[k] February 6. Burnet, p. 345.

[l] About the beginning of this year, came an embaſſy to England, from Evan Baſilowitz, emperor of Ruſſia, to ſettle a trade between that empire and England. See Stow, p. 629.——Three Engliſh ſhips having firſt, in the year 1553, ſailed to Ruſſia, under the conduct of ſir Henry Willoughby, in order to ſettle a trade in that country, in the year 1555, queen Mary incorporated the merchant adventurers to theſe parts into a company, conſiſting of four conſuls, and twenty-four aſſiſtants; and Sebaſtian Cabot, born in Briſtol, of Genoeſe parents, was conſtituted the firſt governor, being the chief encourager of this branch of trade. Hackluyt, vol. I.

[m] Theſe were, Bonner, biſhop of London; and Thirleby, of Ely; the lords Windſor and North; ſecretary Bourne, ſir John Mordant, ſir Francis Englefield, ſir Edward Walgrave, ſir Nicholas Hare, ſir Thomas Pope, ſir Roger Cholmley, ſir Richard Read, ſir Thomas Stradling, ſir Rowland Hill, ſergeant Raſtall, Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's; William Roper, and Randulph Cholmley, eſqrs. William Cook; Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of law. Burnet, tom. II. p. 347.

[n] That is, doctor Wotton's nephew.

[o] War was proclaimed in England againſt that kingdom, June 7. Stow, p. 641.

[p] Thomas Stafford, ſecond ſon of the lord Stafford. Hollingſhead, p. 1133.

[q] He was executed at London, May 28. Godwin, p. 354.

[r] Stow ſays, it was March 18, p. 630.

[s] Godwin ſays, there was one thouſand horſe, four thouſand foot, and two thouſand pioneers. Godwin, p. 355. So Stow, p. 631. Anthony Browne, viſcount Montacute, was lieutenant general; the lord Grey, of Wilton, lord marſhal; the earl of Rutland, general of the horſe; Edward, lord Clinton, colonel of the foot. The names of the other perſons of diſtinction in this army, ſee in Hollingſh. p. 1133.

[t] July 7. Godwin, p. 355.

[u] With an army of thirty-five thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, beſides the Engliſh troops. Ibid.

weaker than the enemy, would uſe all poſſible endeavours to relieve him; and indeed nothing was neglected by the conſtable. He was even ſo ſucceſsful as to throw Andelot, brother of the admiral, into the place, with five hundred men. But, in his return, after his ſucceſs, he was attacked by the duke of Savoy, who routed his army, killed two thouſand five hundred of his men, and took him priſoner. In this battle, called the battle of St. Laurence (becauſe fought on the 10th of Auguſt, the day dedicated to that ſaint), France loſt a great number of princes and noblemen, killed or made priſoners [w]. The conſternation was ſo great, that if the duke of Savoy had marched directly to Paris, it was believed nothing could have prevented his entrance. But, inſtead of that, he drew back to his lines, and eight days after, carried the town by ſtorm [x], and took the admiral priſoner on the breach. All France exclaimed againſt the pope, who had occaſioned the rupture. But the blow was ſtruck. The king of France's laſt reſource was to call the duke of Guiſe out of Italy, where he was making no great progreſs.

When the pope heard the queen of England had declared war againſt France, he was ſo angry with Pole, as if he could have hindered it, that he recalled all his legates [y], including Pole in the number; but Karne, the Engliſh embaſſador, remonſtrated to him, by ſome cardinals, the miſchiefs which from thence might enſue to religion. At laſt, after many ſolicitations and remonſtrances, the pope, without revoking his order, promiſed only it ſhould not be notified to Pole, and told the embaſſador he was inclined to continue the cardinal in his legation, if the queen ſhould deſire it. This was before the battle of St. Laurence. But, when the news of the loſs of that battle, and the recalling of the duke of Guiſe, were brought to him, he was again extremely incenſed againſt Pole, and reſolved to ſacrifice him to his revenge. For that purpoſe he ſent for Peyto, the queen's confeſſor, to Rome, and, creating him cardinal, put into his hands the bull of Pole's revocation, and appointed him for his legate in England. But the queen, being informed of it, wrote to Peyto, who was on his return, that if he offered to ſet foot in England, ſhe would bring him within the Præmunire. The letter ſtopt his journey [z]. Mean while, though the pope's brief was not delivered to him, Pole abſtained from the functions of his legateſhip, being unwilling to give the haughty pontiff a plauſible pretence of complaint, who had long hated him.

When the duke of Guiſe had quitted Italy, the pope, unable to defend himſelf againſt the duke of Alva, who was near Rome, made a peace with Spain, and left France in the lurch [a]. By a ſecret article of the treaty, Pole was reſtored to his office of legate.

Mean time, Henry being recovered from his conſternation by Philip's not improving his advantages, the duke of Guiſe had time to come to his aſſiſtance, and was immediately conſtituted his lieutenant general. On the other hand, Henry ſolicited the queen-regent of Scotland to break the peace with England, and that princeſs was as ready to oblige him. But ſhe had a powerful party againſt her, which was for preſerving the peace. Wherefore, as ſhe could not bring the ſtates to the reſolution ſhe deſired, ſhe took another courſe to accompliſh her deſign. She fortified Aymouth, contrary to an expreſs article of the treaty lately concluded with England; and thereby engaged the Engliſh to oppoſe it with force. This produced indeed a breach between the two nations [b]; and the Scotch army, under the conduct of d'Oyſel, even entered the frontiers of England. But the ſtates, ſtill hoping to repair the breach made in the peace without their conſent, required d'Oyſel, by an expreſs order, to return, which he was forced to obey. The regent, ſeeing how low her authority was, preſſed the court of France to haſten the marriage of the queen her daughter with the dauphin; to the end that prince, being in poſſeſſion of Scotland, might be more maſter of its forces and counſels. Henry, improving this advice, immediately ſent embaſſadors into Scotland to ſettle with the ſtates the marriage articles [c].

The war which was preparing in Scotland, and that already begun in France, greatly embarraſſed the queen, becauſe ſhe wanted money. She tried to raiſe money by way of loans, but without ſucceſs. She was therefore obliged to call a parliament for the 20th of January, though with regret, becauſe ſhe feared that, to obtain a ſupply, ſhe ſhould be forced to remit her ſeverities againſt the proteſtants.

About the end of the year, Philip gave notice to the queen of a deſign forming by the court of France upon Calais, and made her an offer of his forces to ſtrengthen the garriſon, which he knew to be weak. This advice, being laid before the council, was ſuſpected to be an artifice of Philip, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of Calais, on pretence of reinforcing the garriſon. This, though a bare ſuſpicion, was not entirely improbable. Mean while, the counſellors, as if it had been a moſt evident truth, could not believe that France had any intention to beſiege the town, though it was not provided with the fourth part of the neceſſary troops and ammunition. It ſeemed, that the ſole reputation of the town was to be its ſecurity. So the advice was neglected, and nothing done for its relief, though the governor, William lord Wentworth, was not wanting in his ſolicitations [d].

Nothing leſs was to be expected from a council compoſed chiefly of eccleſiaſtics, who were only intent upon the ruin of the proteſtants. After ſo ſhameful a neglect of providing for the ſafety of Calais, the queen and her miniſters were in the utmoſt conſternation, upon the news that the town was actually loſt [e]. The duke of Guiſe beſieged it the 1ſt of January, and, carrying the fort called Newnambridge [f], which commanded the avenues from the land, and alſo the Riſbank, which commanded the harbour [g], obliged the governor to capitulate the ſeventh day of the ſiege. After he was maſter of the place, he ordered all the Engliſh to depart, as Edward III. had expelled the French two hundred and ten years before. Then he ſat down before Guiſnes, commanded by lord Grey [h], with a garriſon of eleven hundred men. But the garriſon was ſo diſcouraged by the loſs of Calais, that, on the firſt attack, they quitted the town, and retired into the citadel. Mean while, the Engliſh governor, perceiving the French were fallen to plundering, made a ſally and beat them out of the town; but, deſpairing to keep it, ſet it on fire, and retired. Soon after, the French cloſely inveſted the citadel, and, in an aſſault, the garriſon loſt three hundred men. After that, the governor, ſeeing no poſſibility of a longer reſiſtance, ſurrendered himſelf priſoner of war, with his whole garriſon. The caſtle of Hames, ſituated in an almoſt inacceſſible marſh, might have made ſome reſiſtance; but the garriſon fled, and left it to the French. Thus, in the middle of winter, and in leſs than fifteen days, the Engliſh loſt all the remains of their antient conqueſts in France by the incapacity of a queen, whoſe thoughts were wholly engroſſed by one affair, as if the deſtruction of the proteſtants had alone merited her application, and by the negligence, if it deſerves no worſe name, of her council. Such was the fruit England reaped from her alliance with Spain, notwithſtanding all Gardiner's care to prevent a mixture of intereſts between the two crowns. The nonperformance of this article ſhews, how the reſt would have been obſerved, if Philip, had he had any children by the queen, could have introduced himſelf, as their guardian, into the government of the kingdom.

The loſs of Calais made great noiſe in England. The proteſtants took occaſion to arraign the government, and the creatures of the court were ſo confounded, that they durſt not open their mouths in juſtification of the miniſtry. Some accuſed them of treaſon, others of incapacity, and their moſt zealous adherents could not but own their negligence. The two governors of Calais [i] and Guiſnes were the moſt unhappy. Beſides the loſs of their reputation, the miniſters, to inſinuate

[w] See their names in Thuanus, l. xix.

[x] On Auguſt 27. Hollingſh. p. 1134.

[y] In May. Burnet, p. 352.

[z] It ſeems he was then in England; it was the bulls that were ſtopt at Calais. See Burnet, tom. III. p. 411. Collect.

[a] The duke of Alva was forced to come to Rome, and, on his knees, to beg pardon for invading the patrimony of the church; which he condeſcended to do. Burnet, p. 354.

[b] But queen Mary endeavoured to adjuſt all differences, by appointing Henry Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland; Cuthbert, biſhop of Durham; and Dr. Hanmer and Martin, to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſioners. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 437, 464.

[c] This year, on July 15, died at Chelſea, Ann of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII. and was buried at Weſtminſter, Auguſt 3. Stow, p. 631. April 30, Thomas Percy was created baron Percy, and May 1, earl of Northumberland. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 461, 462.—This year there was ſo great a dearth, that wheat was ſold at 2l. 13s. 4d. the quarter; malt, 2l. 4s. peaſe, 2l. 6s. 8d. But the next harveſt proving plentiful, wheat came to be ſold at 5s. malt, 6s. 8d. and rye, 3s. 4d. a quarter. Stow, p. 631.

[d] The council of England had raiſed numerous forces to go to the relief of that place; but they were detained at Dover, either for want of tranſport ſhips, or elſe by a ſtorm which happened at that time, and was ſo violent, that the like had not been known many years before. Stow, p. 632. Hollingſh. p. 1136.

[e] The Engliſh garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred men, and there were not above two hundred of the townſmen that could be ſerviceable in a ſiege. The whole number of the inhabitants amounted to about four thouſand two hundred perſons. Stow, p. 632.

[f] He divided his army into two bodies, and with one attacked Newnambridge, and with the other the Riſbank, at the ſame time. Godwin, p. 356.

[g] The town being thus ſhut up, the French next drew the water out of its current, by which the ditches about the town and caſtle were drained; and, having contrived ways for their ſoldiers to paſs over the mire, without ſinking in, they made the aſſault, after having opened a great breach by their cannon. Burnet, tom. II. p. 357.

[h] Of Wilton. Stow.

[i] The lord Wentworth was tried by his peers, April 2, 1559, on a ſuſpicion of cowardice or treachery, in the ſurrender of this town, and was acquitted. Stow, p. 638.

She

to the people that theſe places were loſt by their fault, ſuffered them to remain priſoners, and no care was taken for their releaſe. But no one had a more lively ſenſe of the loſs than the queen [k]. She perfectly knew the value of Calais after it was taken, which rendered England always formidable to France, becauſe the Engliſh could in twenty-four hours, land great armies in that kingdom. The greatneſs of the loſs has ſince been ſtill more ſenſibly felt. From that time, France, except when diſtracted with civil wars, no more ſhewed for England that regard, ſhe was before forced to pay.

Immediately after the taking of Calais, Philip ſtrongly preſſed the queen to make a vigorous effort to recover it, before France had time to repair and fortify it. But it was not poſſible for the miniſters to find means to execute ſuch an undertaking. Upon a computation of the neceſſary expence for the fleet and army, it was judged dangerous, conſidering the general diſcontent, to load the people with ſo great a burden, even though the parliament could be brought to a compliance [l]. This was ſent to Philip in a letter of thanks for his advice and offers. But beſides that reaſon, there was another of great weight, namely, the fears of the miniſtry, the council, and the queen herſelf, that the ſiege of Calais would oblige them to interrupt the perſecution. So, in the belief that one year more would ſuffice to deſtroy the reformation and the reformed, they judged it proper to defer the ſiege of Calais till a more convenient ſeaſon.

The parliament [m], which met the 20th of January, did nothing conſiderable beſides granting a ſubſidy to the queen, after the clergy had led the way [n]. The houſe of commons was filled with perpetual complaints, that by the pernicious counſels of the miniſters, the queen had exhauſted her treaſury, by the reſtitution of the church-lands and the new foundations of the monaſteries.

This affair being finiſhed, the friends of the court brought in a bill to confirm all the queen's letters patents, without explaining themſelves farther. This was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by one of the members, who urged, that a power ſo unlimited would put the kingdom in danger, and the queen in a capacity to diſpoſe of the crown from the right heirs. The commons were offended with theſe inſinuations againſt the queen, and ſent the member to priſon [o]. But though the queen ſeemed pleaſed with the zeal of the commons for her reputation, ſhe clearly ſaw how far they were from any thoughts to deprive the princeſs Elizabeth of the crown. It is not known what was the intent of ſo general a confirmation: but it is likely, the authors had ſome view diſadvantageous to Elizabeth.

In this ſeſſion, Ambroſe and Robert Dudley, ſons of the late duke of Northumberland, were reſtored in blood. Henry their brother loſt his life at the ſiege of St. Quintin. After that, the parliament was prorogued from the 7th of March to the 7th of November.

In April this year, the dauphin at laſt married Mary the young queen of Scots [p]. After many difficulties the ſtates of Scotland granted the dauphin the title of king of Scotland, upon a ſolemn promiſe from his father, that he ſhould content himſelf with the bare title, and not concern himſelf in the government of the kingdom.

The princeſs Elizabeth was now in more danger than ever. The queen ſenſibly declined in her health. She had not been well managed during her pretended pregnancy, becauſe having committed herſelf to the care of women who only flattered her, ſhe had neglected to conſult the phyſicians, who might have prevented the conſequences of that accident. From that time ſhe never enjoyed a ſound health. She was naturally melancholy, and this temper was encreaſed by her many mortifications in the two former reigns. Afterwards the diſguſt of the king her huſband, of which ſhe was but too ſenſible, ſtill augmented her melancholy; and the loſs of Calais brought her to ſuch a ſtate, that ſhe could bear the ſight but of very few perſons. The body ſympathized with the mind, and ſhe felt herſelf grow daily weaker. In this condition, ſhe was troubled with the ſame reflexions on her ſiſter Elizabeth's account, that had before diſturbed Edward on her's, namely, that after her death, what ſhe had with ſo much pains eſtabliſhed, would be infallibly overturned. The biſhops were ſtrongly perſuaded of this. They were not ignorant that Elizabeth, whatever pains ſhe took to conceal it, was a proteſtant in her heart, and even induced to be ſo from her temporal intereſt. Hence ſome were perpetually inſinuating to the queen, the neceſſity of putting her out of the way. Gardiner had been of this opinion, and frequently ſaid, it was in vain to lop off the branches while the tree was ſuffered to ſtand. It is aſtoniſhing this advice had never been followed! The queen was a bigot to the laſt degree. It gave her no remorſe to ſpill human blood, when religion was the pretence. So, in all appearance, ſhe would not have ſpared a ſiſter, whom ſhe conſidered as a baſtard, had not God ſuffered the politics of Philip to prevail over the zeal of the queen his ſpouſe. For at the very time I am ſpeaking of, when the ſpirit of perſecution rendered men deaf to reaſon, juſtice, and humanity, to what can be aſcribed, but to the particular protection of heaven, the preſervation of this princeſs, whom ſo many reaſons demanded as a ſacrifice to the Romiſh religion? But God, who has ſet bounds to the ſea, reſtrains alſo the fury of perſecutors, and prevents them from maſſacring thoſe whom he has reſerved for the peace of his church. However, Elizabeth was, contrary to all probability, preſerved through Mary's whole reign, and particularly in the latter part of it, when ſhe appeared to be moſt in danger.

Some time after the prorogation of the parliament, the king of Sweden ſent a gentleman to Elizabeth, to inform her of his deſign to demand her in marriage, and to deſire her conſent [q]. The meſſenger deſiring a private audience, ſhe would not grant it, without firſt knowing his meſſage. After ſhe was informed, ſhe ſent him a poſitive anſwer, that ſhe would receive no ſuch propoſal, but by the queen's direction. The meſſenger replied, his maſter acted like a lover, who would not eſpouſe a princeſs, without being firſt ſure of her conſent, by which he teſtified his eſteem for her; but when ſhe had once allowed his addreſſes, he would then as a king demand her by his embaſſador. But this was not capable to make her alter her reſolution. On the contrary, ſhe ſignified to him, that the king of Sweden would oblige her, in thinking no more of her. This anſwer, one would think, ſhould have ſatisfied the Swediſh embaſſador, then arrived in London, ſince the king their maſter reſolved not to marry Elizabeth without her conſent, and yet they propoſed the marriage to the queen. This gives occaſion to ſuſpect, that the Swediſh gentleman who deſired a private audience of the princeſs, had not received his commiſſion immediately from the king his maſter, but from the embaſſadors, and that the queen's miniſters had induced them to ſound the princeſs, in order to draw her into a ſnare. However, preſently after, the queen ordered her to be told [r], that ſhe was pleaſed with her anſwer to the Swediſh gentleman: that the embaſſadors had in their king's name demanded her in marriage, in which ſhe deſired to know her mind. Elizabeth anſwered, ſhe was content with her condition; and that, if the queen would allow her to purſue her own inclination, ſhe proteſted, a ſingle life was to her preferable to a marriage with the greateſt prince in the world. Thus the affair proceeded no farther.

The loſs of Calais, and the ſeſſion of the parliament, had given ſome reſpite to the proteſtants. But in the end of March, the perſecution was renewed with greater fury than ever. The queen herſelf, exceeding her prerogative, publiſhed a proclamation, "That whoever had any heretical books, and did not preſently burn them without reading, ſhould be eſteemed rebels, and executed without delay by

[k] She was ſo affected with it, that ſhe abandoned herſelf to deſpair; and told thoſe about her, ſhe ſhould die, though they were yet ſtrangers to the cauſe of her death; but if they would know it hereafter, they muſt diſſect her, and they ſhould find Calais at her heart. Godwin, p. 358.

[l] The computation they made was thus: there could not be ſent, to any purpoſe, under twenty thouſand men; the pay of them for ſix months would riſe to 170,000l. Garriſons, and an army againſt the Scots, and ſecuring the coaſt againſt the French, would come to 150,000l. The ſetting out of a fleet, and an army by ſea, would amount to 200,000l. There was alſo great want of ammunition and ordnance. All this would riſe to 520,000l. Burnet, tom. II. p. 359.

[m] In this parliament the abbot of Weſtminſter, lately re-edified into a monaſtery, and the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem, had their writs, and ſat in it. Journ. Parl.

[n] The clergy (of the province of Canterbury only) gave eight ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in four years. And the laity granted a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. The ſubſidy was four ſhillings in the pound of lands (eight ſhillings of ſtrangers), and two ſhillings and eight pence of goods from every perſon worth five pounds, to be paid before June 24. Journ. Parl.—In this parliament it was enacted, That if any perſon carries away a young woman, under ſixteen years of age, without the conſent of her parents or guardians, he ſhall ſuffer two years impriſonment; and if any one marries a woman under that age, he ſhall ſuffer five years impriſonment.

[o] This member's name was ——— Copley, repreſentative for ———. His words, as ſet down in the Journals of the houſe of commons, were, "That he feared the queen might thereby give away the crown from the right inheritor." For this, he was committed to the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, but afterwards releaſed at the deſire of the houſe, who pleaded his youth as an excuſe.

[p] They were married April 28. Buchanan wrote an epithalamium upon this marriage, which was one of the perfecteſt pieces of Latin poetry.

[q] King Philip had once deſigned to marry her to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy; but the hopes of having children by the queen vaniſhing, he intended to reſerve her for himſelf. Burnet, tom. II. p. 361.

[r] By ſir Thomas Pope, in April. Burnet, tom. II. p. 361.

Sir

the martial law." On the other hand, ſhe expreſly forbid to pray for thoſe who were executed, or even to ſay, God help them. This cauſed the author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation judiciouſly to remark, that "it was not ſo much the converſion as the deſtruction of thoſe they called heretics, that the biſhops deſired." A convincing proof of this was ſeen ſhort after. One Benbridge being tied to the ſtake, through the violence of the flames, cried out, "I recant." Whereupon the ſheriff [s] ordered the fire to be extinguiſhed, and the ſufferer ſigned an abjuration dictated to him. But ſoon after he received an order from court to burn the condemned perſon, and come himſelf to London, where he was committed to priſon. The fury of the perſecutors was ſo extreme, that though they were going to loſe the queen, they ceaſed not theſe ſeverities. About a week before her death, five perſons were burnt at Canterbury, and in this laſt year of her reign, thirty-nine proteſtants ſuffered martyrdom in ſeveral places. Authors are not agreed concerning the number of thoſe who died in flames during Mary's reign. Thoſe who ſay the leaſt, reckon two hundred and eighty-four; but others affirm, that in the two firſt years of the perſecution, which began in 1555, eight hundred were put to death [t].

While theſe tragedies were acting in different places of the kingdom, the queen, who was deeply affected with the loſs of Calais, was willing to make one effort to repair it. Philip had adviſed to try to ſeize Breſt. For that purpoſe, ſhe put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſhips [u], commanded by the lord Clinton [w], who landed at Conqueſt, and burnt that ſmall town; but the country riſing upon the Engliſh, obliged them to retire to their ſhips, with the loſs of ſix hundred of their men [x]. The whole country being in arms to oppoſe a ſecond deſcent, and freſh troops daily arriving in theſe parts, the Engliſh admiral, who had only ſeven thouſand men, thought it not proper to engage in any new action, and returned. Such was the benefit the queen reaped from this expenſive armament. She was now ſenſible, that the continuation of the war would procure her no advantage, and readily conſented to a negotiation then propoſed for a peace between France, England, and Spain. Cambray was the place appointed for the congreſs, which was opened in October [y].

The parliament meeting the 5th of November, the queen demanded aſſiſtance to continue the war, in caſe the negotiation ſhould miſcarry. The houſe of commons was ſo little inclined to grant her requeſt, that ſhe was obliged to ſend the chancellor and ten other lords to lay the ill ſtate of her affairs before them, and pray them to haſten the neceſſary ſupplies. This ſolicitation producing ſome effect, the commons debated, that and the two following days, upon a ſubſidy. But the queen's death put an end to the conſultations.

She had been ſome time afflicted with the dropſy, which being much encreaſed the beginning of November, carried her off the 17th of the ſame month, in the 43d year of her age, after a reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Cardinal Pole followed her within ſixteen hours. He was a prelate of a ſweet and moderate temper, who would have been glad to bring back, by fair and lawful means, the Engliſh to their antient belief, but approved not the methods of fire and ſword. This gave his enemies room to repreſent him as a little inclined to the proteſtant religion, or at leaſt, as one of too tender a diſpoſition for that time. Neither the queen, nor Philip, nor the pope, nor Gardiner, nor the biſhops ſubſtituted in the place of the ejected proteſtant biſhops, were perſons to be guided by his moderate maxims. Accordingly, Pole was never conſulted on religion, though, in all other affairs, the queen placed a great confidence in him. Pope Paul IV. was his ſworn enemy. It was he who by his ſlanders prevented his aſcending the papal throne on the death of Paul III. though he was elected in the conclave. From that time, believing Pole could not forgive him ſuch an injury, he never ceaſed doing him ill offices. And when he was himſelf pope, he often gave him marks of his enmity. It is even pretended, that when he recalled him from his legation, to put Peyto in his room, he intended to puniſh him ſeverely for having been too gentle to the proteſtants. But Philip and Mary took him into their protection [z].

The exceſſive bigotry of queen Mary is evident from the hiſtory of her reign. To this ſhe joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which ſhe endeavoured to confound with a zeal for religion. But when it was not poſſible to unite them, ſhe plainly ſhewed, ſhe was inclined to cruelty as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this diſpoſition by all who approached her. King Philip was naturally moroſe. Gardiner was one of the moſt revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other biſhops were choſen from amongſt the moſt cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the epiſcopal dignity. The perſecution therefore againſt the proteſtants in this reign has nothing which ought to ſeem ſtrange. Dr. Burnet ſays, Mary had a generous diſpoſition of mind. It were to be wiſhed, he had given us ſome paſſages of her life, where this generoſity appeared. For my part, I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spaniſh embaſſador's project, to make herſelf abſolute at the expence of the laws and liberties of the nation. She diſcovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loſs of Calais, though there was not ſomething more odious, would be an everlaſting blot upon her reign [a].

BY an indenture of the firſt of queen Mary, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into thirty-ſix pounds; and a pound weight of ſilver, eleven ounces fine, was coined into three pounds by tale.

The gold coins of this queen, are, Sovereigns at 30s. Half-Sovereigns at 15s. Angels at 10s. and Half-Angels at 5s. a piece.——The money before her marriage has her Head half-faced, crowned, MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGI. Reverſe, the Arms of France and England quartered, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. (Fig. 1.) Thoſe after her marriage have only her head as before, but her Huſband's Name in the legend, PHILIP. Z. MARIA. D. G. REX. Z. REGINA. Reverſe, POSVIMUS. DEUM. ADIVTO. NOS. ——— Her Sovereign (called by Mr. Evelyn, a Ryal, and which he ſays, was ſcattered at her coronation), has, on one ſide, the Queen in her Robes, with Crown, Scepter and Ball, ſitting upon her Throne; at her

[s] Sir Richard Pexall, ſheriff of Hampſhire. Fox. tom. III.

[t] According to Fox's account, and biſhop Burnet's calculation, there were two hundred and eighty-four burnt in all. A paper found among the lord Burghley's MSS. makes the number of thoſe that were burnt to be two hundred and ninety. The ſame lord Burghley, in a treatiſe wrote in the year 1583, reckoneth up the number of thoſe that died in that reign, by impriſonment, torments, fire, and famine, to be near four hundred. But the author of the preface to biſhop Ridley's book De Caena Domini, who, according to Bale (de Script. p. 684, 731), was William Wittingham, affirms, that in the two firſt years of the queen's perſecution, there were above eight hundred put to the moſt cruel kinds of death for religion. The reaſon of this diverſity may be, that no exact liſt was kept at the time of the perſons committed to the flames, but the accounts of them were afterwards gathered by ſeveral perſons, according to the beſt intelligence they could receive from their friends, throughout the ſeveral parts of the kingdom. However this be, it is generally acknowledged, that there were burnt five biſhops, one and twenty divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, one hundred huſbandmen, ſervants, and labourers, twenty-ſix wives, twenty widows, nine virgins, two boys, and two infants. Sixty-four more were perſecuted for their religion: whereof ſeven were whipped, ſixteen periſhed in priſon, and twelve were buried in dunghills. It is obſervable, that the perſecution raged moſt in Bonner's dioceſs, and in Kent. For, as Heylin reckons it, in all the province of York, there was but one brought to the ſtake; and but three in the four Welſh dioceſſes. In thoſe of Exeter, Wells, Peterborough, and Lincoln, there is mention but of one a-piece; of two in that of Ely, and of no more than three a-piece at Briſtol and Saliſbury: in thoſe of Oxford, Gloceſter, Worceſter, and Hereford, none at all. And now, not to let ſuch helliſh and bloody doings paſs without ſome reflection, I ſhall obſerve with Mr. Collier, that, "to deſtroy people for points of mere ſpeculation, and which have no ill effect on practice and civil government, ſeems very remote from the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. Suppoſing truth on the perſecuting ſide, yet to burn a man becauſe he will not belie his conſcience, and turn hypocrite, is ſtrangely unaccountable. Men cannot believe what they pleaſe: their underſtandings are not all of a ſize. Things do not ſtand in the ſame light, and ſtrike with the ſame force on every body. Beſides, if the Roman catholics believed the reformed ſuch notorious heretics, if they believed they would be ſo ill received in the other world, why did they not uſe them gentlier in this? Why did they hurry them to eternal deſtruction before their time?" We may juſtly affirm, that ſuch wiſdom as this, did not proceed from above, but was earthly, ſenſual, and deviliſh. Collier Eccl. Hiſt. tom. II. p. 397. Burnet, tom. II. p. 364. Strype's Mem. tom. III. p. 473, &c. and Catalog. p. 291, &c. Speed, p. 826. Heylin, p. 226.

[u] Godwin ſays, one hundred and forty; and about the end of July, p. 357.

[w] Edward Fynes, lord Clinton and Saye. Rymer.

[x] Moſtly Flemings, who were too greedy of plunder. Stow, p. 634.

[y] The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were the earl of Arundel, the biſhop of Ely, and dean Wotton. Burnet, tom. III. p. 265.

[z] Pole was buried at Canterbury.

[a] Nath. Bacon concludes her character with ſaying, "The worſt that can be ſaid of her, is this, that ſhe was ill-principled: and the beſt, that ſhe acted according to her principles: and ſo lived an uncomfortable life, ſhaped a bloody reign, and had but a dim concluſion." P. 151.

Biſhop's

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London. Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England.

ELIZABETH
Queen of England, France,
and Ireland, &c. &c.

T. Woodman & H. Mutlow fecit

HONI · SOIT · QUI · MAL · Y · PENSE

DIEU ET MON DROIT

Published as the Act directs, March 25, 1784.

feet a Portcullice, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. MDLIII. Reverſe, a large full-blown Roſe, filling up the Space, with the Arms of France and England, quartered in the Center, A. DNO. FACIV. EST. ISTVD. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS. The Angel is on the Reverſe, the Queen's Arms in a Ship, with a Croſs for the Maſt, and the Star and Letter M. on each ſide, inſcribed, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. Camden mentions a Crown of Gold of this Queen, whereon was, MVNDI. SALVS. VINICA.—The Silver Monies of Queen Mary are, Shillings, Six-pences, and Groats; to which biſhop Nicholſon adds, Half Groats, and Pennies: but Thoreſby ſays, he never ſaw or heard of any of theſe laſt. Upon the Shillings of Philip and Mary are both their heads facing each other, under a Crown, PHILIP. ET. MARIA. D. GR. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP. 1554. Reverſe, the Arms of Spain and the Queen's, impaled, crowned, and XII. POSVIMVS, &c. There is another ſort of theſe Shillings, wanting the Date. (See Fig. 2.) Another, PHILIP. ET MARIA. D. G. REX. ET. REGINA. ANG. Reverſe, as the former. The emperor Charles V. reſigning Spain to his ſon Philip in 1555, occaſioned an alteration in Philip's ſtyle, his and the Queen's title being now upon the Great Seal, "Rex & Regina, Ang. Hiſpaniar. Franc. utriuſque Sicille, &c." The Iriſh Shilling, before the Queen's marriage, gave her Head crowned, MARIA. D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a Harp betwixt M. and R. all crowned, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA. MDLIII.

THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XVII.

The Reign of Queen ELIZABETH: containing the Space of about Forty-Four Years and four Months.

23. ELIZABETH.

[1558.] THE death of Mary, though foreſeen, ſtruck the counſellors and miniſters with aſtoniſhment. They were all of the prevailing religion, and had adviſed, or at leaſt approved, the perſecution which the proteſtants lately groaned under; and now, in all likelihood, the proteſtants were going, in their turn, to govern. Mary's death was therefore concealed for ſome hours, to give time to conſult what was to be done. But, as the parliament was ſitting, it was not in their power to decide any thing concerning the ſucceſſion, eſpecially as it was clearly ſettled by the will of Henry VIII. authoriſed by an act of parliament which had never been repealed. Their conſultation therefore ended only in a meſſage, to inform the parliament of the queen's death. This was all that could be done on the occaſion. The news was firſt communicated to the houſe of lords, who immediately conſidered the rights of the perſons who might pretend to the crown. If the affair had been left to the deciſion of the civil or common law, there would have been no ſmall difficulty, ſo much had Henry perplexed it by his divorces, and by contradictory acts of parliament. But in England, the parliament, which includes the king, lords, and commons, is the ſupreme legiſlator; and, when force does not interpoſe, the validity of its laws are unqueſtionable. Henry VIII. obtained an act, empowering him to ſettle the line of ſucceſſion as he ſhould think proper. He placed Elizabeth next to her ſiſter Mary, though both had been declared baſtards. This ſufficed to give Elizabeth a right, which the parliament could not conteſt, ſince it was a parliamentary right, as founded in the act to empower Henry to ſettle the ſucceſſion. Beſides, every one knew the diſſolution of that prince's marriage with Anne Bullen, and the act which, in conſequence of the divorce, declared Elizabeth illegitimate, was the pure effect of the king's caprice, and of the compliance rather than juſtice of the parliament. But though the lords ſhould have thought to exclude Elizabeth from the ſucceſſion, on what other perſon could they have fixed, without expoſing the kingdom to great danger? It will be proper briefly to explain this, as a thing very requiſite to the ſequel of this reign.

Upon Mary's death, three princeſſes could pretend to the crown, namely, Elizabeth, ſiſter of the late queen; Mary, queen of Scotland, grand-daughter to Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. and Frances, ducheſs of Suffolk, daughter of Mary, younger ſiſter of the ſame prince. Elizabeth ſupported her right upon the will of the king her father, authoriſed by act of parliament. Mary could object, that Elizabeth had been declared a baſtard by an act ſtill unrepealed: that no baſtard had ever aſcended the throne of England: that the laws of the country gave baſtards no ſhare in the inheritance of their fathers, and conſequently the ſucceſſion was devolved to the poſterity of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. It could be alleged for the ducheſs of Suffolk, that Elizabeth being a baſtard, and the queen of Scotland a foreigner, and not even placed in the order of ſucceſſion by the will of Henry VIII. the crown ought to fall to the poſterity of Mary, ſecond daughter of Henry VII. It is not neceſſary to examine theſe ſeveral pretenſions, becauſe, probably, the parliament, which made the deciſion, proceeded not ſo much upon the laws, as upon policy and the intereſts of the kingdom. The queen of Scotland had married the dauphin, heir apparent to the crown of France. In adjudging the crown to her, England would have been in danger of ſubjection to, or dependence on, France. This alone was ſufficient to exclude her. The ducheſs of Suffolk could not have been placed on the throne with any colour of juſtice, ſince ſhe only derived her right from the will of Henry VIII. which was equally favourable to Elizabeth. Beſides, ſuch a choice would have infallibly thrown the kingdom into a civil war. It was probaby for theſe reaſons that the houſe of lords declared for Elizabeth. It ſeems, however, that a great difficulty was to occur. All England, and particularly the houſe of lords, made profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, and it was ſcarce to be queſtioned that Elizabeth was a proteſtant in her heart. But two things, doubtleſs, conſpired to remove this obſtacle. The firſt was, that the biſhops and catholic lords were perſuaded, that Elizabeth, ſhould ſhe deſire it, would find it difficult to change the eſtabliſhed religion. They even believed her of a temper ſo complying, that ſhe would rather conform to the rites of the Romiſh religion, as ſhe had done for ſome years, than hazard the cauſing of diſturbances which might be fatal to her. If Camden's teſtimony is to be entirely credited, Elizabeth made no ſcruple to declare herſelf a catholic during the reign of her ſiſter. "The lady Elizabeth,"

(ſays this hiſtorian) "now guiding herſelf as a ſhip in tempeſtuous weather, both heard divine ſervice after the Romiſh manner, and was frequently confeſſed; and, at the preſſing inſtances and menaces of cardinal Pole, through fear of death, profeſſed herſelf a Roman catholic."

The ſecond reaſon which probably prevented the lords from inſiſting on her excluſion was, that though they all profeſſed the catholic religion, they were not however all catholics. Many, and perhaps the greateſt number, had only diſſembled their ſentiments during Mary's reign. But, being freed from all danger by her death, they could ſpeak boldly, and oppoſe thoſe who pretended to exclude Elizabeth on account of her religion; this reaſon not being of more force againſt her, than it was againſt Mary after Edward's death.

However, the houſe of lords declaring for Elizabeth, the commons were ſent for, and acquainted by the chancellor with the queen's death and their reſolution; which was readily and unanimouſly embraced. The ſame day Elizabeth was proclaimed queen at the uſual places, with the acclamations of the people. The proteſtants thanked God that he had at laſt delivered them from perſecution, in placing on the throne a princeſs who very likely would be favourable to them. It is true, that among the papiſts, ſome looked on the death of Mary, and the advancement of Elizabeth, as a mortal wound to their religion; but others were not ſorry to ſee a ſtop put to thoſe barbarities which diſhonoured it. As for thoſe who made not religion the chief object of their thoughts, they were eaſily comforted for the loſs of a queen, under whom England had not much flouriſhed, and who had loſt the only place which commanded reſpect from France. They believed to have reaſon to expect better things from the new reign.

Elizabeth being informed of the reſolution of both houſes in her favour, left Hatfield [a] the 19th of November, and came to London with a numerous train of lords and ladies [b], and an infinite crowd of people, teſtifying their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. She was twenty-five years old, tolerably handſome, of an air great, noble, and majeſtic. But ſhe was ſtill more agreeable to the people by a certain natural affability, which commanded the eſteem and affection of all who approached her. As ſhe had a large ſhare of ſenſe and judgment, ſhe knew perfectly how neceſſary the love of her people was to her, ſince it was to be the ſtrongeſt ſupport of her throne, as will hereafter appear. Wherefore, inſtead of loſing this affability in being raiſed from a ſubject to a queen, ſhe ſtudiouſly encreaſed it to ſuch a degree, that ſome accuſed her of playing the comedian, and over-acting her part.

Her firſt care, after receiving the compliments on her acceſſion, was to diſpatch embaſſadors to the principal courts of Europe, to give notice of the late change in England [c]. Lord Cobham [d] was ſent to Philip, whom ſhe eſteemed her friend, and who was moreover her ally in the war againſt France, the treaty of Cambray not being yet concluded. Sir Thomas Chaloner was ſent to the Imperial court. Lord Howard, of Effingham, was joined in commiſſion with Thirleby, biſhop of Ely, and Dr. Wotton, plenipotentiaries for negotiating a peace. Sir Henry Killigrew went to Germany, to aſſure the proteſtant princes of the queen's affection. Karne, who was ſtill at Rome, where he had been reſident ever ſince the death of Edward VI. had orders to notify to the pope, Mary's death and Elizabeth's acceſſion to the crown [e]. The kings of Sweden and Denmark had the ſame notifications.

Theſe envoys being diſpatched, the queen formed a council, in which ſhe left thirteen of Mary's counſellors, all zealous Roman catholics, to whom ſhe added eight new ones, equally attached to the proteſtant religion [f]. With ſome of theſe ſhe ſecretly conſulted about the means to reſtore the reformation in England. But before I ſpeak of the reſult of the conſultations, a new project of the king of Spain muſt briefly be mentioned.

When this prince received the news of the death of his queen, whether, on account of Elizabeth's inclination to the proteſtant religion, or by her marrying ſome prince of that religion, againſt which he had himſelf openly declared, he looked upon England as loſt to him. He was not even without fear, that the king of France, aſſerting the queen of Scotland's claim upon England, would ſeize that kingdom, and unite it, as well as Scotland and Ireland, to the French monarchy. Wherefore, to free himſelf from theſe fears, and preſerve the advantages of his alliance with England, he ſent inſtructions to the Condè de Feria (lately arrived at London, to pay his compliments to the deceaſed queen) to congratulate Elizabeth on her acceſſion, and propoſe his deſign of uniting himſelf with her in marriage. Elizabeth received the offer with marks of a particular eſteem for the king of Spain, but objected their affinity as an impediment to their marriage. This objection was foreſeen, and immediately replied to by the embaſſador, That his maſter would undertake to procure the pope's diſpenſation. The queen, not caring to expreſs her little regard of ſuch a diſpenſation, civilly diſmiſſed the embaſſador to have time ſeriouſly to conſider of the propoſal. Three principal reaſons hindered her from accepting Philip's offer. Firſt, her perſuaſion that ſuch marriages were contrary to the law of God, and her father's example in a parallel caſe reminded her of her duty. Secondly, nothing was more contrary to her intention of openly profeſſing and reſtoring the proteſtant religion in England, as eſtabliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. Laſtly, to make uſe of a diſpenſation to marry a brother-in-law, would have been an acknowledgment of the invalidity of her father's divorce with Catherine of Arragon, and of her own illegitimacy. If Paul IV. could grant ſuch diſpenſation, Julius II. might have granted the ſame to Henry VIII. to marry Catherine of Arragon; from whence it neceſſarily followed, that Henry's ſecond marriage with Anne Bullen was null. But, on the other hand, Elizabeth had ſtrong reaſons to preſerve the king of Spain's friendſhip. To him ſhe owed her life, or at leaſt her not being excluded by her ſiſter from the ſucceſſion. Mary would never have left Elizabeth in a condition of one day mounting the throne, if the intereſt and ſolicitations of the king, her huſband, had not ſtrongly reſiſted her zeal for her religion. In the ſecond place, Elizabeth was informed that the king of France was uſing all his credit at Rome to have her declared illegitimate, in order to procure the crown of England for his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scotland. Laſtly, England was in a very ill ſtate. The loſs of Calais, Guiſnes, and Hames, the crown debts contracted by Henry VIII. and encreaſed by the guardians of Edward VI. and an exhauſted treaſury, gave Elizabeth juſt cauſe to fear ſhe ſhould be unable to oppoſe a vigorous attack. To this may be added, ſhe was engaged in a war with France and Scotland, unſupported by any other alliance than that of Spain; ſo unmindful had Mary been of every thing where religion was not concerned. Her buſineſs therefore was to end theſe two wars with honour; but this was not to be done without Philip's aſſiſtance, and conſequently it was not proper to give him any juſt cauſe of complaint, for fear of his deſerting England in the negotiation of peace. Theſe reflections threw the queen into great perplexity. She was fully reſolved to refuſe the king of Spain's propoſal, but was uneaſy about the manner. Though ſhe alleged ſcruples of conſcience, it did not free her from the importunities of the Condé de Feria, who perſiſted that a diſpenſation from the pope was more than ſufficient to remove them. He told her likewiſe, that as his maſter had made this overture purely from his extraordinary eſteem for her, he would be the more diſpleaſed if it was rejected. At laſt the queen, being thus preſſed, found no ſurer or readier way to extricate herſelf out of the difficulty, than,

[a] Biſhop's Hatfield, then a royal palace, and exchanged by king James I. with Robert, earl of Saliſbury, for Theobald's.

[b] All the biſhops went and met her at Highgate. Burnet, tom. II. p. 374.

[c] And at the ſame time ſhe took care of ſecuring all the ports, and the Tower of London; ordered a new commiſſion to be ſent to Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Suſſex, lord lieutenant of Ireland, who had kept that mutinous country quiet, only with three hundred and twenty horſe, and eight hundred and ſixty foot; and alſo, that the judges patents ſhould be renewed; new juſtices and ſheriffs appointed in every county; no bills of exchange be ſent beyond ſea; and that preachers ſhould not meddle with controverted points. Camden, p. 369. Compl. Hiſt.

[d] William Brooke.

[e] The haughty pope told Karne, That England was held in fee of the apoſtolic ſee, and Elizabeth could not ſucceed, being illegitimate. That it was great boldneſs in her to aſſume the crown without his conſent; for which reaſon ſhe deſerved no favour at his hands; but if ſhe would renounce her pretenſions, and refer herſelf wholly to him, he would ſhew a fatherly affection to her. Burnet, tom. II. p. 374.

[f] The Roman catholic counſellors, continued in the new council, were, Heath, archbiſhop of York; William Paulet, marquis of Winchester, lord high treaſurer; Henry Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel; Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury; Edward Stanley, earl of Derby; William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; Edward Fynes, baron of Clinton, lord high admiral; William lord Howard, of Effingham, lord chamberlain; ſir Thomas Cheney, ſir William Petre, ſir John Maſon, ſir Richard Sackvil, Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury. Moſt of theſe had complied with all the changes that had been made in religion, backward and forward, ſince the latter end of king Henry's reign, and were ſo dextrous at it, that they were ſtill employed in every new revolution. Burnet, tom. II. p. 375. To theſe were added, all proteſtants, William Parr, marquis of Northampton; Francis Ruſſel, earl of Bedford; ſir Thomas Parry, ſir Edward Rogers, ſir Ambroſe Cave, ſir Francis Knollys, ſir William Cecil; and a little after, ſir Nicholas Bacon, made keeper of the great ſeal. Camden.

Bed-

London. Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

Sr. NICOLAS BACON.
Lord Keeper

F. Zuchero Pinx.t *G. Sibbar Sculp.t*

In the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

Publish'd as the Act directs Dec.r 1.1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

by haſtening the execution of her deſign, to make a change in religion, not doubting that, this once effected, the king of Spain would ceaſe his importunities.

This reſolution being taken, ſhe cauſed to be examined before her cabinet council, the proper methods to execute it, the inconveniencies it might be attended with, and the means to prevent them. The greateſt obſtacles to the affair were to ariſe either at home or abroad. At home, from the great number of catholics and the oppoſition of the biſhops and inferior clergy. Abroad, from the pope, who in all likelihood would thunder his cenſures againſt the queen, and expoſe the kingdom a prey to the firſt invader. Hence it was to be feared, that the kings of France and Spain would uſe that pretence to make war upon the Engliſh, as excommunicated heretics, and to ſtir up Scotland, which was entirely directed by the king of France. Upon the inconveniencies at home, it was conſidered that though the kingdom appeared wholly catholic, it was far from being really ſo. That the fear of puniſhment ceaſing, the greateſt part of the people were manifeſtly inclined to return to the religion which they had been forced to forſake in the laſt reign; but, however, it would not be very difficult to have a parliament favourable to the queen's intentions, by employing means which rarely fail of ſucceſs, when uſed with diſcretion. That for this purpoſe, the magiſtrates of the counties and towns were to be removed, and proteſtants put in their places, who would uſe their credit and authority to have ſuch repreſentatives returned as were proper for the execution of the intended deſign. Laſtly, That it was abſolutely neceſſary not to leave any zealous catholic in the council, or in any other office which influenced the ſubject: That when the reformation ſhould be once eſtabliſhed by public authority, it would be eaſy to ſubdue the clergy, by depriving the biſhops and moſt obſtinate eccleſiaſtics, and by removing in the univerſities the maſters and profeſſors who were moſt averſe to the new eſtabliſhment.

As for the obſtacles from abroad, it was conſidered, that the pope was not formidable in himſelf, and his thunders were thrown away upon thoſe who deſpiſed them: That a contempt of him was the ready way to conquer, provided the kingdom was put in a poſture of defence: That indeed it was to be feared the king of France would aſſert the claim of the queen of Scotland, but that the king of Spain was too wiſe to ſuffer ſo great an acceſſion to the monarchy of France, as England and Ireland: That from whatever quarter the miſchief came, whither from France or Spain, Henry and Philip would always be jealous of each other, and the aſſiſtance of one of them might be ſafely relied on: That if the king of France offered peace, it ought to be embraced on any terms, as Scotland would be included in the league; but if he was for continuing the war, all the danger would be, his powerfully aſſiſting the Scots to invade England: That therefore the northern frontiers were to be ſecured, after which a good fleet would ſo endanger any ſuccours ſent to France, that without doubt that kingdom would ſoon grow weary of ſo burthenſome a war: That beſides, it was unlikely that Philip, in the negotiation of peace, would abandon England to the king of France's ambition: That a peace thus concluded with France and Scotland, would afford time at leaſt to provide againſt their attacks [g].

Such was the reſult of this council; after which the queen ſummoned a parliament to meet the 23d of January, according to the reſolution taken therein. At the ſame time, doctor Parker was intruſted with the care of reviſing the liturgy of Edward VI. and was ordered to communicate his labours only to ſome choſen perſons [h]. Mean time the proteſtants growing impatient, and preaching publicly in ſeveral places, the queen took occaſion to publiſh a proclamation, which clearly ſhewed her intentions. She allowed the goſpels and epiſtles, with the Lord's prayer, creed, litany, and ten commandments, to be read in Engliſh, but forbid all preaching on controverſial ſubjects, or any change in the Romiſh rites, till it ſhould be otherwiſe appointed by the parliament. In this ſhe followed the ſteps of the deceaſed queen.

Queen Mary's funeral, which was ſolemnized with great pomp, finiſhed this year [i]. But before we proceed to the events of the next, it is neceſſary to deſcribe the affairs of the neighbouring ſtates.

The war between France and Spain was manifeſtly drawing to a concluſion. The two kings, equally weary of a war from which neither could expect any advantage, had kept their armies all the campaign in a ſtate of inaction, for fear of obſtructiug a peace. At laſt the conſtable of Montmorency, who had been priſoner in the Low Countries ever ſince the battle of St. Quintin, having made ſome overtures of peace to Philip, the principal articles were ſettled; after which the two kings ſent their plenipotentiaries to Cercamp, and then to Cambray. The principal obſtacle to a peace was the king of France's reſolution to keep Calais, and Philip and Mary's inſiſting upon its being reſtored. But Mary dying, Philip no longer ſupported the intereſts of England with the ſame ardour as before, at leaſt when he deſpaired of marrying Elizabeth. It was that expectation which cauſed him to ſtand out ſome time, and delay the concluſion of the peace till the following year.

The 14th of March, Ferdinand I. was declared emperor, by the voluntary reſignation of Charles V. his brother, who enjoyed but two years the repoſe he had choſen in relinquiſhing the care of his worldly concerns. He died the 17th of September [k].

As Scotland is to afford materials for great part of Elizabeth's hiſtory, a very particular account muſt be given of the affairs of that kingdom. Without an accurate knowledge of what paſſed in Scotland, Elizabeth's conduct and policy cannot be underſtood.

The queen dowager of Scotland, mother of the queen dauphineſs, obtained the regency of that kingdom by the intereſt of the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, her brothers, but was ſupported only by the proteſtants. The earl of Arran, chief of the houſe of Hamilton, had unwillingly reſigned the regency, though his reſignation procured him the duchy of Chatelerault in France [l], with twelve thouſand livres a year in land. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, his natural brother, inceſſantly blamed his imprudence, and by his cabals amongſt the clergy, gave diſturbance to the regent. To break the meaſures of this prelate, ſhe returned to the proteſtants, who were now grown conſiderable. This method ſucceeded, but withal ſhe was obliged to connive at the meeting of the proteſtants, and this indulgence greatly encreaſed their number and ſtrength.

Things remained in this ſtate till the breach between France and Spain. As England eſpouſed the cauſe of Philip II. and the regent of Scotland could not poſſibly induce the Scots to declare war with Mary, ſhe adviſed the king of France to haſten the dauphin's marriage with the young queen, and accordingly it was ſolemnized in April 1558. This gave a conſiderable turn to the affairs of Scotland. The clergy, knowing how the court of France ſtood affected to the followers of the new religion, did not queſtion to be ſupported in their attempt to reduce the proteſtants within the pale of the Romiſh church. On the other hand, the regent no longer wanting the proteſtants, began to look more coldly on them. To begin the work, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's having ſummoned before him an aged prieſt [m], who had diſcontinued the maſs, ordered him to be burnt alive in his archiepiſcopal city, to the great grief and diſcontent of the inhabitants. This eſſay being made, the biſhops cited a miniſter, called Paul Meffan, with deſign to make him ſuffer the ſame puniſhment; but as they ſaw the people began to be moved, the trial was deferred to another opportunity. Some time after, a proceſſion, annually made at Edinburgh [n], raiſed a ſort of commotion, which ſhewed that the proteſtants were not afraid to appear. The regent had a farther conviction, when ſhe was told that Meffan, condemned for non-appearance, was openly protected in the county of Fife. Theſe were as preludes to what was to follow. In fine, ſome gentlemen of Fife and Angus, diſperſing themſelves through the counties, encouraged the proteſtants to ſtand upon their defence, and not

[g] Beal, clerk of the council, gave this advice to ſir William Cecil, whilſt the conſultation was held about reforming religion: That the parliaments under queen Mary ſhould be declared void, as the firſt was under a force; and the title of ſupreme head was left out in the ſummons to the next, before it wast aken away by law; from whence he inferred, that theſe had been no true parliaments, and conſequently the laws of Edward were ſtill in force: but this propoſal was rejected. Burnet, tom. II. p. 376.

[h] The perſons employed in this reviſal were, according to Camden, Dr. Matthew Parker, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards biſhop of Ely; Dr. May; Dr. Bill; Dr. James Pilkington, afwards biſhop of Durham; Sir Thomas Smith; Mr. David Whitehead; Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards biſhop of London, and then archbiſhop of Canterbury. The management of this affair, and the care to have it done, was left to William Parr, marquis of Northampton; Francis Ruſſel, earl of Bedford; John Grey, of Pyrgo; and ſir William Cecil. Camden, p. 341.

[i] She was buried on December 13, in Henry VIIth's chapel, on the north ſide of that king's monument. Stow, p. 635.—White, biſhop of Wincheſter, preached the funeral ſermon, in which he applauded the late reign, and lamented the preſent ſtate of affairs with ſuch freedom, that it was proper to ſhew ſome reſentment; and accordingly he was confined to his houſe till the meeting of the parliament. Burnet, tom. II. p. 378.

[k] Rapin my miſtake ſays, he lived but ſix months after his reſignation. He reſigned his Spaniſh dominions, October 25, 1555, and the empire, January 17, 1556, and died September 20, 1558. Strada, l. 1.

[l] La Poiton.

[m] His name was Walter Mills, who was cited before the biſhops, abbots, and divines. Buchanan, l. 16.

[n] September 1, St. Giles's day, whom the inhabitants of Edinburgh honour as their patron. Buchan. l. 16.

Buchanan

ſuffer their lives to be taken away on pretence of religion, demonſtrating to them that their number was greater in Scotland than that of the catholics. This occaſioned an aſſociation under the hands and ſeals of the aſſociators, and was the firſt that was formed in Scotland in defence of the new religion. The proteſtants perceiving themſelves ſtronger ſince the aſſociation, which was called the congregation, ſent to the regent a petition, that the worſhip of God might be in the vulgar tongue, and the communion given in both kinds; which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the biſhops. But the regent being told, that an abſolute refuſal might throw all Scotland into a flame, ſhe endeavoured to ſoften the biſhops, by a promiſe of her protection at a more ſeaſonable juncture. Mean time ſhe permitted the proteſtants to celebrate divine ſervice in their own tongue, provided this was done without tumults or public aſſemblies in Edinburgh and Leith [o]. But the clergy, not liking this politic circumſpection of the regent, met together to conſult upon the affair, and reſolved to proſecute the heretics with the extremeſt rigour. The proteſtants deputed John Areſkin, afterwards earl of Mar, to the biſhops aſſembled, to demand of them that divine ſervice might be performed in the vulgar tongue; but this was unanimouſly rejected. Such was the ſituation of the affairs in Scotland when Elizabeth aſcended the throne of England, and till the end of the year 1558.

[1559] In the beginning of the following year, Elizabeth conferred honours on ſome perſons whom ſhe was pleaſed to diſtinguiſh, either on account of their merit, or becauſe ſhe expected ſome important ſervices from them. William Parr, marquis of Northampton, who had been ſentenced to death in the reign of Mary, and afterwards pardoned, was reſtored to his honours. Edward Seymour, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Somerſet, was created earl of Hertford, notwithſtanding all the precautions of the duke his father to cauſe his titles to deſcend to the children of his ſecond marriage [p]. Thomas Howard, ſecond ſon of the duke of Norfolk, was created viſcount Bindon. Henry Carey, the queen's couſin [q], and Oliver St. John, were raiſed to the dignity of barons. All theſe peers were proteſtants, and conſequently very proper to promote the queen's deſigns in the houſe of lords.

Theſe promotions being over, the queen was crowned in Weſtminſter abbey [r], with the uſual ceremonies. The ſee of Canterbury being vacant, this office belonged to the archbiſhop of York; but he, with the other biſhops, refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, becauſe Elizabeth by proclamation, and by admitting into her council, men who paſſed not for good catholics, had ſufficiently declared againſt the church of Rome. Oglethorp of Carliſle was the only biſhop that at laſt was perſuaded to do the office, notwithſtanding the murmurs of his brethren. It ſeems that the biſhops thought the miniſtry of a biſhop ſo eſſential to a coronation, that, in refuſing to perform the ceremony, they could deprive the queen of her dignity.

The parliament meeting the 25th of January [s], ſir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal [t], opened it with a ſpeech, in which he diſplayed the merits of the new queen, with ſevere reflections on the late miniſtry for the loſs of Calais. He told them, that the queen deſired an immediate application to the affairs of religion; that a diſunion in that reſpect was one of the evils which called for the moſt ſpeedy redreſs. He exhorted the parliament to proceed between the two extremes of ſuperſtition and irreligion, which might reunite the adherents of both religions in the ſame public worſhip.

Dr. Burnet has ſo largely deſcribed in his hiſtory the manner of reſtoring the reformation in England by the parliament, that I believe I may be excuſed deſcending to particulars, and the more, as this ſubject chiefly relates to church hiſtory. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with only pointing to the acts made in this ſeſſion, to ſpare the reader the trouble of turning over his hiſtory. I ſhall however obſerve, that this author ſeems to have been miſtaken in placing the acts (moſt of which were made in February and March) after the peace, which was not concluded till April. But this is not very material.

At firſt, to try how the parliament was inclined, a motion was made in the lower houſe for reſtoring to the crown the tenths, firſt-fruits, and impropriations, ſurrendered by queen Mary. This motion was immediately approved; and the houſe of lords conſented to it, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhops [u].

The 4th of February, the houſe of commons addreſſed the queen in a very dutiful manner, and repreſented to her how neceſſary it was for the happineſs of the nation, that ſhe ſhould think of marrying. The queen graciouſly thanked the commons, and told them how much ſhe was pleaſed that they had neither limited time nor place. She added, that by the ceremony of her inauguration, ſhe was married to her people, and her ſubjects were to her inſtead of children: they would not want a ſucceſſor when ſhe died; and, for her part, ſhe would be well contented, that the marble ſhould tell poſterity, HERE LIES A QUEEN THAT REIGNED SO LONG, AND LIVED AND DIED A VIRGIN.

Some days after, the lords paſſed a bill to recognize Elizabeth for lawful queen, in virtue of an act of the 35th of Henry VIII. Some thought it ſtrange that the ſentence of her mother's divorce, and the ſubſequent act, declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, were not annulled. Camden ſays, this omiſſion was with deſign; and Burnet reports the reaſons which determined the houſe of lords to be ſilent on this point. The firſt was, that the poſſeſſion of the crown purged all defects, according to a received maxim when Henry VII. mounted the throne. But this reaſon had not appeared ſufficient to Mary, who was in the ſame caſe with Elizabeth, and yet had procured a repeal of that act, which declared her illegitimate. The ſecond reaſon was, that this act could not be repealed, without caſting ſome diſhonour on the memory of Henry VIII. and it was the queen's intereſt rather to conceal than publicly expoſe her father's weakneſs. I own this reaſon appears to me very unſatisfactory. For why was the reputation of Henry VIII. to be ſpared, if it could not be done without endangering the ſafety of the reigning queen? Beſides, it was not expoſing faults which till then had been concealed, but faults known to all the world. The third reaſon was, that too ſcrupulous an enquiry on this head, would render the queen's right more uncertain, inſtead of making it leſs diſputable. This probably was the prevailing reaſon, though to ſuffer the ſentence and act to ſubſiſt ſeems to have been equally dangerous. It was eſtabliſhing a precedent in favour of baſtards, which might have ill conſequences. And who knows but it may ſtill affect future ages? Beſides, this regard for the honour of Henry left an eternal blot upon the memory of Elizabeth. At leaſt her enemies, and particularly the queen of Scotland, were thereby furniſhed with a plauſible pretence to wreſt the ſcepter from her, if a favourable opportunity offered. Dr. Burnet thinks the conduct of this parliament equally pious and wiſe. I allow the firſt: but the continued endeavours to dethrone Elizabeth, wholly founded on the ſentence of her mother's divorce and the ſubſequent act, will not permit me to believe it wiſdom to leave them unrepealed.

The act to recognize the queen's title being paſſed, the parliament turned to the affairs of religion, and made divers ſtatutes, which I ſhall but juſt mention.

The firſt appointed the public worſhip to be performed in the vulgar tongue [w].

The ſecond reſtored the queen to her right of ſupremacy in the church of England.

[o] Buchanan and Melvil differ in relation to the time when this toleration was granted to the reformed. Rapin.

[q] Rapin here is entirely miſtaken, for this Edward Seymour was his eldeſt ſon by his ſecond wife, lady Ann Stanhope, on whoſe iſſue he procured an act to ſettle the titles and eſtate; and not Edward Seymour his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, by his firſt wife Catherine Fittol, who was diſinherited to gratify the pride and ambition of his laſt wife, and never enjoyed any title. It is not unworthy notice, that upon the extinction of the youngeſt line of this family by the ſecond marriage in 1750, the eldeſt branch ſeated at Maiden-Bradley, Wilts, deſcended from the laſt mentioned Edward, ſo diſinherited, ſucceeded to the dukedom of Somerſet, after having been excluded full two hundred years.

[q] Her couſin-german by Mary Boleyn.

[r] January 14. Stow, p. 635. The 15th, ſays Sanford, p. 509; and the 25th, according to Hollingſhead, p. 1180. But it appears from Rymer's Fœd. that it was on the 15th. A patent was granted to Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, to perform the office of high conſtable on the day before the coronation, and the office of high ſteward on the coronation-day. Rymer, tom. XV. p. 494, 495.

[s] It met the 23d, and was prorogued to the 25th.

[t] He was the firſt that was by patent created lord keeper. Formerly thoſe that were keepers of the ſeal, had no dignity nor authority annexed to their office; they did not hear cauſes, nor preſide in the houſe of lords, but were only to put the ſeals to ſuch writs or patents as went in courſe; and ſo the ſeal was only put in the hands of the keeper but for ſome ſhort interval. But now Bacon was the firſt lord keeper that had all the dignity and authority of lord chancellor conferred on him. He was father to the great ſir Francis Bacon, viſcount St. Alban's, and was one of the moſt learned, moſt pious, and wiſeſt men of the nation. Burnet, tom. II. p. 380.

[u] This bill was read in the houſe of lords, January 30, 31, and February 4; and in the houſe of commons, February 6, 17, and 21. The biſhops that oppoſed it were, Heath, archbiſhop of York; Bonner, biſhop of London; Pates, of Worceſter; Kitching, of Landaff; Bayne, of Coventry; Turbeville, of Exeter; Scot, of Cheſter; Oglethorpe, of Carliſle. D'Ewes's Journ. p. 19.

[w] And accordingly it began to be ſo on May 8, which was Whitſunday. Stow, p. 639.

The

The third renewed and confirmed all the acts made in the reign of Edward VI. concerning religion. And in this many others were included.

The fourth reſtored to the queen the nomination of the biſhops. By this ſtatute likewiſe many others were confirmed, made in the reign of Henry VIII. againſt the pope. The queen was empowered to put the exerciſe of her ſupremacy into what hands ſhe ſhould think proper. Moreover, all perſons in public employments were obliged to ſwear, that "they acknowledged the queen to be the ſupreme governor in all cauſes, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal; that they renounced all foreign juriſdiction, and ſhould bear the queen true allegiance." Whoſoever refuſed this oath was declared incapable of holding any public office. Laſtly, divers penalties were enacted againſt any, who, by word or writing, tended to ſet forth or advance any foreign power in the kingdom.

The fifth act eſtabliſhed uniformity in divine worſhip[x].

By a ſixth, the parliament empowered the queen to reſerve to herſelf the lands belonging to the biſhoprics, as they became void, giving in lieu of them their full value in impropriated tythes.

By a ſeventh act, all religious houſes were annexed to the crown.

By an eighth, the deprivation of popiſh biſhops in king Edward's reign was declared valid.

In a word, the parliament in this ſeſſion reſtored religion to the ſame ſtate as in Edward VI.'s reign, and after a grant of a ſubſidy, two tenths, and two fifteenths, with tunnage and poundage for the queen's life, it was diſſolved the 8th of May[y].

Among the biſhops then in England, ſome there were who had complied with all the changes in religion ſince Henry's breach with the pope. Of this number were, Heath, archbiſhop of York; Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham; Thirleby, biſhop of Ely; and ſome others. Theſe choſe to abſent themſelves from the parliament, becauſe, as they ſaw the queen's intention, they durſt neither openly oppoſe it, nor aſſiſt in reſtoring the reformation, after ſo public a deſertion of it in the laſt reign. Both appeared to them equally incommodious. Other biſhops ſtrongly oppoſed theſe acts, but with no ſucceſs. Some of the lay-peers alſo endeavoured to ſtem the torrent, and even entered their proteſts, but their number was very ſmall. To ſay all in a word, the ſame thing happened in this as in the parliament under Henry, Edward, and Mary; that is, the court cauſed to be enacted almoſt whatever they pleaſed. This is not very ſtrange with regard to the houſe of commons, where the members may be changed every new parliament; but the readineſs wherewith the houſe of lords conſented, one while to acts favouring the reformation, another while to thoſe eſtabliſhing the Romiſh religion, is much more ſurpriſing.

The ſupremacy with which the queen was lately inveſted, with power to depute any perſons to exerciſe it in her name, gave riſe to a new court, called the High Commiſſion Court. It was compoſed of a certain number of commiſſioners, who exerciſed the ſame power which had been formerly lodged by Henry VIII. in a ſingle perſon with the title of Vicegerent.

While the parliament was taken up with affairs of religion, ſome preachers having, in divers places, delivered doctrines from the pulpit, tending to overthrow the reformation, the queen, following the precedent ſet her by Edward and Mary, forbid all preaching without a ſpecial licence under the great ſeal. This fired the lower houſe of convocation, and produced a petition to the queen, in which were boldly aſſerted the doctrines of the church of Rome. This gave occaſion to a propoſition for a conference between nine doctors on each ſide to examine the reaſons of both. The conference was held the begining of April. But the Roman catholics, reflecting that they had undertaken more than they could anſwer, in thus bringing the doctrines of their religion into queſtion without being authoriſed by the pope, refuſed to give their reaſons in writing, though that had been agreed. At laſt, they plainly declared, it was not in their power to diſpute on points already decided[z]. They had not been ſo ſcrupulous in the reign of Mary, becauſe then the ſucceſs of the conference was known beforehand. This gave the proteſtants cauſe to triumph, and pretend that their adverſaries durſt not enter the liſts.

To finiſh what I have to ſay at preſent on religion, I ſhall only add, that the reformation having been eſtabliſhed by public authority, of 9400 beneficed clergymen in the kingdom, only fourteen biſhops[a], twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty canons, and about eighty parochial prieſts, choſe to quit their preferments rather than their religion. Their places being filled with proteſtants, England became entirely reformed, very ſhortly after having ſeen the reformed ſent to the flames. It is now time to return to political affairs.

While Philip had any hopes of marrying Elizabeth, his plenipotentiaries, aſſembled with thoſe of England and France at Cateau, in Cambreſis, inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Calais to the crown of England. But when his expectations were diſappointed by the change in England, with regard to religion, he deſerted Elizabeth, and made a ſeparate peace, or at leaſt ſettled with France the principal articles. It is pretended that, in the treaty by which France reſigned 198 places to Spain or her allies, in exchange for three only, there was a ſecret article of a mutual promiſe between the two kings to extirpate heretics. This done, the Spaniards, from parties, as they were before, became mediators between France and England. But they acted ſo faintly, that it was plain they did not much concern themſelves in Elizabeth's affairs. Philip's defection therefore obliged the queen to conclude a peace on any terms; the continuation of the war being no way favourable to her affairs, or to the meaſures ſhe was now taking to introduce the reformation in England. By a treaty, therefore, ſigned the 2d of April, it was agreed,

That the king of France ſhould have Calais and the other places in Picardy, conquered upon the Engliſh, eight years; after which, he ſhould be obliged to reſtore them to the queen of England.

That within the ſpace of ſix months, ſeven foreign merchants, not ſubjects of the French king, ſhould engage for the payment of 500,000 crowns of gold to Elizabeth, as a penal fine, in caſe the reſtitution of the places within the time limited, was either refuſed or delayed by Henry or his ſucceſſors. "And that notwithſtanding, whether the ſaid ſum was paid or not paid, the king of France and his ſucceſſors ſhould remain under the obligation to reſtore Calais and the other places, as they engaged by this treaty." Moreover, that the king of France ſhould deliver to the queen, as hoſtages till the promiſed ſecurity was given, Ferry de Foix, count of Candale, and captal of Buch; Lewis de St. Maure, marquis of Neſle, and count of Laval; Gaſton de Foix, marquis of Trans; Antoine du Prat, preſident of the parliament of Paris; and the lord Nantouillet.

Theſe are the expreſs words of the treaty, of which the French hiſtorians give us only the pretended meaning, by turning them after their own manner. Mezerai ſays, "It was covenanted that Henry ſhould either reſtore Calais and the other conqueſts, or, if he liked it better, the ſum of 500,000 crowns; which, being referred to his opinion, there was no doubt he would keep this place, which was the key of his kingdom."

Neither has father Daniel given us the very terms of the treaty, which perhaps he had never ſeen. He contents himſelf with relating the ſenſe, adding an explication which entirely changes the nature of the treaty. "Elizabeth (ſays this hiſtorian) could not, without giving offence to the Engliſh, make an abſolute ſurrender of Calais to France. Beſides, ſhe ſaw the king determined not to part with it; a middle way was therefore taken, which left this prince in poſſeſſion of Calais for eight years, at the end of which he promiſed to reſtore it, on forfeiture of 500,000 crowns to

[x] The diſſentients from it were, the archbiſhop of York, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Shrewſbury, the viſcount Montague; the biſhops of London, Ely, Worceſter, Landaff, Coventry, Exeter, and Cheſter; the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D'Ewes, p. 28.

[y] This parliament granted the queen a ſubſidy of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands, to be paid at two ſeveral payments. They alſo granted her two tenths, and two fifteenths, and tunnage and poundage for life, as they were granted to Edward VI. and Mary. Stevens. Stow, p. 639.

[z] The points to be diſcuſſed in this conference were, worſhip in an unknown tongue, the power of particular churches to alter rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory ſacrifice in the maſs. The conference was begun the 31ſt of March, in Weſtminſter abbey, before the privy-council, both houſes of parliament, and infinite crouds of people. The proteſtant diſputants were, Storye, biſhop of Chicheſter; Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Horne, Sands, Gueſt, Ailmer, and Jewel. And the popiſh were, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincoln, Carliſle, Cheſter, Coventry and Litchfield; Cole dean of St. Paul's, Langdal archdeacon of Lewes, Hapsfield archdeacon of Canterbury, and Chedſey archdeacon of Middleſex. The biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincoln, ſeeing their cauſe in great danger, ſaid, that the faith of the church ought not to be examined but in a ſynod of divines. The queen and council ought to be excommunicated, for ſuffering the catholic faith to be argued before an unlearned multitude. Fox, tom. III. p. 979, &c.

[a] Theſe biſhops were, Heath archbiſhop of York, Bonner biſhop of London, Thirleby of Ely, Bourn of Bath and Wells, Chriſtopherſon of Chicheſter, Bain of Litchfield, White of Wincheſter, Watſon of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carliſle, Turbevile of Exeter, Pole of Peterborough, Scot of Cheſter, Pates of Worceſter, and Goldwell, of St. Aſaph. Burnet, tom. II. p. 396. By whom they were ſucceeded, ſee ibid. p. 402, 403; and in Camden, p. 377.

the Engliſh. That notwithſtanding this payment, which was to be made on a refuſal or delay of reſtitution, the Engliſh were allowed to uſe force for the recovery of Calais.' By theſe laſt words he explains the ſenſe of thoſe in the original treaty ——— 'That whether the ſum was paid or not paid, the king of France and his ſucceſſors ſhould be bound to the reſtitution of Calais, as they engaged by the treaty.' This ſhews how we ought to be upon our guard againſt the national partiality of hiſtorians. I ſhall add here upon this article, that Calais never was reſtored, that the 500,000 crowns were never paid; and when Elizabeth demanded Calais at the expiration of the term, the court of France founded their refuſal upon ſome generalities, and not upon the treaty itſelf, as they might have done, ſuppoſing what theſe two hiſtorians have related.

Another article of the treaty was, that neither the king of France, nor the king and queen of Scotland, nor the queen of England, ſhould attempt any thing againſt one another, directly or indirectly, in prejudice of this treaty. That if the queen of England violated this article, the king of France and the king and queen of Scotland ſhould be freed from their engagements, and their hoſtages and ſecurities be diſcharged. In like manner, if the violation came from the king of France, he ſhould be obliged to reſtore Calais, and the other places, as if the eight years were expired; and if he refuſed to make the reſtitution, the ſecurities and hoſtages ſhould ſtill remain bound.

That the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others made in Scotland ſince the treaty of Boulogne, ſhould be demoliſhed.

That all the other pretenſions of the kings of France, of the king and queen of Scotland, and of the queen of England, with all their exceptions, ſhould remain entire, in the expectation that Providence would produce ſome good opportunity to terminate them by a peace.

That the forementioned princes or princeſſes ſhould not afford a retreat or protection to each other's rebels, but reciprocally deliver them to one another.

The ſame day a treaty was ſigned between the queen of England and the king and queen of Scotland, of which theſe are the principal articles:

That neither of the parties ſhould attack the dominions now poſſeſſed by the other, neither in perſon or otherwiſe.

That they ſhould give no aid to attack the dominions of one another to any perſon, in whatſoever degree of conſanguinity or affinity he might be related to them, or whatever might be his quality.

That they ſhould not receive or entertain rebels, fugitives, malefactors, &c.

That in three months, the fortifications of Aymouth, and all others erected in Scotland ſince the treaty of 1549, ſhould be razed.

That all other mutual claims and pretenſions ſhould remain entire.

That in two months, commiſſioners ſhould be appointed on both ſides, to ſettle certain articles, concerning which the embaſſadors of France were not ſufficiently inſtructed.

Francis and Mary ratified the treaty the 18th of April, and the 31ſt of May the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms at Upſalinton ſigned a ſecond treaty upon the articles left undecided in the firſt.

Elizabeth having concluded a peace with France and Scotland with more eaſe and honour than ſhe had reaſon to expect, flattered herſelf ſhe was going to enjoy a ſettled tranquillity. But ſhe quickly perceived, ſhe had little cauſe to triumph. Henry II. had made a peace with her, only becauſe Philip II. who had engaged Mary his queen in the war, was reſolved not to ſign the peace before Elizabeth had concluded her's. It was of little moment to Philip, that ſhe found great advantages in the peace, or the king of France obſerved his treaty with her, provided it appeared to the world that Spain had not deſerted England. This was all he deſired, and probably what facilitated the peace. Henry II. granted, no doubt, more than he intended to perform, as well to give that ſatisfaction to the king of Spain, as to diſengage him from the intereſts of England. He ſoon diſcovered he had no other intention.

Embaſſadors from France being come to Bruſſells to ſee the peace ſworn, ſecretary Ardoy, who was there from the dauphin king and the queen dauphineſs, gave them the titles of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Shortly after, Elizabeth heard that the king of France had ordered Francis and Mary to aſſume the ſame titles, and quarter the arms of England in their ſeal, their plate, their furniture; that no one might be ignorant of their pretentions. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Engliſh embaſſador in France, complained of this uſurpation with great freedom, but the frivolous anſwer to his complaints let him ſee the little regard France had for his miſtreſs. Mezerai ſays, the embaſſador was told, that this was agreeable to the cuſtom of Germany, where the cadets, or younger branches, bore the title and arms of the chief of their family [b]. Camden adds, that the court of France pretended, that all princes and princeſſes had a right to bear the arms of their houſe with a bar. But, beſides that Francis and Mary bore them without any ſuch diſtinction, they moreover aſſumed the title of king and queen of England [c]. In ſhort, the court, of France being preſſed upon the affair, anſwered the embaſſador, that the king and queen of Scotland had only taken the arms of England to oblige Elizabeth to quit thoſe of France. To this Throckmorton replied, that twelve kings of England had carried the arms and title of kings of France, without being obliged by any treaty to quit them. But his reaſons were not heard; and notwithſtanding all his complaints, Francis and Mary ſtill bore the title they had uſurped. Camden affirms, the conſtable of Montmorency by his arguments induced them to relinquiſh it, but aſſuredly he is miſtaken. Thus, though the court of France would not openly declare their thoughts of Elizabeth, it was manifeſt ſhe was regarded as a baſtard, and the crown of England was pretended to be devolved upon Mary. Accordingly, Elizabeth did not ſuffer herſelf to be deceived. From that time ſhe conſidered Mary as a dangerous rival, and the princes of Lorrain, her uncles, the authors of this uſurpation, as her moſt mortal enemies. The death of Henry, a little after, inſtead of diſcouraging the deſign to place Mary on the throne of England, only gave it freſh vigour. The duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, governing all under Francis II. ſucceſſor to Henry, never ceaſed inciting the young king to ſend forces into Scotland, to render himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom, and then attack Elizabeth from that quarter. But becauſe this project was founded upon the preſent ſituation of the Scotch affairs, it is neceſſary to reſume the recital at the place where I left off the laſt year.

Shortly after the marriage of the young queen with the dauphin, the affairs of Scotland began to be terribly embroiled. The princes of Lorrain having formed the deſign to attack England by Scotland, believed it impracticable till the king and queen were rendered abſolute in their kingdom. They knew it would be difficult to perſuade the ſtates of Scotland to be the inſtruments of their ambition in making war upon Elizabeth, in order to place the crown of England on the head of their queen. The number of proteſtants was now ſo conſiderable in Scotland, that they were almoſt maſters in the aſſemblies of the ſtates. Conſequently, it appeared impoſſible to draw them into the project of dethroning a proteſtant queen (who was eſtabliſhing their religion in England) in order to place a catholic queen on that throne, who would thereby be enabled to deſtroy the reformation in both kingdoms. It was therefore neceſſary to find an excuſe for ſending an army into Scotland to ſtrengthen the catholic party, which probably would be more ready and zealous to favour the enterpriſe. It was with this view, that they obtained of Henry II. an order to the queen-regent, and to d'Oyſel, commander of the French and Scotch forces in the pay of France, to ſuffer no other religion in Scotland than the Roman catholic [d]. They eaſily foreſaw, this order would produce troubles in Scotland, and furniſh them with a pretence to ſend thither an army.

The regent, upon the receipt of the order, began to execute it with publiſhing an edict [e], conformable to the king's will, or rather of the two princes his brothers, who, as will hereafter be ſeen, had not diſcovered their whole project to the king. The proteſtants, in ſeveral deputations to the queen-regent, repreſented to her the unſeaſonableneſs of rigour, conſidering their number; but ſhe would hearken to

[b] Melvil ſays, Throckmorton got but Dutch excuſes; for the French court alleged, that in Duchland all the princes, brothers, couſins, or children, are ſtiled princes, or dukes of the ſame houſe, p. 23.

[c] At the late congreſs, the cardinal of Lorrain told the Spaniſh commiſſioners, "That his niece, the queen of Scots, was the true and undoubted queen of England, and that the king of Spain ought to endeavour to have Calais put into the hands of his niece, who was the rightful queen of England." Camden, p. 373.

[d] The pope, emperor, and kings of Spain and France, had then entered into a combination to reduce again the moſt part of Europe to the Roman catholic religion, and to purſue and puniſh with fire and ſword all the heretics who would not condeſcend to the ſame. Melvil, p. 23.

[e] A little before Eaſter. Idem, p. 24.

She

nothing. At this time, the city of Perth, alias St. John's-town, having publicly embraced the reformed religion, the regent ſummoned the ſtates to Sterling, and cited thither the reformed miniſters, in order to baniſh them the kingdom by a ſolemn decree [f]. The miniſters appeared at Sterling to defend their cauſe, being attended with infinite crowds of people unarmed, who were come to aſſiſt them in their defence, agreeably to the cuſtom of Scotland [g]. The regent, aſtoniſhed at the ſight, prayed John Areſkin to prevail with the multitudes to retire, promiſing that nothing ſhould be decreed in the ſtates againſt the miniſters. Areſkin ſucceeded, and the miniſters with all their attendants withdrew. But they were no ſooner gone, than they were condemned for non-appearance, according to the citation. Areſkin was ſo enraged to be made the queen's inſtrument to deceive the proteſtants, that he reſolved to be revenged. For that purpoſe, he went to the nobility of Strathern, Angus, and Merns, who were aſſembled upon the news of what paſſed at Sterling, and perſuaded them to take up arms.

This news being brought to Perth, Knox the miniſter, a celebrated preacher, animated the people by a ſermon, which, while the principal citizens were at dinner, ſent the rabble into the churches, who broke the images and entirely deſtroyed the monaſtery of the Carthuſians. The inhabitants of Cuper immediately followed the example of the people of Perth. The regent vexed to ſee her edict contemned, and willing to prevent the conſequences of this diſobedience, reſolved to chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Perth. To that end, ſhe aſſembled ſome forces, and attended by the earls of Argyle and Athol, marched directly to Perth. But approaching the town, ſhe was informed the earl of Glencarne [h] was encamped in the neighbourhood with ſeven thouſand men. This news determined her to offer the earl and his aſſociates certain conditions, which were accepted. Amongſt other articles it was agreed, that the Scotch forces on both ſides ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the French removed at a certain diſtance from Perth [i]: that the queen ſhould be reſpectfully received into the city, and ſuffered to lodge in it ſome days, provided ſhe would make no alterations: laſtly, that the differences concerning religion ſhould be referred to the deciſion of the ſtates. The confederates having diſmiſſed their forces, the regent came to Perth, and entered with ſome Scotch troops in the pay of France, which was conſidered by the confederates as a violation of the treaty [k]. But this was not all they had cauſe to complain of. The regent reſtored the maſs in Perth, and reſolving to make it a place of arms, left a garriſon in the town.

Hence the earl of Argyle and James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, and natural ſon to James V. took occaſion to declare againſt the regent, and levy forces to ſupport the proteſtants. They had ſome time before embraced the reformation, though hitherto they had adhered to the regent. Shortly after, the inhabitants of St. Andrew's and ſome other towns, declaring themſelves proteſtants, committed ſeveral diſorders in the catholic churches. Whereupon the regent aſſembled an army, compoſed of two thouſand French and one thouſand Scots, and giving the command to the duke of Chateleraut ſent him to chaſtiſe the inhabitants of Cuper, who had declared themſelves next after thoſe of Perth. But the duke hearing the confederates were marching with ſuperior forces to give him battle, informed the regent of it, who was then at Falkland. She tried at firſt to amuſe them with new propoſitions, till ſhe had reinforced her army. But the confederates perceiving her artifice, marched to Perth, and became maſters of the town in a few days. Afterwards Scone, Sterling, and Linlithgo, were ſecured by them, and as their army daily encreaſed, the regent and d'Oyſel were obliged to withdraw to Dunbar.

Mean time, the regent had wrote to the court of France, that James, prior of St. Andrew's, was the principal author of the troubles of Scotland, and that, being natural ſon of James V. he deſigned to ſeize the crown. The princes of Lorrain, brothers to the regent, embraced this occaſion to inſinuate to Henry II. that religion was not concerned in the troubles of Scotland, and was only made the pretence to wreſt the crown from the dauphin and the queen his ſpouſe. By this inſinuation, they had inſpired the king with the reſolution of ſending a good army into Scotland, and he had now begun his levies in Germany. But the conſtable of Montmorency having diſcovered the deſign of theſe princes to engage him in very difficult projects, prevailed with him to proceed no farther, till he was more particularly informed of the Scotch troubles. The buſineſs was only to find a perſon in whom the king could confide. The conſtable offered James Melvil, a Scotch gentleman, his domeſtic, and gave him his inſtructions in the preſence of the king himſelf. Theſe inſtructions were, as he ſays himſelf in his Memoirs, "That the king had been informed by the cardinal of Lorrain that James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, pretended, under colour of religion, to uſurp the kingdom unto himſelf; and that the king deſired to know certainly, if this was the ſource from whence the troubles in that kingdom flowed; or whether Stuart was moved to take up arms only for conſcience ſake, in defence of his religion, himſelf, his dependants, and aſſociates. In the firſt caſe, the king was reſolved to hazard his crown, and all that he had, rather than that the queen his daughter-in-law ſhould be robbed of her right; and he reſolved to ſend an army to Scotland for that effect, though he would gladly ſhun the trouble thereof, if it were poſſible. That in the ſecond caſe, if it were only religion that moved the Scots, the king would have no concern in their affairs, but committed their ſouls unto God, for he had difficulty enough to rule the conſciences of Frenchmen. And it was the obedience due unto their lawful queen, with the body, that the king deſired. That finally, he could not perſuade himſelf, that the Scots had made an inſurrection againſt the regent without cauſe, and therefore deſired to know if the regent had broke her word with them; if ſo, by whom and at whoſe inſtance. That if d'Oyſel, who was reported to be choleric, haſty, and too paſſionate, was not acceptable to the Scots, he would ſend ſome other in his room, who, he hoped, ſhould pleaſe them." This ſhews, the king had been ill informed by the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage him to ſend an army into Scotland, and of this probably the conſtable meant to give him a demonſtration, by the report Melvil was to make him. In effect, Melvil, having had a conference with the queen-regent at Falkland, and afterwards with the prior of St. Andrew's, reported to the king, that the prior was ſo far from the thoughts of aſpiring to the crown, that he was ready to baniſh himſelf perpetually out of Scotland on the firſt orders from his majeſty [l].

Henry II. being dead before Melvil returned to Paris [m], the confederate Scots prepoſterouſly imagined, there was no farther danger, and moſt of them returned to their homes. The regent and d'Oyſel being informed of it, reſolved to improve this negligence, and marched with ſome troops to Edinburgh, hoping to ſurpriſe thoſe who remained there. But the duke of Chateleraut and the earl of Morton, knowing the confederates were arming again with all poſſible diligence, waited on the regent, and perſuaded her to conſent to a truce from the 24th of July to the 10th of January. The truce was equally neceſſary to both parties. The confederates wanted to put themſelves in a poſture of defence; and the regent hoped, that in that interval ſhe ſhould receive a powerful aid from her ſon-in-law, the king of France. Accordingly, at the ſolicitation of the princes of Lorrain, he immediately ſent her a thouſand foot, with the promiſe of a more conſiderable ſupply.

During theſe tranſactions, the earl of Arran, ſon to the duke of Chateleraut, being at the court of France, and receiving notice that he was to be arreſted on ſome pretence, made his eſcape, and came for Scotland. As he was, after the duke his father, next heir to the young queen, he believed, upon ſome well or ill grounded advices, that the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain deſigned to ſecure and perhaps murder him, for fear, if the queen died, he ſhould mount the throne, for he had declared himſelf a proteſtant. He was no ſooner in Scotland than he gained his father to the confederates, who put him at their head.

Mean time, the regent and d'Oyſel were buſy in fortifying Leith, and ſtoring it with all ſorts of proviſions, deſigning to make it a place of arms, and to expect there the ſupplies that were to come from France. The confederates pretended this

[f] She alſo ordered Patric Ruthen, mayor of Perth, to ſuppreſs all tumults for innovating of religion; who anſwered her, That he had power over the bodies and eſtates of the inhabitants, and thoſe he would take care ſhould do no hurt, but that he had no dominion over their conſciences. Buchan, l. 16.

[g] Criminals were allowed to come to thoſe trials attended with their relations and friends. Rapin.

[h] Alexander Cunningham.

[i] By the Scotch forces, were commonly underſtood the natives which were in the pay of the kingdom; and by the French, not only thoſe forces which were ſent from France, but thoſe Scots likewiſe which were in the pay of France. Rapin.

[k] By reaſon of the equivocal meaning of the term Scotch forces. Rapin.

[l] This is ſupported by the teſtimony of Melvil, and deſtroys what is advanced by Camden, concerning James Stuart, afterwards earl of Murray. Rapin.

[m] He died July 10. Rapin.

At

to be a breach of the truce, whether they proceeded upon ſome general maxim, or on ſome particular articles of the late treaty. However, after ſome fruitleſs complaints to the regent, they aſſembled their forces, and marched to beſiege Leith. But as they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed for ſome time, they came too late, and, finding the place in a ſtate of defence, deſiſted from the ſiege. Shortly after, the regent, having received a new ſupply of two thouſand men, commanded by La Broſſe, continued the fortifications of Leith with greater application than ever. The confederates once more deſired her to give over the work: but were not heard. As ſhe ſaw herſelf ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhe only anſwered by ſending an herald with an order to lay down their arms. Their indignation to be thus deceived by the regent, induced them at laſt to publiſh, that they would treat as enemies all that obeyed her orders. But they were little able to make good this bravado. The regent, knowing they were at Edinburgh in ſmall number, marched the beginning of November with all her forces to attack them, and ſo ſurpriſed them by her unexpected arrival, that they deſerted Edinburgh, and retired to Sterling. When they were there, they ſent William Maitland, of Lidington, to Elizabeth, to deſire her aſſiſtance, without which they ſaw they ſhould be infalliby oppreſſed. The French troops ſtill continuing to purſue them, obliged them alſo to quit Sterling, and retire to the mountains, where they divided in two bodies to embarras their enemies, who gave them no reſt. Some time after, they received letters from William Maitland, giving them hopes of a good ſucceſs of his negotiation. Such was the origin of the Scotch troubles, on which I have been forced to enlarge, the better to ſhew the concern Elizabeth was to have in them, ſince ſhe was their principal object. As this is a material point in her hiſtory, and as upon the knowledge of the deſigns formed againſt her repoſe ſhe regulated her conduct, I ought to ſupport this truth by the teſtimony of a French hiſtorian, who cannot be ſuſpected in the affair. Father Daniel thus expreſſes himſelf in the reign of Francis II.

"I obſerved, that, before the conſpiracy of Amboiſe broke out, la Renaudie had been ſent by the admiral into England, to engage Elizabeth to make a diverſion in Scotland, while the Calviniſtical party revolted in France; and ſhe knew her intereſt too well to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity of kindling or fomenting a civil war in the two kingdoms. Whatever care ſhe had taken to bridle the catholics of her kingdom, ſhe was always apprehenſive of a party forming againſt her in favour of the queen of France, who carried herſelf as heireſs of the crown of England, and had quartered the arms with thoſe of Scotland, when ſhe was only queen dauphineſs; and if France and Scotland had remained in tranquility, England was in danger of being attacked from two quarters at once, and diſturbed at home by the ſtill numerous adherents of the old religion."

Hence may be ſeen what was the deſign of the princes of Lorrain, in ſending a French army into Scotland. It was to preſerve the peace of that kingdom, that is, render it entirely ſubject to France, in order to attack England from that ſide. This muſt be ever remembered, if it is deſired to underſtand perfectly Elizabeth's hiſtory. Let us now mention the affairs of France.

After Henry II. had concluded a peace with Spain, he reſolved to relinquiſh entirely the affairs of Italy, and apply himſelf ſolely to his project of uniting England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the monarchy of France. His haſte to cauſe the dauphin, his ſon, and the queen of Scotland, his daughter-in-law, to aſſume the title of king and queen of England immediately after the concluſion of the peace, clearly ſhews, he had the thing in his thoughts, though he was not yet perhaps reſolved how to execute it. Elizabeth, who was on the throne of England, was but a woman, and might be conſidered as a baſtard: ſhe had no ally; had lately made a great many enemies amongſt her ſubjects, by her innovations in religion: the king of Spain no longer concerned himſelf with her affairs; and the pope deſired nothing more paſſionately than to dethrone her, and place a catholic princeſs in her room. All theſe circumſtances doubtleſs gave Henry hopes of ſucceſs in his deſign. To effect which, he was to ſhew a great zeal for the catholic religion, to gain the profeſſors of it, princes and ſubjects, to his intereſts. The perſecution renewed in France immediately after the peace of Cateau, flowed perhaps as much from this as any other cauſe, though the king's diſpoſition, the pope's ſolicitations, the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, and the ſecret treaty made with Spain, had but too large a ſhare in that tragedy.

This prince was taken out of the world the 10th of July, in the midſt of his vaſt projects, by a death ſudden and tragical [n], leaving for ſucceſſor a young prince incapable to govern of himſelf. The two princes of Lorrain, uncles to the young queen, were entruſted with the adminiſtration of the government under the new reign. They removed the conſtable of Montmorency immediately from the court, and recalled the cardinal of Tournon, ſworn enemy of the proteſtant religion. When the affairs of the court were ſettled, their next care was to erect courts of juſtice, called Ardentes, for condemning proteſtants to the flames. This threw the reformed into an inevitable neceſſity of either ſuffering themſelves to be burnt one by one, or of taking up arms in their own defence, and ſo furniſhing their enemies with the deſired pretence to extirpate them all at once. On the other hand, they ſent two thouſand men into Scotland, under the command of La Broſſe, with orders to join the catholics of England for dethroning Elizabeth. Thus, their boundleſs ambition engaged a young prince, not yet ſeventeen years of age, to throw his own kingdom into a flame, and withal to undertake the conqueſt of England, which of all the countries of the world is the moſt difficult to be conquered.

At the ſame time appeared the ſeeds of troubles in the Low Countries, which ſoon ripened, and which it will not be improper to mention, in order to ſhew their riſe.

Charles V. had always a great affection for the Low Countries, where he was born, and had governed them with great lenity. Indeed, after the victory of Pavia, he had formed the project of changing their government, and of making of the ſeventeen provinces one ſtate, dependant on the crown of Spain. He was incited to this by the Spaniards, who would have found their advantage in ſeeing him abſolute maſter of theſe provinces, where his authority was very much limited by their privileges. But, after mature deliberation, he relinquiſhed the project, whether to avoid the oppreſſions with which the execution would have been infallibly attended, or becauſe he believed it impracticable by reaſon of the different laws and cuſtoms of theſe provinces, each of which had been a ſeparate ſtate.

Philip II. his ſon and ſucceſſor, reſumed much the ſame deſign, and reſolved to rule independent of the laws and privileges inceſſantly alleged by theſe ſtates. To this he added the project of extirpating the proteſtants, then very numerous in the provinces. For that purpoſe, he obtained from the court of Rome the erection of ſeveral archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics, to the great detriment of the abbots, part of whoſe revenues were to be given to the new ſees. But, beſides the intereſt of the proteſtants and abbots, there was another thing of univerſal concern. Philip had put Spaniſh garriſons into the principal towns, contrary to the privileges of the provinces, and thereby plainly diſcovered his intention of reducing them to ſlavery. In fine, when he departed in Sptember 1559 for Spain, he committed the government of the Low Countries to Margaret, ducheſs of Parma, his natural ſiſter [o], to the great diſguſt of William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, and of count Egmont, who had both aſpired to that dignity. But what gave them the laſt provocation was, his leaving with the governeſs, the cardinal of Granvelle their enemy, and who was conſidered as the author of the pernicious counſels, tending to deprive the country of its liberty. Philip was no ſooner arrived in Spain than he cauſed a great number of proteſtants to be burnt, and, by theſe inhuman executions, ſhewed the ſubjects of the Low Countries what they were afterwards to expect.

Pope Paul IV. dying in the courſe of this year, was ſucceeded by cardinal Angelo de Medici, a Milaneſe, by the name of Pius IV. [p].

[1560.] To underſtand the ſequel of this reign, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a diſtinct idea of the ſituation of the Engliſh affairs, as well with regard to the queen's perſon, as to the people of England and the foreigners. The wonder of this reign lies not in the memorable events which happened in England, while Elizabeth was on the throne, but in the tranquility which ſhe cauſed her ſubjects to enjoy, amidſt the ſecret and open attacks of her own and their enemies, both at

[n] At a great tournament, held on account of his daughter's marriage with Philip II. king of Spain, he was wounded in the eye with the ſplinter of a lance, June 29, and died of the wound. Thuanus, lib. 22.

[o] She was natural daughter of the emperor Charles V. and was firſt married to the duke of Tuſcany, and afterwards to the prince of Parma. Strada, lib. 1.

[p] This year, on November 18, died the famous Cuthbert Tunſtall, late biſhop of Durham, and was buried in Lambeth chapel. Hollingſhead, p. 1186.

home and abroad. To underſtand therefore the motives of Elizabeth's conduct, and the maxims by which ſhe eſtabliſhed her government, theſe enemies, their characters, their views, their intereſts, are to be diſtinctly ſhewn. Hence alſo will be ſeen and admired, the addreſs with which ſhe freed herſelf from all the embarraſſments and ſnares to which ſhe was continually expoſed. For this purpoſe, it muſt be obſerved, that her right to the crown was always conteſted openly or tacitly; that the papiſts in general, conſidering her but as a queen de facto, believed they might with a ſafe conſcience aſſiſt in dethroning her, whenever an opportunity offered. As the uncertainty of her right was the foundation on which her enemies built, I cannot help enlarging a little on what has been ſaid above on this ſubject.

The parliament of England, conſiſting of the king and both houſes, which repreſent the whole nation, there is no Engliſhman but what is ſubject to its laws, were it only for this reaſon, that every man is ſuppoſed to give his conſent either in perſon or by his repreſentative. It was upon this foundation that Mary and Elizabeth aſcended the throne, I mean, in virtue of an act of parliament, impowering their father to ſettle the ſucceſſion. But it may be doubted, whether foreign princes, concerned in ſuch acts of parliament, are obliged to the ſame ſubmiſſion, when they believe them manifeſtly unjuſt to themſelves. I ſhall not undertake to decide this queſtion, which is more uſually determined by arms than by laws. I ſhall only remark, that formerly Edward III. did not think himſelf obliged to abide by the deciſion of the French nation, which had placed Philip of Valois on the throne. However, Mary, queen of France and Scotland, believed herſelf injured, as well by the act, impowering Henry VIII. to interrupt the order of ſucceſſion according to his humour, as by the will of that prince. She alleged, that neither king nor parliament had any right to place on the throne two daughters declared illegitimate by ſolemn acts, and ſtill leſs to overlook the poſterity of the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. even without aſſigning any reaſon, and place in the line of the ſucceſſion baſtards, and the children of the younger. To theſe two grievances it was anſwered, that the Engliſh, in acknowledging ſucceſſively Mary and Elizabeth for queens of England, had not followed the caprice of Henry VIII. but the order of nature and the law of ſucceſſion; that the caprice of this prince lay not in his placing his two daughters next after his ſon Edward, but in the intention to exclude theſe two princeſſes, really born in wedlock: that, in reſtoring them to their due place, Henry corrected his error, and left no room for any alteration: that the not revoking the ſentence of divorce againſt Anne Bullen, and the ſubſequent act againſt Elizabeth, was not without good reaſons, and at moſt, was but a defect of formality, which altered not the thing itſelf. As to Mary's ſecond grievance, that Henry had not mentioned the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter, it muſt be owned, the generality of the Engliſh were convinced of the injuſtice of that proceeding. But as the caſe which might breed a diſpute on this ſubject, did not yet offer, this point was left undetermined, in hopes of the queen's marriage, and her having children to ſucceed her.

Let us now proceed to another reflection with reſpect to the foreign princes. Mary, eldeſt daughter of Henry VIII. aſcended the throne without any diſturbance from abroad; whereas, after her death, the principal ſovereigns of Europe endeavoured to wreſt the ſceptre from Elizabeth. It is not difficult to aſſign many natural cauſes of the different conduct of the princes with regard to theſe two queens. The firſt is, that when Mary mounted the throne, there was not a prince in Europe who could with any colour diſpute her right. It is true, the young queen of Scotland was in France, and deſtined for the dauphin, but was not yet married. This marriage was only projected, and could not be executed ſome years, by reaſon of the tender age of the parties. But ſuppoſing Henry II. ſhould have then aſſerted the claim of this queen, he muſt have drawn upon himſelf all the forces of the emperor and England. The ſecond cauſe is no leſs natural, namely, that by the principles of the Roman catholics, they could not conteſt Mary's right without a renunciation of the papal authority, ſince the diſpenſation for the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catherine of Arragon was granted by a pope. But Henry II. was very far from any ſuch thought, and as for the emperor, Charles V. he was particularly concerned to ſupport Mary's title, who was his couſin-german. As for the pope, he maintained his own rights in ſupporting thoſe of Mary. Laſtly, as Mary was zealous for her religion, the pope, the emperor, the king of France, found a great advantage in this zeal. The pope expected to ſee the catholic religion reſtored by her means in England. The emperor immediately projected her marriage with his ſon Philip. Beſides, a catholic queen in England removed all apprehenſions of the aid the German proteſtants might receive from the Engliſh. In a word, his zeal for his religion gave him the ſatisfaction of ſeeing England about to return into the pale of the Roman church. For the ſame reaſon, Henry II. who burnt the proteſtants in France, could not but be pleaſed to ſee them deprived of the protection they might have expected from England, if that kingdom had continued proteſtant. Thus every thing conſpired to render Mary's reign peaceable and ſecure. It was alſo this, doubtleſs, which induced that queen to carry the perſecution againſt the proteſtants to ſuch a height, well knowing they could have no hopes of aſſiſtance from abroad.

But when, after Mary's death, Elizabeth mounted the throne, there was a change in the intereſts of the princes, as often happens by the death of a ſovereign. The empire and Spain were no longer under the dominion of the ſame prince. The dauphin had married the queen of Scotland, and by that marriage acquired a claim to England, which he had not before. Beſides, the duke of Guiſe and cardinal of Lorrain, were become more powerful in the court of France, by the abſence of the conſtable of Montmorency, who was priſoner in the Low Countries. After the death of Henry II. they became ſtill more powerful, and ſhewed by their conduct they had nothing more at heart than the placing of the queen their niece on the throne of England. Elizabeth could not doubt it, ſince ſhe ſaw Francis II. and Mary ſtill uſurp the arms of England, which they ſeemed to have taken at firſt only in obedience to the orders of Henry II. On the other hand, Philip II. who deſpaired of marrying Elizabeth, had entirely deſerted the intereſts of England, and appeared by no means diſpoſed to ſupport that kingdom, which was become proteſtant. Laſtly, the pope ſaw his authority baniſhed in England, and no hope of gaining Elizabeth, who was evidently concerned to maintain what ſhe had done. Thus France, Spain, the court of Rome, not only had no reaſon to incline them to ſupport Elizabeth, but it was even their intereſt to dethrone her. It is very true, Philip II. would not willingly have ſeen England and Ireland in the hands of the king of France; but he would not have been ſorry that France was to conquer England, becauſe, from ſo difficult an undertaking, he would have received the ſatisfaction of ſeeing two powers moſt formidable to him, weakening each other. Beſides, his zeal for the catholic religion, and his projects in relation to the Low Countries, would have made him with great pleaſure behold theſe two kingdoms incapable to aſſiſt thoſe provinces, which already bore their yoke with impatience. As to the new emperor, Elizabeth, if ſhe had nothing to fear, had at leaſt nothing to hope from him. As for the proteſtants of Germany, they then lived in a tranquility which they would not willingly have diſturbed for the aſſiſtance of England. They had found in the reign of Henry VIII. that, under the pretence of maintaining their religion, it was deſigned to engage them in a war by no means agreeable to their intereſts. Wherefore, content with their preſent condition, they were not willing to be oppreſſed for ſupporting the rights of Elizabeth, though, otherwiſe, they with pleaſure ſaw a proteſtant queen on the throne of England.

I have already ſhewn the ſituation of the Scotch affairs. Elizabeth was ſo far from expecting any aſſiſtance from Scotland, that ſhe ſaw herſelf under an indiſpenſable neceſſity to ſupport the proteſtant party there, well knowing, it was the intention of France to attack her from that quarter. Beſides the two thouſand men already ſent to the regent, another more conſiderable reinforcement was preparing in France, to be conducted into Scotland by the marquis of Elbeuf [q]. This ſufficiently diſcovered, that the court of France, ſenſible of the difficulty of attacking England by ſea, was reſolved to puſh the war on the northern frontiers, by a junction of their forces with thoſe of Scotland. Thus the deſign of the French court to ſubdue the Scotch rebels, was only the firſt ſtep by which they hoped to riſe to the conqueſt of England.

On the other ſide, Ireland gave no leſs uneaſineſs to Elizabeth. That iſland was inhabited by native Iriſh, and Engliſh families tranſplanted thither ſince the conqueſt of it by Henry II. It was governed by a viceroy, or lord lieutenant, in the name of the queen; but his authority was very far from being ſo regarded as to keep the Iriſh in ſubmiſſion. They had among them many great men, who, indeed, outwardly acknowledged the queen's ſovereignty, but believed they had a right to do themſelves juſtice for the wrongs they pretended to have received. They made war upon one another, re-

[q] The queen of Scots uncle: theſe forces were levied in Germany, by the Rhinegrave's aſſiſtance. Camden, p. 379.

gardleſs of the lieutenant's orders, who, having but few Engliſh forces, was unable to make himſelf feared. As often as there was any preſſing occaſion to chaſtiſe a rebellion, or prevent the ſtrong from oppreſſing the weak, new forces were to arrive from England. But as this could not be done without expence, very often it was not determined till the laſt extremity. So moſt of the lieutenants, finding themſelves deſtitute of the means to force an obedience, wilfully connived at the exceſſes and violences of the great, for fear of unſeaſonably expoſing the royal authority. They contented themſelves with filling their purſes while they held their commiſſions, and left it to their ſucceſſors to repreſs the inſolence of the Iriſh. This conduct had rendered the lords of the country ſo fierce and arrogant, that they acknowledged the royal authority no farther than it was neceſſary to protect them againſt their enemies. Beſides the natural averſion of the Iriſh for the Engliſh, who helped not by their conduct to gain their affection, there was at this time, another reaſon which contributed to encreaſe their averſion, namely, the change which the queen had lately made in religion. The Iriſh had for the pope an attachment equal to their ignorance, which was extreme. This diſpoſed them to liſten to the ſolicitations of the Romiſh emiſſaries, who were continually inciting them againſt the government. Elizabeth was therefore obliged to have a conſtant eye upon the tranſactions of that iſland, knowing what credit the pope her enemy had there.

It remains now to ſpeak of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to Elizabeth. When the queen deſigned to eſtabliſh the reformation, her firſt care was to change the magiſtrates in the towns and counties, and fill their places with proteſtants. Then ſhe called a parliament, whoſe members were choſen according to her deſires. This parliament revived the laws made by Edward VI. concerning religion. Theſe laws, by the care of the magiſtrates, were punctually obſerved. So a few months after Mary's death, the public exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion was not leſs criminal than the exerciſe of the proteſtant had been in the laſt reign. The clergy, who refuſed obedience to the new laws, were deprived of their benefices, and the vacancies ſupplied by zealous proteſtants. To ſay all in a word, the reformation roſe under Elizabeth, juſt as the Romiſh religion had been eſtabliſhed under Mary, with this difference, that no perſon was put to death by Elizabeth on account of religion. We are not however to imagine that this external change produced a real one in the mind. There are very few, who in point of religion, implicitly obey their ſovereigns. Thoſe who were good catholics under Mary, remained ſuch under Elizabeth; as thoſe who really embraced the reformation under Edward VI. continued in Mary's reign reformed in their hearts under an outward compliance. If it is therefore conſidered, that all the changes in religion under this and the foregoing reigns had been made in the ſame manner, it will not be difficult to comprehend that the Roman catholics were ſtill very numerous in the kingdom. Little more than twenty years had paſſed ſince the reformation began, and in that interval the public worſhip had been changed four times. Now it is improbable, that a whole nation ſo frequently change their opinion according to the caprice of the governors, though outwardly they ſubmit to the public authority. It is certain the number of Roman catholics in the kingdom was very great, even after Elizabeth had eſtabliſhed the reformation, though it is likely the reformed were ſtill more numerous. It is therefore very natural to imagine, that thoſe who perſiſted in their antient ſentiments were ſecret enemies of the queen: that they deſired the re-eſtabliſhment of the old religion, and were diſpoſed to embrace all opportunities to place a catholic queen on the throne. It was not one of the leaſt of Elizabeth's cares to watch her own ſubjects.

Let us briefly recapitulate what has been ſaid. Elizabeth had for enemies, France, the queen of Scotland, the pope, and all the catholic powers. For though Philip II. had not yet declared himſelf, ſhe knew he was not her friend, and the ſequel clearly proved it. On the other hand, ſhe had the Iriſh and a great part of her Engliſh ſubjects to guard againſt, without having one ally to aſſiſt her. She was therefore to ſeek in herſelf, in her prudence, in her good conduct, and in her own ſubjects, the aſſiſtance ſhe would have vainly ſought elſewhere. To obtain ſpeedily and willingly the aid ſhe foreſaw would be frequently wanted, ſhe had but one way, and that was to make herſelf beloved by her people. Accordingly this was the governing maxim of her conduct. Happily for her, the qualities of her heart and mind were ſo diſpoſed, that ſhe never once deviated from ſo neceſſary a rule. Wherefore it may be affirmed, that no king of England was ever more ſincerely beloved by his people than Elizabeth. But to demonſtrate this elogy not to be groundleſs, it is neceſſary to be more particular upon this ſubject. It is certain, that her truly proteſtant ſubjects were much more numerous than the catholics. What therefore could ſhe do better than to favour the proteſtant religion, eſpecially, as being herſelf of that religion, ſhe could without reluctance act ſo agreeably to her intereſts? Another thing which greatly contributes to procure a ſovereign the affection of his people, is ſo to manage the treaſury, that he be not forced to load them with unneceſſary taxes. No prince had ever this quality in greater perfection than Elizabeth. Nay, ſhe carried this œconomy ſo far, that ſhe ſometimes gave occaſion to her own miniſters to charge her with avarice. However, her expences were ſo well regulated, that ſhe was never ſeen to laviſh her treaſures upon her favourites, or expend them in things of no uſe. Nevertheleſs, this frugal inclination, whether owing to nature or policy, hindered her not from being profuſe of her money, when ſhe thought it neceſſary. France, Spain, and Scotland, experienced, in their turns, how well ſhe knew to be laviſh of her treaſures. Her people had ſo good an opinion of her œconomy, that through the whole courſe of her reign, ſhe was never once denied by the parliament the ſupplies ſhe wanted, or complained of by her ſubjects for the taxes they were charged with. She had alſo another quality which won her the eſteem of the Engliſh. She would not be induced by her miniſters to beſtow offices or honours upon undeſerving perſons. She was apprehenſive of nothing more than to render contemptible, dignities deſtined for the recompence of merit and virtue. By this wiſe conduct ſhe avoided the diſobliging of men, who might have aſpired to honours, had they ſeen them beſtowed on others of no greater merit than themſelves. This was a maxim from which ſhe rarely departed, during the whole courſe of her reign. Laſtly, ſhe uſed her conſtant endeavours to cauſe juſtice to be impartially adminiſtered. Her greateſt favourites felt her ſeverity, when they abuſed her kindneſs and wandered from their duty. There is no doubt, her great intereſt to be beloved by her people induced her to employ all poſſible means to that end. But it cannot be, as ſome have inferred from hence, that her whole conduct was all diſſimulation, ſince it is by no means impoſſible for the inclinations of men to tally with their intereſts. Elizabeth had a true eſteem for the reformed religion, and her intereſt required her to ſupport it with all her power. She was naturally an œconomiſt, and ſuch was the ſituation of her affairs, that no prince ever had more occaſion to be ſo. As ſhe had true merit herſelf, ſhe eſteemed it in others; and therefore could never reſolve to confer dignities upon men who had not merited them. In fine, had ſhe been never ſo little remiſs with reſpect to juſtice, there would have been danger of her ſex being deſpiſed, and of the great men growing by degrees too licentious.

Such were the principal means uſed by Elizabeth to gain the affection of her ſubjects. Their love was ſo neceſſary, that ſhe had no other reſource. Without it her reign would probably have been very unhappy, conſidering the number and quality of her enemies. The reader therefore is to conſider moſt of her actions, as flowing from the maxim ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, to neglect nothing which might procure the affection of her people.

There was alſo another maxim which no leſs influenced her conduct than this I have mentioned. She ſaw herſelf threatened on all ſides. The pope, France, and afterwards Spain, never ceaſed their open or ſecret attacks. It was not without reaſon that ſhe feared an union of all theſe powers for her ruin. In this belief, ſhe laboured to the utmoſt to cheriſh the troubles of the neighbouring ſtates, and particularly of France, Scotland, and the Low Countries; that her enemies being employed at home, might be leſs able to invade her. I ſhall not pretend to decide, whether this way of defence againſt enemies ſo powerful and dangerous, was agreeable to the rules of juſtice. It cannot however be denied, that this was excellent policy, and that her own ſecurity juſtified this method, as ſhe had no other to divert their attacks. Accordingly ſhe made frequent uſe of this maxim, as will hereafter appear.

I thought it neceſſary to prepare the reader for the ſequel of this reign by theſe reflections, which are ſolely deſigned to ſuſpend in his mind the prejudices inſpired by the hiſtorians of all nations and religions, for and againſt this renowned queen. It is no ſmall difficulty to fix the judgment, amidſt all the contrarieties which occur in the hiſtorians. Some have conſidered her as the moſt accompliſhed queen the world ever ſaw. They have found no fault in her. All her actions were the reſults of prudence, juſtice, and equity; and had no other motive than the glory of God and the hap, neſs

happineſs of her people. They have pretended that her love for her ſubjects was ſo ardent, that ſhe forgot her own intereſt, and thought only of rendering them happy. Not content to excuſe ſome of her actions which deſerve cenſure, they have even in ſome meaſure ſanctified them, by inſinuating that they were the effects of her zeal for the glory of God and the proteſtant religion. Others have aſperſed her with all the calumnies it is poſſible to invent. According to theſe, ſhe exceeded the moſt famous tyrants in cruelty and barbarity. She was extremely deceitful, and her whole conduct was one continued diſſimulation, from the beginning to the end of her reign, notwithſtanding her affectation of an outward ſhow of religion and virtue. To theſe accuſations concerning her public adminiſtration, they have added horrid ſlanders upon her private life. They have repreſented her as a diſſolute woman, who conſtantly refuſed to marry, in order more freely to continue her lewd practices. To efface both theſe impreſſions, and incline the reader (if religious prejudices will ſuffer him) to ſuſpend his judgment, I have previouſly ſhewn the motives of her conduct, and the maxims by which ſhe was, and with reſpect to policy only ought, to have been governed. Her principal aim was to ſecure a tottering crown, and to ſucceed, ſhe followed the above-mentioned maxims. Is it to be thought ſtrange, that on certain occaſions ſhe little over-acted her tenderneſs for her people, wherein lay her only ſupport? But it would be juſt cauſe of wonder, that by an irregular life and other exceſſes, of which ſhe is accuſed, ſhe would have acted directly contrary to what could only procure her the love and eſteem of her people, of which ſhe had ſo great occaſion. This ſuffices, as I imagine, to diſpel ſome of thoſe clouds by which her reputation has been darkened. On the other hand, as ſhe ſaw herſelf aſſaulted from all parts by powerful enemies, who were continually infuſing a ſpirit of rebellion into her ſubjects, when we ſhall ſee her fomenting the troubles of Scotland, and aſſiſting the Hugonots of France, and the malcontents of the Low Countries, it will be eaſily known to what this conduct is owing, notwithſtanding the flatteries of ſome of her admirers. Apply but the two maxims, I have mentioned, to her actions, and remember the neceſſity of her always having them in view, nothing almoſt in her conduct will then appear, the true motive whereof may not eaſily be diſcovered. After this long, though, I think, abſolutely neceſſary digreſſion, it is time to proceed to the events of the year 1560.

Maitland, who was ſent into England from the confederate Scots, at laſt concluded the treaty, which was ſigned at Berwick the 27th of February 1560[r]. Elizabeth ſeeing the great preparations which were making in France, and not doubting of their being deſigned againſt Scotland, thought herſelf above all things obliged to provide for the ſafety of that nation, and prevent the French from being too powerful there. She had cauſe to fear, that if queen Mary had children by the king her huſband, France and Scotland would be united under one head, which it was her great inteteſt to hinder. She concluded therefore a treaty with Maitland, which ſhews her fears with regard to Scotland. The treaty ran:

That ſhe took under her protection the duke of Chateleraut, and all the nobility and ſubjects of Scotland, to maintain that kingdom in its liberties and privileges, during the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the king of France, and one year after.

That ſhe promiſed to ſend with all ſpeed, a convenient aid of men into Scotland, and continue them there till the French were entirely expelled the kingdom.

That ſhe would come to no agreement with France, but on condition of leaving Scotland in full liberty.

That ſhe would never abandon the confederates, while they acknowledged Mary for their ſovereign, and endeavoured to maintain the liberty of their country, and the eſtate of the crown of Scotland.

That if the Engliſh took any place in Scotland, they ſhould be either demoliſhed by the Scots, or delivered to the duke of Chateleraut, at his own opinion; but that the Engliſh ſhould erect no fortification in the kingdom, without the advice of the duke and his party.

That the duke and all his party ſhould join the Engliſh forces.

That they ſhould declare themſelves enemies of thoſe of their countrymen, who ſhould ſerve France againſt England.

That if England was attacked in the ſouth, the confederates ſhould ſend to the queen's aſſiſtance two thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe at the leaſt; but if in the north, they ſhould join the Engliſh army with all their forces.

That if the earl of Argyle, lord chief juſtice of Scotland, ſhould join with the confederates, he ſhould be obliged to uſe his endeavours to reduce the north of Ireland under the dominion of England, agreeably to a treaty to be made betwixt him and the lord lieutenant of Ireland.

That the duke of Chateleraut and his party ſhould give hoſtages to Elizabeth, to remain in England [s] during the time that the marriage between Mary queen of Scots and the king if France ſhould ſubſiſt.

Laſtly, The duke of Chateleraut and his party proteſted, that their intention was to be faithful to their queen in every thing not contrary to the laws and liberties of Scotland, and not tending to their ſubverſion.

From this treaty, it is plain Elizabeth's ſole aim was to keep the king of France from becoming maſter of Scotland, knowing it was intended to invade her from that quarter.

While the treaty was negotiating, the French forces which were in Scotland continued their purſuit of the confederate Scots into the mountains, contrary to the opinion of Martigues of the houſe of Luxemburg. This lord who had brought the laſt ſuccours from France [t], was for an immediate invaſion of England, imagining, that on his approach, the Engliſh catholics would all riſe and join him. But the regent, better informed of the ſtate of England, judged it not proper to enter upon ſo great a deſign with ſo ſmall an army. Some time after, while the French were exulting at the ſight of a flying enemy, they diſcovered from a mountain a fleet at ſea, which they at firſt took to be the marquis of Elbeuf's. But perceiving afterwards it was an Engliſh fleet [u], they were of opinion that the forces ſent to the confederates by land were not very diſtant. This made them retire to Leith, with deſign to aſſemble there all their forces, and wait the arrival of the marquis d'Elbeuf. But he was expected in vain, for a violent tempeſt diſperſed his fleet, and forced him to ſail back to France to refit his ſhips. Afterwards the troubles in France calling for the aſſiſtance of the forces which were ſending into Scotland, and of thoſe already there, the expedition was entirely blaſted.

The French forces being retired to Leith, the confederates aſſembled from all places where they were diſperſed, in order to join the Engliſh army marching to their relief under the command of the lord Grey [w]. At length they came to Haddington the 1ſt of April, being ſix thouſand ſtrong in foot and two thouſand in horſe, and there expected the ſo much deſired Engliſh ſuccours, which were advancing with all poſſible ſpeed. The queen-regent fearing to be ſhut up in Leith, choſe rather to retire to the caſtle of Edinburgh, which was committed by the ſtates to the care of John Areſkin, with the expreſs condition not to reſign it without their order. Areſkin received the regent with honour, but ſtill preſerved the command of the caſtle.

Shortly after, the lord Grey entering Scotland [x] with an army of ſix or ſeven thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, was joined by the confederates, after which they marched together to Leith, where the enemies were retired. It was no inconſiderable work to beſiege a place which had an army within its walls; and yet it was undertaken, becauſe there was no other way to drive the French out of Scotland. While they were employed in the ſiege, all poſſible endeavours were uſed by the French king to prevail with Elizabeth to recal her forces out of Scotland. But ſhe knew her intereſt too well to be impoſed upon. When de Sevre, the French embaſſador, firſt mentioned it, ſhe anſwered, Her troops ſhould be readily recalled, provided the French were ſo too; ſince France had no more right than England to ſend forces into Scotland. At laſt the embaſſador finding, after many attempts, he could not prevail, declared in the preſence of the Spaniſh embaſſador, that by ſending forces into Scotland ſhe had violated the treaty of Cateau: to which ſhe calmly anſwered, That the king of France had firſt infringed that treaty

[r] The Engliſh commiſſioner was, Thomas duke of Norfolk, lieutenant of the north; and on the duke of Chateleraut's ſide appeared, lord James Steward; Patrick lord Ruthven; ſir John Maxwell, of Teiregles, knight; William Maitland, of Lethyngton; John Wyſchert, of Pittarrow; and Mr. Henry Balnaves, of Halhil. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 569.

[s] For ſix or four months each; and to be then exchanged, and ſo on.

[t] One thouſand foot, and one or two cornets of horſe. Camden, p. 380.

[u] This fleet was commanded by vice-admiral William Winter. Stow.

[w] William lord Grey, of Wilton. His aſſiſtant was ſir James Croft: and the lord Scrope was earl-marſhal. Sir George Howard, general of the men at arms; Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, his lieutenant; ſir Henry Percy, general of the light-horſe; Thomas Huggens, Eſq. provoſt-marſhal; William Pelham, captain of the pioneers, &c. Stow, p. 641.

[x] March 30. Ibid. p. 641.

Anthony

by his endeavours to render himſelf maſter of Scotland. Some time before, ſhe had publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring her reaſons for concerning herſelf in the affairs of Scotland. She charged in plain terms the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain with being the authors of the troubles in that kingdom, in order to effect more eaſily their deſigns againſt England. To them alſo ſhe wholly aſcribed the injury done her by the king and queen of France, in aſſuming her title and arms.

Before de Sevre had made his declaration, Monluc, biſhop of Valence, was come into England to preſs the queen to recal her forces from Scotland; and would have even perſuaded her that Francis II. and Mary had aſſumed her title on purpoſe to do her honour. This excuſe was more provoking than the injury. At laſt Monluc, ſeeing he could not divert her from her reſolution to ſupport the Scots, told her, the king of France would reſtore Calais, if ſhe would draw her forces out of Scotland. But ſhe anſwered, that ſhe did not value that fiſh-town ſo much as the quiet of Britain. Mean time ſhe diſpatched Montague [y] to Philip II. to inform him of her reaſons to aſſiſt Scotland. That embaſſador was to repreſent to him, that the Guiſes had projected an union of the crowns of France and Scotland, and, not to be diſappointed, had concerted the murder of the earl of Arran, who had happily eſcaped out of their ſnares [z], and that ſhe therefore deſired him to conſider if ſuch an union would be advantageous to Spain.

During theſe negotiations, the ſiege of Leith was continued, but with no great ſucceſs, becauſe of the numerous garriſon. The 15th of April, the French made a ſally, and nailed three great pieces of cannon [a]. The 30th, the Engliſh were fiercely repulſed at an aſſault. The 1ſt of May they ſtormed again, but with no better ſucceſs. The length and difficulties of the ſiege began now to diſcourage them, when the duke of Norfolk, warden of the northern marches of England, ſent a powerful reinforcement, and came to the Engliſh camp himſelf, to encourage the continuation of the ſiege. They would, however, have hardly taken the place, had not the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, which was then diſcovered in France, convinced the princes of Lorrain, that the ſeaſon was not proper for the execution of their deſigns againſt England. So, inſtead of ſending new forces into Scotland, they thought of recalling thoſe already there, imagining they might want them in France. It was to this end that Monluc, biſhop of Valence, and the comte de Randan, were ſent into Scotland, with full powers from the king to conclude a peace. Elizabeth, hearing of it, ſent likewiſe ſecretary Cecil, and Dr. Wotton, with the ſame powers [b]. The plenipotentiaries immediately agreed to meet at Edinburgh, in July, and in the mean time concluded a truce, which was to laſt till the end of their conferences. During the truce, the queen-regent died in the caſtle of Edinburgh, the 10th of June.

When the peace came to be negotiated, the French plenipotentiaries abſolutely refuſed to treat with the Scottiſh confederates, ſaying, it would be an injury to the royal authority, becauſe they were rebels. This refuſal might have put an end to the congreſs; but, as both ſides were deſirous of peace, an expedient at laſt was contrived, namely, Francis and Mary ſhould grant certain conditions to the confederates, not by way of treaty, but as of pure grace: and that nevertheleſs they ſhould promiſe to obſerve them in their treaty with the queen of England. This was in effect the ſame thing; but the embaſſadors, probably with a view to ſome advantage, preferred that expedient. Moſt hiſtorians confound, in the treaty ſhortly after concluded at Edinburgh, two things, which, however, ought to be diſtinguiſhed, namely, the conceſſions of Francis and Mary to their Scottiſh ſubjects, and the treaty between France and England. As of theſe two things, one was obſerved and the other not, it is neceſſary to have a diſtinct idea of them. The promiſes made to the Scots were:

That the French forces ſhould leave Scotland in twenty-four days, and return to France in ſhips to be furniſhed by Elizabeth.

That the city of Leith ſhould be reſtored to Scotland, and the fortifications demoliſhed.

That the works made by the French at Dunbar ſhould be razed.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould grant an act of oblivion to the confederates, for every thing done from the 10th of March 1559, to the 1ſt of Auguſt 1560, and that this act ſhould be approved and confirmed by the ſtates of Scotland, to be aſſembled the following Auguſt, with the conſent of the king and queen.

That the French ſhould have liberty to leave ſixty men in the iſle of Keith [c].

But, with regard to the intereſts of Elizabeth, a real treaty was concluded, which will be often mentioned hereafter by the name of the treaty of Edinburgh, containing,

That for the future the king and queen of Scotland ſhould not aſſume the title of king and queen of England and Ireland, nor bear the arms of theſe kingdoms.

That the patents and other acts which had been diſpatched with that title, ſhould be altered, or remain of no force.

That the farther ſatisfaction required by the queen of England for the injury done her, ſhould be referred to a conference at London, between the commiſſioners of the two crowns.

That if the commiſſioners could not agree, the deciſion ſhould be left to the king of Spain.

That the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould perform the promiſes made to the Scots at Edinburgh by the plenipotentiaries of France.

It muſt be obſerved, that Buchanan, in his hiſtory, has only mentioned the articles granted to the confederate Scots; and Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, takes notice only of the treaty between the two crowns. This cauſes ſome obſcurity in their reſpective accounts of the following events:

After the concluſion of the treaty, the French and Engliſh quitted Scotland; the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar were demoliſhed; and the act of oblivion ſent over in Scotland, and confirmed by the ſtates. Theſe ſtates, aſſembled in Auguſt, made laws favourable to the reformation, and ſent them to the king and queen for their approbation, rather to diſcover their ſentiments, than with any hopes of obtaining their deſires; and yet they cauſed theſe new laws to be punctually obſerved.

But as to the treaty concluded between the crowns, Francis and Mary refuſed to ratify it, for a reaſon, the force of which is not eaſily conceived. It was, they ſaid, becauſe the Scots, falſely ſtiling themſelves faithful ſubjects, had made a treaty with Elizabeth in their own private names, without any warrant from the royal authority. If this refuſal had only concerned the articles granted to the Scots, Elizabeth might have believed that the court of France repented of their conceſſions, and then the reaſon alleged might have had ſome colour. But whatever related to the Scots being already performed, their pretended incroachment could not render invalid a treaty about a difference between Elizabeth and Mary, in which the conduct of the Scots was entirely unconcerned. It was therefore eaſy to infer, that this weak reaſon was but a pretence uſed by Francis and Mary, to elude what they had promiſed in the treaty with reſpect to Elizabeth. Accordingly, Elizabeth was convinced that the princes of Lorrain ſtill perſiſted in the deſign to wreſt the crown from her; and this belief was ever rooted in her mind. Mary's uncles did not then foreſee how dear this proceeding would one day coſt their niece, whoſe grandeur they ſo paſſionately deſired.

While Elizabeth was employed in theſe affairs, her court was attentive to watch her motions, her conduct, and inclinations with regard to marriage. Though ſhe told her parliament, ſhe was reſolved to remain ſingle, ſuch reſolutions were known to be liable to change, and the more, as there were many princes, and ſome lords, who deſpaired not to make her alter her mind. Charles, archduke of Auſtria, third ſon of the emperor Ferdinand, the king of Sweden, the duke of Holſtein, had already made their addreſſes. The earl of Arran, ſon of the duke of Chateleraut, relying on the barrenneſs of queen Mary, and his ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland, flattered himſelf that Elizabeth would prefer him to any other, in order to unite the two kingdoms [e]. To theſe were added others, who, being her ſubjects, and not daring to declare their minds ſo openly, were contented to leave her to

[y] Anthony Browne.

[z] This juſtifies Buchanan's account of the deſign laid to arreſt and detain the earl of Arran in France. Rapin.

[a] And at the ſame time took ſir Maurice Berkley priſoner. Camden, p. 381.

[b] They came to Berwick June 13. Stow, p. 645.

[c] The reader will naturally aſk of what ſervice would it be to Francis and Mary to have ſixty men of their French ſubjects left in Scotland. And Buchanan gives this reaſon, that the queen might not ſeem to be thrown out of the entire poſſeſſion of Scotland.

[e] Camden ſays, he was recommended to her by the proteſtants of Scotland, with the view and hopes of uniting the two kingdoms, p. 382.

Henry

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London Engrav'd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

WILLIAM CECIL.
LORD BURLEIGH.

Goldar Sculp

In the Collection of the R.t Hon.ble the Earl of Burlington.

Publish'd as the Act directs. Nov.r 6 1784.

gueſs their inclinations, or to diſcloſe them by means of ſome of her ladies. One proceeded upon his birth, another upon his merit, a third upon his mein and outward accompliſhments, apt to kindle the flames of love in the fair ſex. In ſhort, ſhe was indirectly aſſaulted on all the ſides which are generally thought weakeſt in a woman. The earl of Arundel [f], of a noble and ancient race, though a little advanced in years, imagined the queen would marry a ſubject rather than a ſovereign, and if ſo, that no man deſerved that honour better than he. Sir William Pickering [g], having received ſome particular mark of the queen's eſteem, deſpaired not that theſe firſt favours would be extended much farther. But no man believed he had better grounds to flatter his hopes, than Robert Dudley, ſon of the late duke of Northumberland. The queen viſibly preferred him to all who had the honour to approach her, and gave him ſo many proofs of the inclination ſhe had for him, that for ſome time it was believed ſhe intended to marry him. At her acceſſion to the crown, ſhe made him maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter. From thenceforward, ſhe took a pleaſure to diſtribute her favours through him; ſo that, by this diſtinction, ſhe diſcovered that ſhe had more than a bare eſteem for him. He was at court called only My Lord, without any other addition, which demonſtrated her preference of him to all the nobility. And yet, when his pretenſions to ſuch diſtinguiſhing favours were examined, no qualities were found in him capable to make an impreſſion upon ſo diſcerning a queen. His vices far ſurpaſſing his virtues, recourſe was had to the planets which ruled his birth and occaſioned this ſympathy of thoughts. However this be, he was a favourite at court. All affairs were imparted to him: embaſſadors gave account to him of their negotiations: every one applied to him for his affairs at court, and woe to thoſe who addreſſed to any other; that was an unpardonable fault.

The queen had two favourites more, but of a different kind from Dudley, as they were only for the affairs of the government. Theſe were Nicholas Bacon and William Cecil. The firſt was made keeper of the great ſeal, with all the privileges of lord chancellor. William Cecil had been ſecretary of ſtate to Edward VI. and diſcharged the office ſo well, that if his religion had not ſtood in the way, he had been continued under Mary. He was not however expoſed to perſecution, whether he ſo artfully managed as to give no advantages againſt him, or his particular merit procured him a diſtinction above all other proteſtants. He had an uncommon genius, a ſound judgment, a capacity for great affairs, an unwearied application, and an impenetrable ſecrecy, with a conſtant tendency to his ſole view, the welfare and advantage of the queen. It is not therefore ſtrange if he preſerved all his life the favour of a queen who ſo perfectly knew her own intereſt. When able princes are bleſt with ſuch miniſters, they do not eaſily part with them.

In the ſituation of Elizabeth's affairs, ſhe wanted able and diſintereſted miniſters to guide her. Wherever ſhe turned her eyes out of her kingdom, ſhe ſaw not one friend who was really concerned for her welfare; ſhe had at firſt relied on the king of Spain; but Montague's report of his embaſſy to that prince, diſappointed all her expectations from him. When this embaſſador, after diſcourſing with Philip about the Scottiſh affairs, demanded, agreeably to his inſtructions, the renewing of the antient alliance between England and the houſe of Burgundy, he found him very cold. Philip, in his anſwer, lamented the changes made in England with regard to religion, and ſignified his concern for them. He complained he had received no intelligence of the ſending an Engliſh army into Scotland till it was too late; and yet he adviſed the queen to have it inſerted in the future treaty between her and Mary, that if France ſent forces into Scotland, ſhe ſhould alſo have the ſame liberty, and to ſtipulate poſitively the reſtitution of Calais. He added, he had till then prevented Elizabeth's excommunication, and obtained from the pope a promiſe, that nothing ſhould be done in that affair without his knowledge. As to the renewing of the treaty, he coldly anſwered, it was needleſs. In fine, he returned by the embaſſador the collar of the order of the garter. This convinced Elizabeth, that Philip was no longer her friend, and that his advice, which came too late, was more the effect of his jealouſy of the growing greatneſs of France than of his affection for her. Some time after, ſhe gave him a ſmall mortification, in refuſing her permiſſion to certain Engliſh catholics [h] to reſide in the Low Countries, and preſerve their effects in England. Amongſt theſe was Jane Dormer, grandmother of the Condé de Feria's lady, whom he married in England, during his embaſſy [i]. This ſo provoked the Condé, that he uſed all his credit with Philip to exaſperate him againſt Elizabeth. He even found an opportunity to force into the inquiſition a ſervant of Chamberlain, the Engliſh embaſſador in ordinary for Spain. He alſo ſtrongly ſolicited the pope to excommunicate her, but without ſucceſs. Pius IV. was for trying other means, which appeared to him more proper to gain the queen, and were not prejudicial to his cenſures, which he could thunder againſt her whenever he pleaſed.

It was with this view that he ſent Vincenzo Parpaglia, abbot of St. Saviour, into England, with certain inſtructions, and a letter to the queen, exhorting her to return into the pale of the church, and promiſing to continue the general council [k] as ſoon as poſſible. It is pretended, the nuntio had likewiſe a power to offer the queen, that the pope would annul the ſentence of Henry's divorce with Anne Bullen, and the ſubſequent act of parliament, confirm the Engliſh liturgy, and permit the Engliſh to communicate in both kinds. But theſe offers were not capable of moving Elizabeth; and the rather, as probably they were not ſincere, at leaſt, in what concerned religion. Hence it may be obſerved, what opinion the court of Rome and all catholics had of Elizabeth's birth, ſince it was offered as a great favour to own her for legitimate daughter of Henry VIII.

Mean time, Elizabeth very cloſely applied herſelf to the affairs of the government, in order to render her ſubjects as happy as poſſible, well knowing, her greateſt aſſiſtance was to flow from them in caſe of an invaſion, which ſhe had reaſon to expect. This year, ſhe was obliged to reſtore the coin to its antient ſtandard, which had been extremely debaſed in the reign of Henry VIII. though no king had ever drawn ſo much money from his ſubjects [l]. If cardinal Pole may be credited, this prince alone drew more money from the people than all the kings together ſince the conqueſt. The monaſtery of Weſtminſter was this year turned into a collegiate church [m]. Theſe were the moſt remarkable events in England in 1560. But before we proceed to the following year, it is neceſſary briefly to mention the affairs of the neighbouring ſtates.

The affairs of France tended to confuſion the beginning of the year. The proteſtants, ſeeing themſelves perſecuted, and condemned to the flames without mercy, thought it time to provide for their common defence. To this end, ſome of them, after a private conference, formed a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, the king's miniſters, and their declared enemies. They had no leader who openly appeared, but very likely the prince of Condé, jealous of theſe two foreign princes, had among the reformed emiſſaries, who intimated to them, that when things were ripe, they ſhould not want a ſupport. However this be, a gentleman, named La Renaudie, projected to carry off the Lorrain princes, then with the king at Amboiſe. This attempt miſcarrying, was interpreted as a conſpiracy againſt the king himſelf, and twelve hundred perſons, either guilty or only ſuſpected to be concerned in it, were put to death. The two Lorrain princes would have been glad, on this pretence, to have diſpatched the prince of Condé; but their meaſures not being yet well taken, they waited a more favourable opportunity. Some time after, the ſtates, being aſſembled at Orleans, the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé indiſcreetly came thither, though they had intimation of the court's ill deſigns againſt them. The king of Navarre, indeed, was not arreſted, but was ſo carefully watched, that an eſcape was impoſſible. The prince of Condé was impriſoned, and ſhortly after condemned to die. But the death of Frrncis [n], about the ſame time, prevented the execution of the ſentence, and the prince was releaſed.

[f] Henry Fitz-Alen.

[g] Sir William Pickering (whom Rapin, by miſtake, calls ſir George) was of a deſcent inferior to few of the nobility; he was honoured with the garter, and had, by his embaſſies in France and Germany, diſplayed his great abilities for public affairs. Camden, p. 383.

[h] Richard Shelly, late prior of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, in England, Thomas Harvey, &c. Camden, p. 383.

[i] It was a proviſo in the antient laws of England, that, under pain of forfeiting good and chattels, none but peers of the firſt rank, and merchants, ſhould (without the king's ſpecial licence) leave the kingdom and reſide in foreign countries, beyond ſuch a fixed time. The Condé de Feria married the daughter of William Dormer, by Mary Sidney. Camden, p. 213.

[k] This was the famous council of Trent, which had been opened many years before, but interrupted in its ſeſſions by continual wars, or the intrigues of the popes.

[l] The greateſt alloy was in the 5th of Edward VI. See the Coin-note of Edward VI. Queen Elizabeth reduced the ſilver coin to eleven ounces, two penny weight fine, and eighteen penny weight alloy, the preſent ſtandard. See Coin-note at the end of this reign.

[m] For a dean, twelve prebends, a ſchoolmaſter, an uſher, forty ſcholars, beſides chaplains, ſinging-men, twelve penſioners, &c. Camden, p. 385.

[n] The 5th of December. Rapin.

This ſame year, Philip II. having carried war into Africk againſt the corſair Dragut, who had made himſelf king of Tripoli, his arms were ſo unſucceſsful, that he was forced to recal the Spaniſh troops left in the Netherlands. The inhabitants of thoſe provinces ſaw the departure of the Spaniards with great ſatisfaction, which would have been much encreaſed, had cardinal Granvelle been alſo recalled; for they mortally hated him, and were encouraged in their hate by the prince of Orange and the counteſs of Egmont and Horn, his ſworn enemies.

The death of Francis II. cauſed great alterations in the court of France. Charles IX. his brother and ſucceſſor, being yet a minor, Catherine de Medici, his mother, had the addreſs and influence to prevail with the king of Navarre, firſt prince of the blood, to yield the regency to her, and content himſelf with the title of lieutenant-general. Mean while, as ſhe was not entirely without fear that he might one day think of reſuming the rank due to his birth, ſhe fomented with all her art the diſſenſions which had begun to appear in the late reign. By this means, ſhe at laſt formed two parties in the court and kingdom, which proved her ſecurity, as ſhe was neceſſary to both. The firſt was headed by the duke of Guiſe, the conſtable of Montmorency, and the marſhal of St. André. Theſe three lords were called the triumvers. On their ſide were all the catholics of the kingdom, into whom a belief was infuſed, that the chiefs had only in view the maintenance of the catholic religion. At the head of the other party, wholly conſiſting of Hugonots (ſo the French proteſtants [o] were called), where the prince of Condé, the admiral of Coligny or Chatillon, and his brother d'Andelot. The king of Navarre fluctuated between the two parties, without being able to reſolve, and the queen-regent reaped great advantages from the diviſion among the great men.

The affairs of France being in this ſituation, Elizabeth ſeemed to be out of danger from them. Francis's ſucceſſor had no pretence to concern himſelf with the affairs of Scotland any farther than as common ally, and he had no manner of demand upon England. On the other hand, the queen-regent, who had no great affection for her daughter-in-law, was far from engaging in a war for her ſake. Though ſhe could have hoped to place her on the throne of England, it was not her intereſt to render the houſe of Guiſe more powerful than it was. In fine, the princes of Lorrain, employed in ſtruggling with their enemies at court, were not in condition to proſecute the rights of the queen their niece. Wherefore, immediately after the death of Francis II. Mary, by the advice of her uncles, quitted the title of queen of England, which ſhe had bore ever ſince the treaty of Cateau. But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy Elizabeth. Mary, being ſtill very young, might marry ſome powerful prince, and transfer to him her pretenſions. Therefore, to make Elizabeth eaſy, the young queen was ſolemnly to declare ſhe had no right to that title, otherwiſe ſhe might have reſumed it when ſhe pleaſed, a bare interruption being not ſufficient to invalidate her claim. By the way, Elizabeth, like her grandfather, Henry VII. was all her life ſo jealous of her crown, that ſhe was for ever uneaſy on that account. When ſhe heard of Francis' death, ſhe ſent the earl of Bedford into France, with her compliments of condolence and congratulation to the new king, and ordered him to preſs Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. The embaſſador diſcharged his commiſſion; and was anſwered by Mary, that the affair not concerning her as queen of France, but as queen of Scotland, ſhe would not confirm it without the advice of the Scottiſh nobility [p]. Mean time, as ſhe knew her mother-in-law, the queen-regent, loved her not, ſhe left the court of France, and retired to Rheims, where her uncle the cardinal was archbiſhop, to ſpend part of the winter there, and afterwards ſhe went to reſide at Nancy. While ſhe was at Rheims, ſhe received a viſit from Martigues la Broſſe, d'Oyſel, and the biſhop of Amiens, who being acquainted with the affairs of Scotland, and knowing her intention to return thither, believed it incumbent on them to give her ſome inſtructions. She came from thence ſo young, that ſhe was utterly ignorant of the kingdom ſhe was going to govern. Melvil ſays, they adviſed her to gain by her favours, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrew's, her natural brother, the earl of Argyle, who had married Jane Stuart, her natural ſiſter, ſir William Maitland of Lethington, and ſir Willam Kirkaldy laird of Grange, and to rely on the proteſtants rather than the catholics, as the reformed were in all reſpects ſuperior. Some time after, on her way to Nancy, ſhe gave audience to John Leſley, ſent to her from her catholic ſubjects. Leſley ſays himſelf, in his Hiſtory of Scotland, that he adviſed her, agreeably to his inſtructions, not to confide in the prior of St. Andrew's, and to repair to Aberdeen, where ſhe might be at the head of a good body of catholic troops, to reſtore religion to the ſtate it was in before the late changes. But ſhe was too wiſe to follow ſuch dangerous council. The next day the prior of St. Andrew's, who was alſo come to France to pay her his reſpects, met her at Joinville, and gave her counſels more ſuitable to the ſituation of her affairs. He confirmed her reſolution to return into Scotland, and adviſed her to reign like her predeceſſors with the concurrence of the ſtates, aſſuring her, it was the only way to live happy and peaceable [r]. The queen, agreeably to this advice, ordered him to return to Scotland, and prepare all things for her reception. Moreover, ſhe put into his hands a patent, empowering the ſtates to meet and ordain whatever they ſhould judge convenient for the good of the kingdom. Thus, Leſley's pains to prejudice her againſt Stuart, were for once ineffectual. This Leſley, afterwards biſhop of Roſs, greatly contributed, by his intrigues and violent counſels, to the misfortunes which at laſt fell on the head of the queen his miſtreſs. Stuart arriving in Scotland, notwithſtanding Leſley's endeavours to have him arreſted in France, delivered to the ſtates the patent which the queen had ſent by him. As almoſt all Scotland was then proteſtants the ſtates employed the general power granted them by the queen, to eſtabliſh the reformation by public authority. This was followed by an order to demoliſh all the monaſteries, which was immediately put in execution.

Mean time, Mary, preparing to ſail for Scotland, ſent d'Oyſel to Elizabeth for a ſafe-conduct. Elizabeth anſwered, ſhe hoped the queen would ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, after which ſhe ſhould not only have a ſafe-conduct, but alſo, without being expoſed to the dangers and fatigues of the ſea, might paſs through England, where ſhe ſhould be received with all the marks of affection ſhe could expect from a good ſiſter [s]. Mary complained of this anſwer to Throckmorton the Engliſh embaſſador, ſo as to ſhew him, ſhe was extremely offended at it. She told him, "As ſhe came into France in ſpite of Edward, ſhe could return into Scotland notwithſtanding Elizabeth's oppoſition: ſhe was heartily vexed, for aſking a favour ſhe could ſo well be without: that the refuſal, and the aſſiſtance given by Elizabeth to the Scotch rebels, was a clear evidence, how little ſhe deſired to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms: that it was matter of aſtoniſhment to her, that the queen of England ſhould obſtruct the return of her near relation, and moſt certainly preſumptive heir, into her own country: that ſhe could have no pretence for this, ſince ſhe could not accuſe her of meddling with the affairs of England, though the diſcontent of the Engliſh gave her an opportunity." She added, "ſhe was a queen as well as Elizabeth, and not deſtitute of friends when they ſhould be wanted: that the treaty of Edinburgh was made in the life-time of her huſband, and if he delayed to ſign it, he alone ought to bear the blame: that ſince ſhe was a widow, neither the council of France, nor her uncles, had concerned themſelves with the affairs of Scotland: that the Scots about her were private perſons, whom ſhe neither could nor ought to conſult in ſo important an affair; but as ſoon as ſhe had adviſed with the ſtates of Scotland, ſhe would return a ſuitable anſwer: that therefore ſhe was haſtening her return into Scotland, but Elizabeth intended to ſtop her journey, and ſo alone was the cauſe of the delay ſhe complained of." She concluded with ſaying, "ſhe had never offended Elizabeth, and prayed the embaſſador to tell her the reaſon of her anger."

Throckmorton replied, his order was only to receive her anſwer concerning the treaty of Edinburgh: but ſince ſhe deſired it, he would for a moment lay aſide the embaſſador, and give her his ſentiments as a private man. Then he told her,

[o] They were ſo called, either from Hugo's gate in the city of Tours, where they uſed to meet firſt; or from king Hugo's ghoſt, which was the ſcarecrow uſed in that town to frighten children, and which was ſaid to walk in the ſuburbs in the nigh; it being the uſual time and place where the proteſtants were wont to meet. Charles IX. forbids this name by an edict. Thuanus, lib. 24.

[p] This affair being thus put off from time to time, queen Elizabeth began to ſuſpect ſome plot was hatching againſt England, and therefore reſolved to prevent it. Accordingly, ſhe diſpatched ſir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to cultivate a good underſtanding between the Engliſh and Scotiſh nations. Camden, p. 385.

[r] Camden ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of James Stuart. Rapin. Camden ſays, he adviſed queen Elizabeth to intercept Mary in her paſſage, and that Lidington was alſo of the ſame mind, leſt, at her return, ſhe ſhould treat the proteſtants of Scotland with extreme rigour, not as traitors, but heretics, as queen Mary of England had done before her. Camden, p. 387.

[s] Buchanan is in the wrong to omit the conditions on which Elizabeth was willing to grant a ſafe-conduct. Rapin.

That

the queen his miſtreſs, was very much offended at her aſſuming the title and arms of England, which ſhe had not done in queen Mary's reign, and left her to judge, whether a greater indignity could be offered to a crowned head. Mary anſwered, ſhe did it by the expreſs command of Henry II. her father-in-law, and of Francis, her huſband, whom ſhe was obliged to obey; but, upon the death of her huſband, ſhe had, when miſtreſs of herſelf, quitted both the title and arms: that, however, ſhe being a queen, and grand-daughter to Henry VIII.'s eldeſt ſiſter, did not believe it injurious to any perſon to bear the arms of England, which had been done by others more remotely allied, without any noiſe. Camden, from whom this is taken, does not mention Throckmorton's reply. It would however be ſtrange, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with ſuch weak reaſons. Elizabeth did not only demand that Mary ſhould quit the title and arms of England, but alſo ſhould declare, in the moſt expreſs manner, that ſhe never had any right to aſſume them. Nay, ſhe expected a ſolemn reparation for the encroachment, as appears by the treaty of Edinburgh. Now Mary's quitting the title and arms of England, without owning ſhe had no right to aſſume them, was very far from contenting Elizabeth, who would not have had any other perſon but herſelf pretend to the title of queen of England. Mary's alleging that other's had borne the ſame arms, without any offence, pointed to the marquis of Exeter and the ducheſs of Suffolk. But there were three remarkable differences between them and Mary. The firſt was, they bore the arms by the king's ſpecial grant. The ſecond, that they did it with a limb or border for diſtinction. The third, that they never aſſumed the title of king and queen of England.

All this made Elizabeth ſuſpect the queen of Scotland was forming ſome dangerous deſign, and, in quitting the title and arms of England, intended only to amuſe her, ſince ſhe refuſed to own the injuſtice of aſſuming them. In ſhort, Mary, being determined to return into Scotland without Elizabeth's ſafe-conduct, ſent for Throckmorton to Abbeville, and demanded of him what was to be done to ſatisfy Elizabeth. Throckmorton anſwered, ſhe had only to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, as he had often told her before. She replied, ſhe could not conceive why ſhe was thus urged to ratify a treaty already executed: that the articles concerning the Scots had been really performed: that as ſhe had quitted the title and arms of England, ſhe could not be accuſed of ſeeking evaſions not to ratify the treaty, ſince a treaty already executed did not want a ratification: that the Scots could not complain of being treated with too much rigour, but that ſhe perceived the perſon who would prevent her return into Scotland, would prevent their enjoying the effects of her clemency. She added, ſhe would write to the queen of England with her own hand, and deſired the embaſſador rather to compoſe than aggravate matters. But the letter ſhe wrote on this occaſion, did not give Elizabeth the ſatisfaction ſhe believed to have reaſon to expect. As the uſurpation of the arms and title of Elizabeth, and the refuſal to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, were the baſis and foundation of the differences between theſe two queens, and had a conſtant influence upon this reign, it will not be unneceſſary to add ſome obſervations to what has been ſaid, in order to ſet in a clearer light the reaſons and intereſts of both.

Elizabeth, in France, and all the catholic countries, was deemed illegitimate. It was upon this foundation that Henry II. obliged the dauphin, his ſon, and the queen of Scotland, the dauphin's wife, to aſſume the title of king and queen of England, and that after his death they continued to bear the ſame. Elizabeth was not ſo void of underſtanding, as not to perceive that this pretence would be more than ſufficient to deprive her of the crown, ſhould it ever come to be ſupported by force. On the other hand, ſhe could not doubt that ſuch a deſign was formed by Mary and her friends. Of this, her having aſſumed the title of queen of England, was a clear indication. It was therefore neceſſary to provide for her ſafety. The civil war in Scotland naturally preſenting itſelf, ſhe aſſiſted the malcontents, and whereas France was reſolved to invade her from that quarter, gave Francis and Mary cauſe to apprehend ſhe would deprive them of Scotland. This produced the treaty of Edinburgh, 1561, which was never ratified by Francis; and after his death Mary perſiſted in her refuſal, contenting herſelf with only quitting the title of queen of England. But this was not a ſufficient ſecurity for Elizabeth: As Mary had quitted the title, without giving any reaſon, ſhe could reſume it the firſt opportunity: and this was what Elizabeth deſired to prevent, and the more, as Mary's obſtinate refuſal gave her cauſe to believe it was really intended.

Mary, on her ſide, had ſtrong reaſons to elude this ratification. She was perſuaded Elizabeth was not the ligitimate daughter of Henry VIII. and that neither his will nor an act of parliament could give her a right which nature denied. Upon this ſuppoſition, Mary believed the crown of England was fallen to her, as next heir to the deceaſed queen; and though Elizabeth had poſſeſſion, ſhe did not deſpair of wreſting it from her, with the aſſiſtance of France, Spain, the pope, and the Engliſh catholics. But if, by ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, ſhe owned herſelf in the wrong to aſſume the title of queen of England, and promiſed, with an oath, never to bear it more, ſhe had cauſe to fear her friends would grow very cool. To what purpoſe then did Francis order his plenipotentiaries to ſign a treaty, which he did not intend to ratify? To this the anſwer is eaſy. He could not otherwiſe draw his forces out of Scotland, where they were beſieged, nor oblige Elizabeth to recal her's. As to the breach of his word, it did not then much trouble the French court. Now as Mary was at that time in ſubjection to a huſband, ſhe threw upon him whatever was amiſs in that conduct.

[1561.] The ſecond reaſon Mary had to refuſe the ratification was ſtill of more force. The plenipotentiaries of France, in ſigning the treaty, made a wrong ſtep, for want of ſufficient knowledge of the Engliſh affairs. They ſuffered to be inſerted in the treaty, without any reſtriction, this general clauſe, "That for the future Francis and Mary ſhould not aſſume the title of king and queen of England." Now Mary had reaſon to fear, that theſe words, "for the future," might be a ſnare to make her renounce for ever the crown of England, on account of her religion. This fear ſeemed the more juſt, as the Engliſh had ſufficiently diſcovered their intention to regulate the ſucceſſion by Henry the VIII.'s will, where the poſterity of Margaret, queen of Scotland, was omitted, and the ducheſs of Suffolk placed next to Elizabeth. It ſeemed therefore to her, that a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh would give occaſion to ſay, ſhe complied with the will of Henry VIII. which could not but be to her extremely prejudicial. It is ſcarce to be doubted that Elizabeth thought the ſame thing, ſince afterwards, when Mary, preſſed by the neceſſity of her affairs, offered to ratify the treaty, with this alteration of the clauſe in diſpute, "That, during the life of Elizabeth, ſhe would not take the title of queen of England," Elizabeth was not ſatisfied. This is an evident ſign, that her intention was to make uſe of the ratification to deprive Mary of her birth-right, or, at leaſt, to hold her in ſubjection, by keeping her in a perpetual uneaſineſs concerning her ſucceſſion. There was then inſincerity in both their proceedings. Mary, in evading the ratification of the treaty, on pretence of the prejudice it might do her, refuſed in effect to acknowledge ſhe had done amiſs in aſſuming the title of queen of England during the life of Elizabeth, and thereby preſerved all her claim to be aſſerted on occaſion; for it was not till ſome years after, that ſhe offered the forementioned reſtriction. On the other hand, Elizabeth, under colour of deſiring Mary only to renounce a right which ſhe had aſſumed to her prejudice, meant to engage her to ſign an equivocal clauſe, which might have deprived her of all her rights. Theſe remarks will hereafter appear not to be entirely uſeleſs.

Mary, though ſhe had no ſafe-conduct from Elizabeth, put to ſea, and happily arrived in Scotland. Some ſay, ſhe eſcaped the Engliſh fleet, in a fog, which waited to intercept her[t]. But this is only a bare conjecture, without any proof[u]. It is, however, very likely, that, as affairs ſtood between her and Elizabeth, if ſhe had been taken ſhe would have been detained in England, at leaſt till ſhe had ratified the treaty of Edinburgh. She was received in her kingdom with great demonſtrations of joy, both by the nobles and people[w]. But ſhe had the mortification to ſee the reformation eſtabliſhed by laws ſo ſevere, that only herſelf was allowed the liberty to have maſs in her own chapel, but without any pomp or oſtentation. Nevertheleſs, ſome lords ſtill perſiſted in the old religion, and hoping to reſtore it by her

[t] That queen Elizabeth intended to intercept the queen of Scots, is not poſitively aſſerted by the Scottiſh hiſtorians. Buchanan ſays, that queen Elizabeth had prepared a great fleet, on pretence to ſcour the ſea of pirates; but ſome thought, that it was to intercept the queen of Scots, if ſhe adventured to paſs againſt her will. So that it was only a ſuſpicion. lib. 17. Thuanus affirms, that James Prior, of St. Andrew's, in his return from France through England, adviſed queen Elizabeth to detain the queen of Scots, thinking ſhe would come through England, lib. 29.

[u] It is true, there aroſe a great fog in her paſſage. See Brantome, Dam. illuſt. p. 130. But that does not prove ſhe was purſued by the Engliſh fleet. Rapin.

[w] And at firſt, following the counſel of her friends, ſhe behaved herſelf humanely to them all, committing her affairs to her brother, the prior of St. Andrew's, and to the ſecretary Lethington, or Liddingtoun, as meeteſt both to hold the country at her devotion, and alſo to beget a ſtrict friendſhip between her and the queen of England. Melvil, p. 32.

For

authority, made their court to her with great application. Of this number were George Gordon, earl of Huntley; the earls of Athol, Crawford, Sutherland; with ſome biſhops. It was not poſſible to determine, what was the religion of the duke of Chateleraut, his conduct had been hitherto ſo ambiguous. The lords I have named were very conſiderable by their birth, their riches, and their vaſſals. And yet they would never perhaps have thought of reſtoring the antient religion, had they not depended upon the queen's favour, who could alone counter-balance the power of the proteſtants. Their firſt project was to try to alienate her from thoſe of the proteſtants, who had the moſt credit with her and in the kingdom. James Stuart, her natural brother, was the principal object of their hatred, on account of his adherence to the proteſtant religion. Beſides, the queen having at her arrival committed to him the adminiſtration of affairs, it would be very difficult for them to undertake any thing without oppoſition from him, while he continued in that poſt. For this reaſon, they omitted nothing that could ſerve to ruin him with the queen. But it is not neceſſary to be more circumſtantial in theſe intrigues; it ſuffices to ſhew the ſituation of the court of Scotland, becauſe this is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſequel.

The haughtineſs with which Mary talked to the Engliſh embaſſador, before ſhe left France, was not only unſuitable to her preſent circumſtances, but even contrary to her meaſures and the projects ſhe had formed with her uncles. Whilſt Francis II. was alive, theſe princes believed that the forces of France would be ſufficient to ſubdue Scotland, under colour of extirpating hereſy, and afterwards, in conjunction with the Scotch troops, it would be eaſy to enter England, and with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh catholics, dethrone Elizabeth. But the war, they had excited in Scotland, taking a very different turn from what they expected, and the death of Francis following immediately upon it, they found that other meaſures were to be taken, and the execution of their project deferred for ſome time. They therefore adviſed the queen, their niece, voluntarily to quit the title of queen of England, to return into Scotland, to enter if poſſible into a ſtrict friendſhip with Elizabeth, to endeavour to be declared her preſumptive heir, and, under colour of that correſpondence, to form a party in England, where was no want of malcontents to be ſerviceable on occaſion. The whole courſe of the hiſtory ſhews this to have been Mary's plan, and I ſhall hereafter give convincing proofs of it. Nothing therefore was more contrary to theſe meaſures than a quarrel with Elizabeth, whoſe friendſhip ſhe ought to have courted, in order to obtain the declaration ſhe deſired, by means of which ſhe was to ſtrengthen her party in England. When ſhe arrived in Scotland, ſhe endeavoured to correct this error, by ſending Maitland to Elizabeth, to notify her ſafe arrival at Edinburgh, and to deſire her friendſhip. The embaſſador carried likewiſe a letter from the principal noblemen to Elizabeth, which, after many compliments, ſignified to her, that the beſt way to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms, was for her to declare their queen her preſumptive heir. Elizabeth was ſo much upon her guard againſt whatever came from Mary, that it was not eaſy to ſurpriſe her. She anſwered the embaſſador, that the queen of Scotland, while in France, promiſed to give her ſatisfaction concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould arrive in that kingdom; it could not therefore but ſurpriſe her to find no notice taken of that article. The embaſſador excuſed the queen, his miſtreſs, that the ſhort time ſince her arrival had not allowed her to think of any important affair. Elizabeth ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſe; but to the letter from the lords, anſwered plainly, that ſhe would not run the hazard of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun. And, raiſing her voice, added, She would not ſuffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did ſhe intend to do any thing that might prejudice that queen after her death, though ſhe had uſurped the arms of England, for which ſhe ought in juſtice to make reparation. This was the ſubſtance of what paſſed in relation to this embaſſy, from which Mary drew the advantage ſhe deſired, as it gave her an opportunity to renew a correſpondence with Elizabeth. I am perſuaded Melvil is miſtaken, when he ſays, in his Memoirs, that after Mary's return to Scotland, there was ſo cloſe a friendſhip between the two queens, that they wrote to one another every week, and teſtified an extreme deſire to deliver by word of mouth what they committed to writing. Nothing till then had paſſed between them that could ſerve to form or cement this pretended reciprocal friendſhip. On the contrary, many things contributed to alienate their hearts from each other. But if Melvil, who was then in Germany, was rightly informed, one cannot help thinking they were both very great diſſemblers. About the end of the year, Mary gave the prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray, and created John Areſkin earl of Marr.

Though the anſwer, given laſt year to the abbot of Parpaglia, was by no means proper to inſpire the pope with any great hopes of the reſtoration of the antient religion in England, he ſent a nuntio this year to Elizabeth, to notify that the council of Trent, which had been interrupted, would be continued in the ſame place, and to deſire her to ſend thither ſome Engliſh biſhops. The abbot Martinengo, who was charged with this commiſſion, arriving in Flanders, and ſending for leave to purſue his journey into England [w], could never obtain it. Whereupon the nuntio at Paris prayed Throckmorton to write to the queen, who coldly anſwered, ſhe heartily deſired a general council, but a popiſh one ſhe would never honour with an embaſſador; that ſhe had no buſineſs with the biſhop of Rome, who had no more power than other biſhops.

After ſuch an anſwer, Elizabeth might depend upon continual diſturbance from the court of Rome; and the more, as ſince the death of Francis II. the king of Spain was entirely eſtranged from her, becauſe he no longer dreaded the union of Great Britain with the monarchy of France. This fear was the only band that had till then attached him to England.

Mean time, Elizabeth, ſeeing herſelf without any ally, and in danger from all ſides, took care, in time, of her defence. She employed this whole year in peparations, which convinced her enemies ſhe would not be eaſily ſurpriſed. Her great care was to have always a good fleet in readineſs, knowing that her navy was the beſt bulwark of England. At the ſame time, ſhe ordered all the forts and caſtles of the northern borders to be well fortified, and particularly Berwick, as the place from whence ſhe might be attacked with moſt eaſe. As the Engliſh had till this time been obliged to have all their gunpowder from abroad, ſhe was afraid of wanting it, and, to prevent that inconvenience, ordered it to be made in her own kingdom [x]. Moreover, ſhe encreaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, to encourage them to ſerve her faithfully, and be ready upon occaſion. This ſame year was happily diſcovered in Cumberland a mine of pure copper [y], which had been neglected many ages; and at the ſame time was found, in great abundance, the ſtone called Lapis Calaminaris, ſo neceſſary for braſs-works.

The cares of war did not divert Elizabeth from the affairs of juſtice and the civil adminiſtration. She had her eye every where, and laboured effectually for the reformation of abuſes, and the bringing things into good order. Information being made, that the officers of the exchequer reſerved the penſions aſſigned to thoſe eccleſiaſtics who had been turned out of their abbies, ſhe ordered that all who were living, and unprovided with benefices, ſhould be paid to a farthing [z].

Thus, every man, relying on the queen's juſtice and equity, England ſaw the revival of a happineſs ſhe had long wanted. The people had the more reaſon to be pleaſed with the government, as the queen, without demanding any ſubſidies, diſcharged all the extraordinary expences out of the crown revenues [a]; for ſhe did not laviſh her money upon the court-leeches, like her predeceſſors. Her maxim was, to injure none, but to be extremely ſparing of her favours and treaſures, remembering in what want, by exceſſive profuſion, many of her predeceſſors had lived, with great revenues. This was what forced them to have frequent recourſe to their parliaments, not to have the public occaſions, but their own extravagances ſupplied [b].

[w] For it was provided by an antient act, that the pope's nuntios ſhould not ſet foot in England without leave; and, before making oath, that they would attempt nothing prejudicial to the king, or liberties of the people. The council did not think proper to admit the preſent nuntio, when there were ſo many papiſts in all parts of the kingdom, who were endeavouring to involve the nation in troubles. Camden, p. 387.

[x] She bought up abundance of arms in Germany, and cauſed a great number of iron and braſs cannon to be caſt. Camden, p. 388.

[y] Near Derwick, lying at the foot of the tall mountain Skiddaw.

[z] The queen alſo encreaſed the ſalary of the judges, and firſt allowed them proviſion for their reſpective circuits. Camden, p. 388.

[a] Camden obſerves, that ſhe gave very little out of her own demeſnes, or indeed any thing elſe, but on condition it ſhould, in default of iſſue male, return to the crown. It is to be wiſhed this rule had always been obſerved. p. 388.

[b] This year, on June 15, the ſpire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and ſixty feet high, and the roof ſeven hundred and twenty feet long, and one hundred and thirty broad, was burnt down by lightning, as it was then thought; but a plummer confeſſed, on his death-bed, that it was ſet on fire by his careleſſneſs, in leaving a pan of coals in the ſteeple, when he went to dinner. Stow, p. 647. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. p. 312.

The

It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth took ſo much pains to gain the love of her ſubjects by the good order ſhe introduced into the kingdom, ſince, at the ſame time, endeavours were uſed to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholics began to meet and plot to reſtore their religion by arms. Elizabeth, having ſome intimation of theſe cabals, was deſirous to know whence they ſprung, and at laſt found it was the queen of Scotland that was to ſerve for pretence to the revolt, on account of her title to the crown of England. The counteſs of Lenox, born from a ſecond marriage of Margaret, queen of Scotland, with the earl of Angus, held a ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Here the firſt diſcovery was made. As this counteſs had the ſame intereſt with Mary, ſince they both deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. the queen imagined this correſpondence was not without myſtery, and therefore ſent the earl and counteſs of Lenox to the Tower [c].

Soon after, ſhe diſcovered that Arthur Pole, and his brother, deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of York [d], and ſir Anthony Forteſcue, who had married their ſiſter, began to form a party in the kingdom. Upon this intelligence, they were ſent to priſon, and afterwards tried. They confeſſed a deſign of withdrawing into France to the duke of Guiſe, of returning from thence into Wales with a French army, to proclaim Mary, queen of Scots, queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They proteſted, however, that they meant not to execute their project during the queen's life, who, they believed, would die before the end of the year, having been told ſo by ſome pretenders to aſtrology. Their own confeſſion condemned them; but the queen, in conſideration of their illuſtrious deſcent, forgave their offence.

Catherine Grey, daughter to the duke and ducheſs of Suffolk, and ſiſter of Jane Grey, beheaded in the laſt reign, was not uſed with the ſame lenity, though ſhe was leſs criminal, and the queen's near relation. She was called to account for a crime, in the puniſhment of which Elizabeth leſs ſhewed her zeal for juſtice than her jealouſy and deſire to find a pretence to ſecure herſelf from this ſort of rival, who gave her ſome uneaſineſs. Catherine had been married to Henry, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke [e], who had procured a divorce, becauſe he could not live with her. Afterwards the earl of Hertford privately married her, and then went into France. In his abſence the queen, being informed of this clandeſtine marriage, ſent Catherine to the Tower, though ſhe was very big with child. The earl, returning, and owning his marriage, was committed to the ſame place. After this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury annulled their pretended marriage, becauſe it was not ſufficiently proved, and they both remained priſoners in the Tower. While they were there, the earl found means to come to her, and ſhe again proved with child. Whereupon he was accuſed of three capital crimes: of breaking priſon; of debauching a virgin of the blood royal; and of abuſing her a ſecond time: and for each offence was fined five thouſand pounds [f]. At laſt, after a long impriſonment, and ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to have his ſentence reverſed, he was forced to forſake her by an authentic act. But the queen remaining implacable to the lady, ſhe died in priſon. Before ſhe expired, ſhe prayed the lieutenant of the tower to tell the queen, that ſhe begged her pardon for contracting marriage without her permiſſion, thereby ſhewing, ſhe had ever conſidered the earl of Hertford as her lawful huſband [g]. This exceſſive rigour does Elizabeth no credit, ſince it is plain, Catherine Grey's right to the crown, whether well or ill-grounded, was her greateſt offence.

But it was not from the houſe of Suffolk that Elizabeth had moſt to fear. The queen of Scotland was a rival much more dangerous, as being powerfully ſupported. Her friends ſtill thought of placing her on the throne of England, and only waited a favourable opportunity to execute their deſign. Elizabeth had occaſion to be convinced of this by her intelligence, that the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage the king of Navarre [h] in their party, offered him the marriage of their niece, and promiſed him poſſeſſion of the throne of England, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and king of Spain. Though this prince had a wife, they minded not the difficulty of annulling his marriage, becauſe his queen Jane was a heretic [i]. This ſatisfied Elizabeth that the princes of Lorrain had not laid aſide their firſt deſign; and that Philip II. was coming into the plot. Whereupon ſhe diſpatched Sidney [k] into France on ſome pretence, to inform himſelf exactly of the affairs of that kingdom, and of what was contriving againſt her, that ſhe might take her meaſures accordingly.

Catherine de Medici ſtill continued to foment the diſſention between the two factions, and ſeemed to incline to the ſide of the Hugonots, who were the weakeſt. As the Guiſes had artfully perſuaded the catholics, that their differences with the prince of Condé concerned only religion, ſhe feared to ſee herſelf once more at their diſcretion, as ſhe had been in the laſt reign, if the Hugonots were oppreſſed. For this reaſon ſhe ſupported them, and procured them a very favourable edict, called the Edict of January. The duke of Guiſe, penetrating her deſign, believed it time to break her meaſures, by engaging on a ſudden both parties in a war. He accompliſhed his deſign by the maſſacre of Vaſſy, committed under his eyes, upon a very ſlight occaſion. Then the Hugonots, unable to contain any longer, began the war by ſurpriſing Orleans, with the more reaſon, as the queen regent had applied to the prince of Condé for his aſſiſtance, to free her and the king from the captivity in which they were held by the Guiſes.

I ſhall not deſcend to the particulars of this war, which may be ſeen in all the hiſtories of France. I ſhall only ſay, that the Hugonots, unſucceſsful in the firſt campaign, ſent the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth, to deſire her aſſiſtance. Shortly after his arrival at London, he concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, by which ſhe promiſed to furniſh the Hugonot leaders with a hundred thouſand crowns, and an aid of ſix thouſand foot; half to be employed in the defence of Dieppe and Roan, and half to be put into garriſon at Havre de Grace. The Hugonots, on their ſide, engaged to put the queen in poſſeſſion of this laſt place, to be kept till the reſtitution of Calais. The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, Elizabeth publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the reaſons which obliged her to aſſiſt the Hugonots. She ſaid, "her intention in ſending troops into Normandy was not to recover that province, the antient patrimony of her anceſtors, and unjuſtly wreſted from them; but to preſerve it from the king of France during his minority, and reſcue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorrain. That ſhe was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifeſtly their deſign to ſeize the ports of Normandy, and from thence invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France. That for theſe reaſons ſhe thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt the young king, hinder his ſubjects from being oppreſſed by the Guiſes, protect the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own ſafety." This laſt article concerning her ſecurity, was the chief, or rather the only one, which juſtified her aſſiſting the Hugonots. In all appearance, ſhe would not have liked that a foreign prince ſhould have uſed the other pretences, alleged in her manifeſto, to aid the Engliſh catholics, had they taken up arms againſt her. But ſhe looked upon the duke of Guiſe as her moſt mortal enemy, and the principal protector of the queen of Scotland, for whom, it manifeſtly appeared, he would have procured the crown of England. The duke was at the head of the catholic party, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the Hugonots. It might therefore very eaſily happen, that theſe would be extirpated, or at leaſt entirely diſabled, and the duke of Guiſe become abſolute maſter of the court and kingdom, and employ all the forces of France to execute his project in favour of the queen of Scotland, his niece. It is therefore eaſy to conceive the neceſſity Elizabeth was under to oppoſe the advancement of ſo formidable an enemy, which was not to be done more ſucceſsfully than by aſſiſting the Hugonots. In maintaining the war in France, ſhe held the duke of Guiſe employed, and rendered him incapable to attempt any thing againſt England. Paul de Foix, the French embaſſador, having notice of the treaty, required her, in virtue of the treaty of Cateau, to deliver to him the Vidame and all his attendants; but ſhe excuſed

[c] The earl was committed to the cuſtody of the maſter of the rolls, and the counteſs to the cuſtody of ſir Richard Sackville. Camden, p. 389.

[d] Great grand-children to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

[e] Rapin ſays, to the earl of Pembroke, but the lord Henry Herbert was divorced before his father died. Camden ſays, when ſhe was divorced, ſhe had ſuffered a long flight and contempt, and was ſo far gone with child as to be near her time, p. 389.

[f] And nine years imprisonment. Camden, p. 389.

[g] The validity of their marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at the common law; where the miniſter, who married them, being proved, and other circumſtances agreeing, the jury found it a good marriage. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 360. They were married in the church of Great Bodmin in Wiltſhire. Lord Beauchamp, a ſon of this unfortunate pair, lies buried there, with this inſcription on his tomb-ſtone:

"Bello campus eram, Gratâ genetrice, Semerus;
"Tres habui Natos, eſt quibus una ſoror."

[h] Anthony of Bourbon.

[i] And for the very ſame reaſon queen Elizabeth was to be depoſed. Camden, p. 389.

[k] Sir Henry Sidney.

authority, made their court to her with great application. Of this number were George Gordon, earl of Huntley; the earls of Athol, Crawford, Sutherland; with ſome biſhops. It was not poſſible to determine, what was the religion of the duke of Chateleraut, his conduct had been hitherto ſo ambiguous. The lords I have named were very conſiderable by their birth, their riches, and their vaſſals. And yet they would never perhaps have thought of reſtoring the antient religion, had they not depended upon the queen's favour, who could alone counter-balance the power of the proteſtants. Their firſt project was to try to alienate her from thoſe of the proteſtants, who had the moſt credit with her and in the kingdom. James Stuart, her natural brother, was the principal object of their hatred, on account of his adherence to the proteſtant religion. Beſides, the queen having at her arrival committed to him the adminiſtration of affairs, it would be very difficult for them to undertake any thing without oppoſition from him, while he continued in that poſt. For this reaſon, they omitted nothing that could ſerve to ruin him with the queen. But it is not neceſſary to be more circumſtantial in theſe intrigues; it ſuffices to ſhew the ſituation of the court of Scotland, becauſe this is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſequel.

The haughtineſs with which Mary talked to the Engliſh embaſſador, before ſhe left France, was not only unſuitable to her preſent circumſtances, but even contrary to her meaſures and the projects ſhe had formed with her uncles. Whilſt Francis II. was alive, theſe princes believed that the forces of France would be ſufficient to ſubdue Scotland, under colour of extirpating hereſy, and afterwards, in conjunction with the Scotch troops, it would be eaſy to enter England, and with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh catholics, dethrone Elizabeth. But the war, they had excited in Scotland, taking a very different turn from what they expected, and the death of Francis following immediately upon it, they found that other meaſures were to be taken, and the execution of their project deferred for ſome time. They therefore adviſed the queen, their niece, voluntarily to quit the title of queen of England, to return into Scotland, to enter if poſſible into a ſtrict friendſhip with Elizabeth, to endeavour to be declared her preſumptive heir, and, under colour of that correſpondence, to form a party in England, where was no want of malcontents to be ſerviceable on occaſion. The whole courſe of the hiſtory ſhews this to have been Mary's plan, and I ſhall hereafter give convincing proofs of it. Nothing therefore was more contrary to theſe meaſures than a quarrel with Elizabeth, whoſe friendſhip ſhe ought to have courted, in order to obtain the declaration ſhe deſired, by means of which ſhe was to ſtrengthen her party in England. When ſhe arrived in Scotland, ſhe endeavoured to correct this error, by ſending Maitland to Elizabeth, to notify her ſafe arrival at Edinburgh, and to deſire her friendſhip. The embaſſador carried likewiſe a letter from the principal noblemen to Elizabeth, which, after many compliments, ſignified to her, that the beſt way to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms, was for her to declare their queen her preſumptive heir. Elizabeth was ſo much upon her guard againſt whatever came from Mary, that it was not eaſy to ſurpriſe her. She anſwered the embaſſador, that the queen of Scotland, while in France, promiſed to give her ſatisfaction concerning the treaty of Edinburgh, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould arrive in that kingdom; it could not therefore but ſurpriſe her to find no notice taken of that article. The embaſſador excuſed the queen, his miſtreſs, that the ſhort time ſince her arrival had not allowed her to think of any important affair. Elizabeth ſeemed ſatisfied with the excuſe; but to the letter from the lords, anſwered plainly, that ſhe would not run the hazard of ſeeing her ſubjects adore the riſing ſun. And, raiſing her voice, added, She would not ſuffer the queen of Scotland to rob her of the crown during her life; neither did ſhe intend to do any thing that might prejudice that queen after her death, though ſhe had uſurped the arms of England, for which ſhe ought in juſtice to make reparation. This was the ſubſtance of what paſſed in relation to this embaſſy, from which Mary drew the advantage ſhe deſired, as it gave her an opportunity to renew a correſpondence with Elizabeth. I am perſuaded Melvil is miſtaken, when he ſays, in his Memoirs, that after Mary's return to Scotland, there was ſo cloſe a friendſhip between the two queens, that they wrote to one another every week, and teſtified an extreme deſire to deliver by word of mouth what they committed to writing. Nothing till then had paſſed between them that could ſerve to form or cement this pretended reciprocal friendſhip. On the contrary, many things contributed to alienate their hearts from each other. But if Melvil, who was then in Germany, was rightly informed, one cannot help thinking they were both very great diſſemblers. About the end of the year, Mary gave the prior of St. Andrew's the title of earl of Murray, and created John Areſkin earl of Marr.

Though the anſwer, given laſt year to the abbot of Parpaglia, was by no means proper to inſpire the pope with any great hopes of the reſtoration of the antient religion in England, he ſent a nuntio this year to Elizabeth, to notify that the council of Trent, which had been interrupted, would be continued in the ſame place, and to deſire her to ſend thither ſome Engliſh biſhops. The abbot Martinengo, who was charged with this commiſſion, arriving in Flanders, and ſending for leave to purſue his journey into England [w], could never obtain it. Whereupon the nuntio at Paris prayed Throckmorton to write to the queen, who coldly anſwered, ſhe heartily deſired a general council, but a popiſh one ſhe would never honour with an embaſſador; that ſhe had no buſineſs with the biſhop of Rome, who had no more power than other biſhops.

After ſuch an anſwer, Elizabeth might depend upon continual diſturbance from the court of Rome; and the more, as ſince the death of Francis II. the king of Spain was entirely eſtranged from her, becauſe he no longer dreaded the union of Great Britain with the monarchy of France. This fear was the only band that had till then attached him to England.

Mean time, Elizabeth, ſeeing herſelf without any ally, and in danger from all ſides, took care, in time, of her defence. She employed this whole year in peparations, which convinced her enemies ſhe would not be eaſily ſurpriſed. Her great care was to have always a good fleet in readineſs, knowing that her navy was the beſt bulwark of England. At the ſame time, ſhe ordered all the forts and caſtles of the northern borders to be well fortified, and particularly Berwick, as the place from whence ſhe might be attacked with moſt eaſe. As the Engliſh had till this time been obliged to have all their gunpowder from abroad, ſhe was afraid of wanting it, and, to prevent that inconvenience, ordered it to be made in her own kingdom [x]. Moreover, ſhe encreaſed the pay of the ſoldiers, to encourage them to ſerve her faithfully, and be ready upon occaſion. This ſame year was happily diſcovered in Cumberland a mine of pure copper [y], which had been neglected many ages; and at the ſame time was found, in great abundance, the ſtone called Lapis Calaminaris, ſo neceſſary for braſs-works.

The cares of war did not divert Elizabeth from the affairs of juſtice and the civil adminiſtration. She had her eye every where, and laboured effectually for the reformation of abuſes, and the bringing things into good order. Information being made, that the officers of the exchequer reſerved the penſions aſſigned to thoſe eccleſiaſtics who had been turned out of their abbies, ſhe ordered that all who were living, and unprovided with benefices, ſhould be paid to a farthing [z].

Thus, every man, relying on the queen's juſtice and equity, England ſaw the revival of a happineſs ſhe had long wanted. The people had the more reaſon to be pleaſed with the government, as the queen, without demanding any ſubſidies, diſcharged all the extraordinary expences out of the crown revenues [a]; for ſhe did not laviſh her money upon the courtleeches, like her predeceſſors. Her maxim was, to injure none, but to be extremely ſparing of her favours and treaſures, remembering in what want, by exceſſive profuſion, many of her predeceſſors had lived, with great revenues. This was what forced them to have frequent recourſe to their parliaments, not to have the public occaſions, but their own extravagances ſupplied [b].

[w] For it was provided by an antient act, that the pope's nuntios ſhould not ſet foot in England without leave; and, before making oath, that they would attempt nothing prejudicial to the king, or liberties of the people. The council did not think proper to admit the preſent nuntio, when there were ſo many papiſts in all parts of the kingdom, who were endeavouring to involve the nation in troubles. Camden, p. 387.

[x] She bought up abundance of arms in Germany, and cauſed a great number of iron and braſs cannon to be caſt. Camden, p. 388.

[y] Near Reſwick, lying at the foot of the tall mountain Skiddaw.

[z] The queen alſo encreaſed the ſalary of the judges, and firſt allowed them proviſion for their reſpective circuits. Camden, p. 388.

[a] Camden obſerves, that ſhe gave very little out of her own demeſnes, or indeed any thing elſe, but on condition it ſhould, in default of iſſue male, return to the crown. It is to be wiſhed this rule had always been obſerved! p. 388.

[b] This year, on June 15, the ſpire of St. Paul's cathedral in London, the timber part of which was two hundred and ſixty feet high, and the roof ſeven hundred and twenty feet long, and one hundred and thirty broad, were burnt down by lightning, as it was then thought; but a plummer confeſſed, on his death-bed, that it was ſet on fire by his careleſſneſs, in leaving a pan of coals in the ſteeple, when he went to dinner. Stow, p. 647. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. p. 312.

The

It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth took ſo much pains to gain the love of her ſubjects by the good order ſhe introduced into the kingdom, ſince, at the ſame time, endeavours were uſed to corrupt and draw them into rebellion. The catholics began to meet and plot to reſtore their religion by arms. Elizabeth, having ſome intimation of theſe cabals, was deſirous to know whence they ſprung, and at laſt found it was the queen of Scotland that was to ſerve for pretence to the revolt, on account of her title to the crown of England. The counteſs of Lenox, born from a ſecond marriage of Margaret, queen of Scotland, with the earl of Angus, held a ſecret correſpondence with Mary. Here the firſt diſcovery was made. As this counteſs had the ſame intereſt with Mary, ſince they both deſcended from the eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. the queen imagined this correſpondence was not without myſtery, and therefore ſent the earl and counteſs of Lenox to the Tower [c].

Soon after, ſhe diſcovered that Arthur Pole, and his brother, deſcended from a princeſs of the houſe of York [d], and ſir Anthony Forteſcue, who had married their ſiſter, began to form a party in the kingdom. Upon this intelligence, they were ſent to priſon, and afterwards tried. They confeſſed a deſign of withdrawing into France to the duke of Guiſe, of returning from thence into Wales with a French army, to proclaim Mary, queen of Scots, queen of England, and Arthur Pole duke of Clarence. They proteſted, however, that they meant not to execute their project during the queen's life, who, they believed, would die before the end of the year, having been told ſo by ſome pretenders to aſtrology. Their own confeſſion condemned them; but the queen, in conſideration of their illuſtrious deſcent, forgave their offence.

Catherine Grey, daughter to the duke and ducheſs of Suffolk, and ſiſter of Jane Grey, beheaded in the laſt reign, was not uſed with the ſame lenity, though ſhe was leſs criminal, and the queen's near relation. She was called to account for a crime, in the puniſhment of which Elizabeth leſs ſhewed her zeal for juſtice than her jealouſy and deſire to find a pretence to ſecure herſelf from this ſort of rival, who gave her ſome uneaſineſs. Catherine had been married to Henry, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Pembroke [e], who had procured a divorce, becauſe he could not live with her. Afterwards the earl of Hertford privately married her, and then went into France. In his abſence the queen, being informed of this clandeſtine marriage, ſent Catherine to the Tower, though ſhe was very big with child. The earl, returning, and owning his marriage, was committed to the ſame place. After this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury annulled their pretended marriage, becauſe it was not ſufficiently proved, and they both remained priſoners in the Tower. While they were there, the earl found means to come to her, and ſhe again proved with child. Whereupon he was accuſed of three capital crimes: of breaking priſon; of debauching a virgin of the blood royal; and of abuſing her a ſecond time: and for each offence was fined five thouſand pounds [f]. At laſt, after a long impriſonment, and ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to have his ſentence reverſed, he was forced to forſake her by an authentic act. But the queen remaining implacable to the lady, ſhe died in priſon. Before ſhe expired, ſhe prayed the lieutenant of the tower to tell the queen, that ſhe begged her pardon for contracting marriage without her permiſſion, thereby ſhewing, ſhe had ever conſidered the earl of Hertford as her lawful huſband [g]. This exceſſive rigour does Elizabeth no credit, ſince it is plain, Catherine Grey's right to the crown, whether well or ill-grounded, was her greateſt offence.

But it was not from the houſe of Suffolk that Elizabeth had moſt to fear. The queen of Scotland was a rival much more dangerous, as being powerfully ſupported. Her friends ſtill thought of placing her on the throne of England, and only waited a favourable opportunity to execute their deſign. Elizabeth had occaſion to be convinced of this by her intelligence, that the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, to engage the king of Navarre [h] in their party, offered him the marriage of their niece, and promiſed him poſſeſſion of the throne of England, by the aſſiſtance of the pope and king of Spain. Though this prince had a wife, they minded not the difficulty of annulling his marriage, becauſe his queen Jane was a heretic [i]. This ſatisfied Elizabeth that the princes of Lorrain had not laid aſide their firſt deſign; and that Philip II. was coming into the plot. Whereupon ſhe diſpatched Sidney [k] into France on ſome pretence, to inform himſelf exactly of the affairs of that kingdom, and of what was contriving againſt her, that ſhe might take her meaſures accordingly.

Catherine de Medici ſtill continued to foment the diſſention between the two factions, and ſeemed to incline to the ſide of the Hugonots, who were the weakeſt. As the Guiſes had artfully perſuaded the catholics, that their differences with the prince of Condé concerned only religion, ſhe feared to ſee herſelf once more at their diſcretion, as ſhe had been in the laſt reign, if the Hugonots were oppreſſed. For this reaſon ſhe ſupported them, and procured them a very favourable edict, called the Edict of January. The duke of Guiſe, penetrating her deſign, believed it time to break her meaſures, by engaging on a ſudden both parties in a war. He accompliſhed his deſign by the maſſacre of Vaſſy, committed under his eyes, upon a very ſlight occaſion. Then the Hugonots, unable to contain any longer, began the war by ſurpriſing Orleans, with the more reaſon, as the queen regent had applied to the prince of Condé for his aſſiſtance, to free her and the king from the captivity in which they were held by the Guiſes.

I ſhall not deſcend to the particulars of this war, which may be ſeen in all the hiſtories of France. I ſhall only ſay, that the Hugonots, unſucceſsful in the firſt campaign, ſent the Vidame of Chartres to Elizabeth, to deſire her aſſiſtance. Shortly after his arrival at London, he concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, by which ſhe promiſed to furniſh the Hugonot leaders with a hundred thouſand crowns, and an aid of ſix thouſand foot; half to be employed in the defence of Dieppe and Roan, and half to be put into garriſon at Havre de Grace. The Hugonots, on their ſide, engaged to put the queen in poſſeſſion of this laſt place, to be kept till the reſtitution of Calais. The ſame day the treaty was ſigned, Elizabeth publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the reaſons which obliged her to aſſiſt the Hugonots. She ſaid, "her intention in ſending troops into Normandy was not to recover that province, the antient patrimony of her anceſtors, and unjuſtly wreſted from them; but to preſerve it from the king of France during his minority, and reſcue it from the ambition and tyranny of the princes of Lorrain. That ſhe was the more concerned to endeavour to prevent that province falling into their hands, as it was manifeſtly their deſign to ſeize the ports of Normandy, and from thence invade her dominions, after the extirpation of the reformed in France. That for theſe reaſons ſhe thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt the young king, hinder his ſubjects from being oppreſſed by the Guiſes, protect the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and provide for her own ſafety." This laſt article concerning her ſecurity, was the chief, or rather the only one, which juſtified her aſſiſting the Hugonots. In all appearance, ſhe would not have liked that a foreign prince ſhould have uſed the other pretences, alleged in her manifeſto, to aid the Engliſh catholics, had they taken up arms againſt her. But ſhe looked upon the duke of Guiſe as her moſt mortal enemy, and the principal protector of the queen of Scotland, for whom, it manifeſtly appeared, he would have procured the crown of England. The duke was at the head of the catholic party, which was infinitely more powerful than that of the Hugonots. It might therefore very eaſily happen, that theſe would be extirpated, or at leaſt entirely diſabled, and the duke of Guiſe become abſolute maſter of the court and kingdom, and employ all the forces of France to execute his project in favour of the queen of Scotland, his niece. It is therefore eaſy to conceive the neceſſity Elizabeth was under to oppoſe the advancement of ſo formidable an enemy, which was not to be done more ſucceſsfully than by aſſiſting the Hugonots. In maintaining the war in France, ſhe held the duke of Guiſe employed, and rendered him incapable to attempt any thing againſt England. Paul de Foix, the French embaſſador, having notice of the treaty, required her, in virtue of the treaty of Cateau, to deliver to him the Vidame and all his attendants; but ſhe excuſed

[c] The earl was committed to the cuſtody of the maſter of the rolls, and the counteſs to the cuſtody of ſir Richard Sackville. Camden, p. 389.

[d] Great grand-children to George duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV.

[e] Rapin ſays, to the earl of Pembroke, but the lord Henry Herbert was divorced before his father died. Camden ſays, when ſhe was divorced, ſhe had ſuffered a long ſlight and contempt, and was ſo far gone with child as to be near her time, p. 389.

[f] And nine years impriſonment. Camden, p. 389.

[g] The validity of their marriage was afterwards brought to a trial at the common law; where the minuter, who married them, being preſent, and other circumſtances agreeing, the jury found it a good marriage. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 369. They were married in the church of Great Bodmin in Wiltſhire. Lord Beauchamp, a ſon of this unfortunate pair, lies buried there, with this inſcription on his tomb-ſtone:

"Bello campus eram, Gratiâ genetrice, Semerus;
"Tres habui Natos, eſt quibus una ſoror."

[h] Anthony of Bourbon.

[i] And for the very ſame reaſon queen Elizabeth was to be depoſed. Camden, p. 389.

[k] Sir Henry Sidney.

herſelf, and told him, ſhe would write to the king of France about it. She did ſo indeed, but not obtaining any thing for that lord, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to deliver him to the king.

The ſix thouſand Engliſh not embarking till September, found the king of Navarre, on their arrival, before Roan. This was the reaſon of their dividing themſelves in two bodies only, of which one entered Dieppe [l], and the other took poſſeſſion of Havre de Grace, according to the treaty of London. The earl of Warwick [m], general of theſe forces, had been made governor of this laſt place by the queen. Mean time, the city of Roan was taken by aſſault, and the king of Navarre, who was wounded at the ſiege, died on his return to Paris. In the cloſe of this year, the battle of Dreux was fought between the catholics and Hugonots, with almoſt equal loſs. The prince of Condé and the conſtable de Montmorency, who commanded the two armies, were both taken priſoners, but the king's forces kept the field of battle. The prince of Condé not being able to head his party, admiral de Chatillon took upon him the command of the army. I muſt now ſpeak of the tranſactions of Scotland this year.

James Stuart, created earl of Murray, held ſtill the firſt rank in the management of affairs, not ſo much from any affection the queen had for him, as from her being adviſed to keep him always attached to her intereſt. It was indeed almoſt impoſſible for Mary, who had been educated in a court ſo averſe to the reformation, to have any great friendſhip for the earl her brother, whom ſhe conſidered as the head of the reformed. Beſides, his ſevere temper did not agree with the luxury which was introducing into the court by the young queen. The preachers exclaimed from the pulpit againſt theſe worldly vanities, as very repugnant to true religion. On the other hand, the earl of Murray, as well to ſupport his intereſt among the reformed as to follow his own inclination, ſignified often to the queen, that this way of life would at laſt forfeit her the eſteem and affection of her ſubjects. This furniſhed his enemies with a pretence to inſinuate to the queen, that Murray meant to keep her in ſervitude, and it would be impoſſible to reſtore the old religion while he had the direction of affairs. But if Buchanan is worthy of belief, they were not content with uſing ſecret artifices to ruin him in the queen's favour. This hiſtorian pretends the duke of Chateleraut and the earls of Huntley and Bothwell conſpired to aſſaſſinate him, but their plot was diſcovered by the earl of Arran. He adds, that the duke was puniſhed with the loſs of his government of Dunbarton, and Bothwell impriſoned in the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he found means to eſcape.

But theſe were not Murray's moſt dangerous enemies. Buchanan ſays, the cardinal of Lorrain wrote to the queen his niece to incite her to diſpatch the earl and ſome other zealous proteſtants out of the way, for which he might depend upon a powerful aid from the pope to reſtore the catholic religion in Scotland. According to this hiſtorian, the queen reſolved to comply with the deſires of the pope and the cardinal, and communicated her intentions to the earl of Huntley, who approved of them, and promiſed his aſſiſtance. It was for this purpoſe, that the queen took a progreſs into the north, where lay the earl of Huntley's eſtate [n], and where the catholics were numerous. But at the ſame time Huntley finding the queen, in order to execute her project, was going to a country which almoſt wholly depended on him, formed himſelf the deſign to carry her away, and force her to marry Gorge Gordon his ſecond ſon [o]. Murray accompanying the queen in her progreſs, ſeveral obſtacles occurred which cauſed the execution of the plot againſt him to be delayed from day to day. Mean while, the earl of Huntley and his ſon improved the occaſion to execute their project. One day, when the court was in a ſmall and ill-fortified town, George Gordon appeared near it with ſome forces, in order to ſurpriſe the queen's perſon. But the earl of Murray, by unexpected good fortune, found means to ſave her. This important ſervice effaced for ſome time the diſadvantageous impreſſions ſhe had received of him.

The diſcovery of the plot was not capable to make the earl of Huntley deſiſt from his enterpriſe. He ſtill kept in arms with intent to ſurpriſe the court, where the earl of Sutherland was his ſpy, and informed him of what paſſed there. But an intercepted letter diſcovering all, Sutherland fled into Flanders, and the earl of Murray, at the head of ſome forces, marched againſt the earl of Huntley, who bravely expected him. In a battle fought on this occaſion, Huntley was defeated and taken priſoner, but died within a few days [p]. George his ſon eſcaping, the duke of Chateleraut his father-in-law, very earneſtly ſued for his pardon, and upon ſome good hope given him by the queen, put him into her hands. He was however conducted to Dunbar, tried, and ſentenced to die: but the ſentence was not executed [q].

While theſe things were tranſacting in Scotland, James Melvil, author of the Memoirs under his name, was employed at Inſpruck to ſound the inclinations of the Imperial court concerning the marriage of queen Mary with the archduke Charles, third ſon of the emperor Ferdinand. The firſt overture of this deſign had been made by the cardinal of Lorrain in his way through Inſpruck to the council of Trent, with the offer of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for a portion. This occaſioned Maximilian, eldeſt brother of Charles, to aſk Melvil, ſpeaking of this marriage, whether the Scots would be willing to aſſiſt their queen in obtaining the crown of England. Hence it is plain, that the Guiſes had ſtill this deſign in view, and were inceſſantly labouring to execute it. We muſt not therefore wonder that Elizabeth had always an eye upon the queen of Scots as upon a very dangerous rival [r].

[1563] In the beginning of the year 1563, the duke of Guiſe laid ſiege to Orleans, which was the magazine of the Hugonots, and where D'Andelot brother of the admiral was ſhut up with a numerous garriſon. The place was now reduced to the laſt extremity, when the duke of Guiſe was killed with a piſtol-ball by a gentleman named Poltrot. The duke perceiving his end approaching, teſtified an extreme concern for having kindled the civil war, and ſent his ſerious advice to the queen-regent to make a peace on any terms. The admiral being accuſed of this murder, endeavoured to clear himſelf, but the relations of the deceaſed perſiſted in their belief of his guilt. Mean while, the peace between the king and the Hugonots cloſely followed the death of the duke of Guiſe, without any care taken by the prince of Condé [s] to have his generous friend the queen of England included. Nor was this all: for Charles IX. beſieging Havre de Grace, the Hugonots diſtinguiſhed themſelves in driving the Engliſh out of a place which they themſelves had put into their hands. If their conduct on this occaſion, ſhewed them good Frenchmen, it was alſo a demonſtration of their being very ill politicians. Indeed they could not have done any thing more prejudicial to their own intereſt, or more agreeable to their enemies, than thus to quarrel with England. The earl of Warwick defended the place ſome time with great bravery and intrepidity [t]; but the plague, which raged in the town, daily ſwept away fifty of his men [u], and reduced him to the neceſſity of a capitulation, by which the town was reſtored to the king of France. After Havre was taken, a peace was concluded between the two crowns. The Engliſh forces which had ſerved in France, bringing the plague with them into England [w], it made terrible ravages, above twenty thouſand dying in London only [x].

The death of the duke of Guiſe made ſome alteration in the affairs of the queen of Scotland. Charles IX. declaring himſelf of age to govern, was under the influence of the queen his mother, who, not loving her daughter-in-law, gave her ſome mortifications. The payment of her dowry was diſcontinued, the Scotch guard diſmiſſed, and the duke of Chateleraut denied his revenues. The duke of Guiſe left a

[l] This was commanded by ſir Adrian Poynings, Camden, p. 390.

[m] Ambroſe Dudley, created December 26, 1561, baron Liſle, and earl of Warwick. Stow, p. 648.

[n] Inverneſs.

[o] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays eldeſt ſon; but Alexander was the eldeſt, who dying without iſſue, George ſucceeded to the title (which his father had forfeited) but not till June 1566, at which time he was reſtored by parliament. Crawford's Peerage.

[p] John, one of his ſons, was executed a few days after. Buchanan, l. 17.——This battle was not fought till October 28, 1563, according to Crawford.

[q] Melvil, who was then in Germany, ſays nothing of this conſpiracy of the earl of Huntley. Camden, whoſe aim was only to blacken the reputation of the earl of Murray, contents himſelf with ſaying (in his annals of the year 1566) that Murray had ruined the illuſtrious houſe of the Gordons, without ſaying one word of this conſpiracy. Rapin.

[r] This year, Shan O'Neal, earl of Tirroen, who had in 1560, broke out into a rebellion, came and made his ſubmiſſion to queen Elizabeth, and received her pardon. Camden, p. 385. 391.—This year alſo, on December 25, died William lord Grey of Wilton. Stow, p. 652.

[s] He pleaſed himſelf with the hopes of being lieutenant-general of France, and huſband to the queen of Scots. Camden. p. 392.

[t] There were ſome recruits ſent thither, two hundred whereof periſhed by ſhipwreck, with their commander ſir Thomas Finch, knt. and two brothers of the lord Wentworth. Ibid. Hollingſh. p. 1202.

[u] The plague ſwept away all theſe famous officers, Francis Somerſet, John Zouch, Alberic Darcy, Thomas Drury, Wilfrid Antwiſſel, Edward Ormeſby, Cuthbert Vaughan, Richard Croker, John Cockſon, John Prowd, William Saul, Thomas Kemeys, &c. Stow, p. 656.

[w] Moſt of them embarked July 31. Ibid.

[x] Twenty thouſand, one hundred thirty-ſix. Ibid.

His

ſon, who was too young to have any ſhare in the government, and the cardinal of Lorrain had no longer the ſame credit as during the life of his brother. Mary, complaining of her ill treatment from the court of France, the cardinal, her uncle, fearing ſhe might be provoked to turn to Elizabeth, was more preſſing than ever for her marriage with the archduke, and did his utmoſt to accompliſh it. Melvil ſays, however, in his Memoirs, that he perceived at the Imperial court it was not reliſhed by Maximilian, eldeſt ſon of the emperor. Be this as it will, Mary readily received the propoſition. But as the death of the duke of Guiſe had removed at a great diſtance the near proſpect ſhe had of mounting the throne of England, ſhe believed it neceſſary to manage Elizabeth, and deſired her advice concerning the propoſed marriage. Elizabeth was alarmed at the deſign of allying the queen of Scotland with the houſe of Auſtria, not being ignorant with what view the cardinal of Lorrain offered ſuch a marriage to his niece. She therefore told Mary, by Randolph, her embaſſador, that, having for her the tenderneſs of a ſiſter, and, regarding her intereſts as her own, ſhe deſired her to conſider that ſuch an alliance would remove her for ever from the throne of England, ſince the Engliſh would never run the hazard of falling under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria: that England was not without perſons who had their pretenſions to the crown as well as herſelf, and might greatly embarras her: it was therefore her intereſt to gain the affection of the Engliſh, by a marriage which would not be uneaſy to them: that if any Engliſh nobleman was ſo happy as to pleaſe her, ſuch a marriage would doubtleſs remove the difficulties which lay in the way of her deſire to be declared her preſumptive heir. This was the ſubſtance of what Randolph was ordered to repreſent to the queen of Scotland, without naming, however, the lord, Elizabeth wiſhed to give her for huſband. But he had a ſecret commiſſion to intimate to the earl of Murray, and ſecretary Lidington, that he believed ſhe had caſt her eyes on the lord Dudley [x],

Elizabeth's anſwer threw Mary into great perplexity. She believed herſelf at leaſt the lawful heir of Elizabeth by her birth-right; but Henry VIII. having not placed her in the line of the ſucceſſion, an act of parliament was neceſſary to reſtore her to her right. Without this, ſhe was in danger that, if Elizabeth died without heirs, the will of Henry would be punctually complied with. On the other hand, her uncertainty whether Elizabeth would cauſe ſuch an act to be paſſed in her favour, and get her declared her heir, made her unwilling to relinquiſh the hope given her by her uncle, the cardinal, of being placed on the throne of England by the aſſiſtance of the pope, France, Spain, and the Engliſh catholics. In this perplexity, ſhe choſe to inform the cardinal of the repreſentation made to her by Elizabeth, and of that queen's deſign to marry her to Dudley. The cardinal anſwered, that Dudley was not a fit match for her, and that Elizabeth only amuſed her, in pretending to marry her to a man whom ſhe intended for her own bed. That as to the hope ſhe was flattered with, of being declared her preſumptive heir, it was not much to be relied on, ſince, though ſhe kept her word, ſhe might have children, which would render the act of no uſe, or might, on the leaſt pretence, cauſe it to be repealed. That it was therefore more agreeable to her intereſt, to depend upon the aſſiſtance of her real friends, than on ſuch uncertain hopes.

This did not prevent Mary, after a mature examination of what had been offered on both ſides, from reſolving to deſiſt from the deſign of marrying the archduke, for fear of doing herſelf a prejudice in England. But withal, ſhe determined to evade the propoſal Elizabeth intended to make her, concerning Dudley, without breaking, however, with her. It was abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew a regard for Elizabeth, in order to continue with more eaſe her intrigues in England, and encreaſe there the number of her friends, which was already conſiderable. Beſides that the catholics were all for her, many proteſtants were perſuaded, that the crown, if Elizabeth died without children, could not be refuſed her without injuſtice, and the leaſt diſcontent was capable to create a belief, that Mary had even a better title than Elizabeth herſelf. This gave great uneaſineſs to Elizabeth, who feared that Mary, by a marriage with a catholic prince, would be enabled to ſupport her pretenſions. Therefore ſhe did all that lay in her power to divert her from any ſuch deſign. To this end, ſhe told Melvil, in his return through England, how much it would offend her, if Mary married without her advice. She added, as it was their common intereſt to live in a good underſtanding, ſhe deſigned to make her two offers, that, by embracing either, ſhe might avoid the jealouſy which her marriage with a foreign prince would raiſe in the Engliſh. The treaty of Edinburgh was all this while unmentioned, the conjuncture not being proper to preſs that affair.

Frances Brandon, ducheſs of Suffolk, ſo often mentioned, died this year [y]. She had accepted for her third huſband Adrian Stokes, a private gentleman, by whom ſhe had no children. Of her three daughters, by her former marriage with Grey, marquis of Dorſet, afterwards duke of Suffolk, Jane, the eldeſt, had been proclaimed queen after the death of Edward, and loſt her life on a ſcaffold. Catherine was in the Tower, or perhaps dead. Mary, the third, had been given in marriage to a man ſo little diſtinguiſhed, that there was no likelihood of her being put in competition with the queen of Scotland. Thus, by the death of the ducheſs of Suffolk, Mary ſaw herſelf delivered from a rival, who was granddaughter of Henry VII. [z]

[1564] The truce between France and England ended at laſt in a peace, ſigned at Troye, in Champagne, the 11th of April, 1564. By the treaty, the king of France and queen of England preſerved entire all their pretenſions, without mentioning any in particular, not even the reſtitution of Calais. There were only ſome ſeparate articles, which were left unſigned till the next day, concerning the hoſtages delivered to Elizabeth after the treaty of Cateau, which ſhe was willing to reſtore for a ſmall ſum [a]. Throckmorton, who had been arreſted in France on ſome pretence [b], was ſet at liberty. After this, Elizabeth ſent to king Charles the order of the garter by the lord Hunſdon [c], who was ſent into France to ſee the peace ſworn to.

At this time, the commerce between England and the Netherlands was entirely broke, by the artifices of cardinal Granvelle. As he foreſaw a war was going to be kindled in the Low Countries, he was willing to remove the Engliſh, and for that purpoſe had prevailed with the governeſs to forbid the importation of Engliſh cloths. This prohibition obliged the Engliſh to ſet up a ſtaple for their cloths at Embden, a town of Eaſt Frieſland. But a new embaſſador [d], ſent into England by Philip, in the room of the biſhop of Aquila, who was dead, conſidering that his maſter's ſubjects would, from this interruption of commerce, receive no leſs damage than the Engliſh, brought the affair to a negotiation. As there occurred great difficulties, it was mutually agreed that the treaty of commerce, called the Great Intercourſe, made in the time of Maximilian, ſhould ſubſiſt till one of the parties notified the contrary to the other, with the allowances of forty days to the merchants to withdraw their effects. This affair was very important to both nations. Camden ſays, that in his time the commerce between England and the Netherlands, roſe yearly to above twelve millions of gold, and that the woollen trade alone amounted to above five millions [e].

This affair being finiſhed, Elizabeth viſited the univerſity of Cambridge, where ſhe was received with great pomp and magnificence. She teſtified her ſatisfaction in an elegant Latin oration, wherein ſhe aſſured the univerſity of her protection, and intention to encourage learning to the utmoſt of her power.

[x] His lady, daughter of ſir John Robſart, was lately dead of a fall from a pair of ſtairs, at Cumnore, in Oxfordſhire, and lies buried in St. Mary's in Oxford. Camden, p. 393. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 222.

[y] She lies buried in Weſtminſter abbey. Sandford, p. 537. This year alſo died William lord Paget, and Henry Manours, earl of Rutland. Camden, p. 394.

[z] This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter, Jan. 12, and was prorogued on April 10. They granted the queen a ſubſidy, and two fifteenths and tenths; and the clergy gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. D'ews. The moſt remarkable acts during this ſeſſion, were theſe: 1. An act againſt holding or maintaining the authority of the biſhop of Rome. 2. That no one ſhall procure a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of forty pounds; nor any one be a falſe witneſs, upon the penalty of twenty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. 3. An act, making the clipping and waſhing of coin, treaſon. 4. That any perſon who ſhall be ſeen or found, for one month, in a company of Egyptians, ſhall be deemed a felon. 5. An act for the due execution of the writ de Excommunicato Capiendo. 6. An act for tranſlating the Bible and Common-Prayer into Welſh. Laſtly, An act paſſed to eſtabliſh and confirm the queen's ſupremacy in eccleſiaſtical affairs. The work of the reformation, which, with ſeveral interuptions, had been carrying on above thirty years, was in great meaſure compleated, and the articles of the church of England, ſettled by the convocation, and reduced to the number of thirty-nine, as they ſtand to this day.

[a] One hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold, de ſoleil, each worth fifty-one pence Tournois. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 644, 645.

[b] On pretence of coming to France without a paſs. He and ſir Thomas Smith were the commiſſioners employed in negotiating this peace. Camden, p. 392. 394.

[c] Henry Carey.

[d] Don Diego Guſman de Sylva, canon of Toledo.

[e] Camden obſerves here, that the Engliſh wool proved to the Netherlands more than an imaginary Golden Fleece, and from thence was derived that famous order of the Golden Fleece, inſtituted in 1429, p. 395.

She

The tranquility which the queen then enjoyed would have been compleat, if her ſuſpicions of the queen of Scotland had not given her perpetual uneaſineſs. It was on her ſhe was always reflecting, as on her moſt dangerous enemy. She conſidered that the marriage of this queen might prove to her a fountain of troubles and cares, and draw upon her the greateſt misfortunes. So, her whole policy tended either to obſtruct all marriages offered to Mary, or, at leaſt, to effect that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe a man, from whom England ſhould have nothing to fear, With this view ſhe wrote her a letter, wherein, after many demonſtrations of friendſhip, ſhe gave her advice concernnig her marriage, telling her, the marrying without her conſent would ruin her affairs. Notwithſtanding Mary's reſolution to live in friendſhip with Elizabeth, ſhe was provoked at her thus taking upon her to adviſe her, and even with an air of ſuperiority, which was but too manifeſt [f]. Forgetting therefore her reſolution, and thinking only of making herſelf ſatisfaction [g], ſhe returned ſuch an anſwer to the letter as greatly offended Elizabeth. But ſome time after, reflecting that ſhe herſelf broke her own meaſures in quarrelling with Elizabeth, ſhe diſpatched ſir James Melvil to pay her compliments, and to endeavour to mend what had been ſpoiled by her impatience. Elizabeth received her compliments with equal diſſimulation. After telling Melvil how much cauſe ſhe had to be offended with the letter, ſhe tore it [h] in his preſence, teſtifying her readineſs to be reconciled, and expreſſing an affection for her good ſiſter, which aſſuredly ſhe had not. It was not her intereſt to quarrel, for fear of inducing Mary to marry ſome prince, who would not have patience to wait the time of enjoying her ſucceſſion. She therefore embraced this occaſion to renew her inſtances to Mary for her choice of a huſband, proper to preſerve their friendſhip, and a good intelligence between the two kingdoms. All this tended only to a ſetting forth of ſeveral reaſons to perſuade Mary to accept the lord Dudley, though ſhe did not directly name him. It is however very uncertain, whether this marriage was ſincerely intended by Elizabeth, or only deſigned to amuſe Mary, and prevent her thinking on others. Nay, it is very likely Dudley, who depended upon Elizabeth, was only propoſed to prolong the affair. This ſeems to be confirmed by the permiſſion afterwards granted by Elizabeth to the lord Darnly, ſon of the counteſs of Lenox, to go into Scotland, though ſhe was not ignorant that Mary had ſome thought of marrying that lord, as ſhe intimated to Melvil. Indeed, Mary had now reſolved it, not in compliance with the counſels of Elizabeth to eſpouſe a lord little capable to give her uneaſineſs, but in hopes of receiving conſiderable advantage from the marriage. It had been frequently hinted to her that there was room to doubt, whether her title to the crown of England was as good as the ducheſs of Suffolk's, which was ſupported by the will of Henry VIII. and that this was a point to be decided by Engliſh lawyers. This was to keep her in ſubmiſſion, and prevent her diſobliging Elizabeth. When this uneaſineſs was removed by the death of the ducheſs of Suffolk and Catherine her daughter, the rights of the counteſs of Lenox, daughter of Margaret queen of Scotland by her ſecond huſband Archibald earl of Angus, begun to be whiſpered. Henry VIII. her uncle, had given her in marriage to Matthew Stuart, earl of Lenox, who had withdrawn into England, as was ſaid in the reign of that prince. The counteſs of Lenox could not indeed, with any ſeeming juſtice, enter into competition with Mary, ſince ſhe was born only of Margaret's ſecond marriage, whereas Mary came from the firſt. But it could be alleged in her favour, that ſhe was one degree nearer, and it was to be feared for Mary, that this reaſon would prevail, if ſupported by Elizabeth. So, to avoid this competition, Mary had reſolved to unite the titles of the two families by her marriage with the lord Darnly, ſon to the counteſs of Lenox, and thereby diſable Elizabeth to give her any diſturbance. Elizabeth had for the ſame reaſon reſolved to obſtruct the marriage, not from any fear of the lord Darnly, but with intent to keep Mary always in awe and ſubmiſſion.

The reconciliation between the two queens being made, as I before ſaid, Mary ſeriouſly thought of executing her deſign. But as ſhe was prepoſſeſſed with a belief, that Elizabeth only ſought to amuſe her, and prevent her from marrying, ſhe ſaw it neceſſary to uſe ſome art, to draw the earl of Lenox and his ſon into Scotland. She began with the father, and pretended to recal him, in order to reſtore him to his eſtate, forfeited during the regency of the duke of Chateleraut. Elizabeth did not think it right to oppoſe the earl of Lenox's return into his own country, upon a motive ſo juſt and reaſonable. In this whole affair the two queen's behaved with equal diſſimulation. At the very time Mary was taking meaſures to marry the lord Darnly, unknown to Elizabeth, ſhe pretended a readineſs to be directed by her counſels. She even conſented to a congreſs of commiſſioners of both the kingdoms, concerning her marriage, though ſhe was not ignorant of Elizabeth's intentions to propoſe to her Dudley, lately created earl of Leiceſter [i]. On the other hand, Elizabeth, not unacquainted with Mary's deſign to marry the lord Darnly, ſeemed not to perceive it, being well pleaſed to have her fix her thoughts upon a ſubject, whom ſhe believed to be at her diſpoſal, becauſe the earl his father had great poſſeſſions in England. She hoped therefore to have it always in her power to break off or delay the marriage, as ſhe ſhould judge proper, her ſole aim being to gain time, and amuſe the queen of Scotland.

Some time after, the earl of Bedford [k] for England, and the earl of Murray with Lidington for Scotland, had a conference at Berwick [l], where the earl of Bedford, according to his inſtructions, propoſed the marriage of the queen of Scotland to the earl of Leiceſter. But the two Scotch commiſſioners, who had likewiſe their orders, received the propoſal with ſuch coldneſs, that the earl of Bedford thought it not proper to inſiſt much on it. Nay, it is pretended that the earl of Leiceſter, who had ſome hope to marry Elizabeth [m], had deſired him not to preſs it.

Mean time, Melvil being returned, freely told Mary, in laying his negotiation before her, that the queen of England's friendſhip was far from being ſincere. This cauſed Mary, who had already no very good opinion of Elizabeth, to regard her as a ſecret enemy, who, though ſhe always called her good ſiſter, did not mean her well. Sometimes ſhe thought Elizabeth only propoſed the earl of Leiceſter to her, that ſhe herſelf might marry him with the leſs diſhonour, after his having been encouraged by a queen; and ſometimes, that this propoſal was only an artifice, to waſte time in fruitleſs negotiations.

Thus was ſpent the year 1564, in which Ferdinand I. died, leaving the Imperial dignity and his hereditary dominions to his ſon Maximilian.

[1565] The queen of Scotland had for ſome time entertained David Rizzo, an Italian, who governed her abſolutely. As the queen entirely changed both her conduct and character, after this ſtranger was received into her confidence, and as he was the firſt cauſe of the troubles of Scotland, and the misfortunes of his miſtreſs, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of him.

David Rizzo, ſon of a muſician of Turin, being ſervant to the count de Muretto, embaſſador to Scotland, attended his maſter into that country. As he perfectly underſtood muſic [n], and ſung a good baſs, he got acquainted with the court-muſicians, and was introduced to the queen, who wanting a baſs to her concert, deſired the embaſſador to leave him with her. His fine voice often procuring him the honour of ſeeing and talking with the queen, he ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into her good graces, that he daily encreaſed in favour and credit. At laſt the ſecretary of the French diſpatches being gone into France, Rizzo was choſen for that office during his abſence. From this time he puſhed his fortune ſo ſucceſsfully, that he became in a manner firſt miniſter, nothing of moment being tranſacted at court but by him. Buchanan, the queen's great enemy, often inſinuates, that David's influence over her was not confined to public affairs. He ſays, ſhe admitted him to her table, and frequently dined at his, and by ſuch uncommon familiarities gave occaſion to ſcandalous ſuſpicions. In a word, he ſays enough to incline thoſe who pay entire credit to him, to believe that the queen's conduct was not free from crime. But as Buchanan may juſtly be ſuſpected of aggravation, it is better to adhere to Melvil's account. He can be accuſed of no deſign to aſperſe the queen's reputation, ſince he rather, on all occaſions, ſhews a great zeal for her,

[f] She deſired Mary to take heed, that in ſhewing pleaſure to the earl of Lenox, ſhe did not diſpleaſe the houſe of Hamilton, ſeeing thereby trouble and ſtrife might ariſe in her country. Melvil, p. 42.

[g] At any other time this advice would not have been ill taken; but now all advices given by Elizabeth were miſ-conſtrued, partly on account of her having hindered the marriage with the archduke, and partly becauſe Rizzo, the queen of Scots, ſecretary for the French tongue, was not very ſkilful in inditing French letters. Melvil.

[h] Not queen Mary's letter; but an angry anſwer to it, which ſhe had wrote, and intended to ſend. See Melvil, p. 46, 47.

[i] On September 30. Stow, p. 657.

[k] With ſir Thomas Randolph. Camden, p. 396.

[l] In November.

[m] Queen Elizabeth herſelf told Melvil, that ſhe eſteemed Dudley as her brother, and beſt friend, whom ſhe would have herſelf married, had ſhe ever minded to have taken a huſband. Melvil, p. 47.

[n] He was the author of the old Scotch tunes.

And

Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

FRANCIS RUSSEL
the 2.d
EARL of BEDFORD,
ob. 1585.

Cook Sculp

In the Collection of his Grace the
DUKE of BEDFORD.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

without however concealing her faults. At the time when Rizzo was moſt in favour with the queen, ſhe had ſo entire a confidence in Melvil, as even to allow, or rather command, him to admoniſh her of her faults. See what this author, in his Memoirs ſays of Rizzo: "As he entered in greater credit, ſo he had not the prudence how to manage the ſame rightly. For frequently, in preſence of the nobility, he would be publicly ſpeaking to the queen, even when there was greateſt conventions of the ſtates; which made him to be much envied and hated, eſpecially when he became ſo great, that he preſented all ſignatures to be ſubſcribed by her majeſty. So that ſome of the nobility would frown upon him, others would ſhoulder and ſhut him by, when they entered the queen's chamber, and found him always ſpeaking with her. All who had any buſineſs at court, addreſſing themſelves to him, and depending upon him, in ſhort time he became very rich.—As he was a known minion, and ſuſpected to be a penſioner of the pope, it gave ground of ſuſpicion, that ſome deſign would be by him contrived againſt the reformed religion." The ſame author adds, that having himſelf repreſented to the queen the injury which her favours upon this ſtranger now did and might afterwards do her, his remonſtrance was very ill received, the queen telling him, ſhe would not be ſo far reſtrained but that ſhe might diſpenſe her favours to ſuch as ſhe pleaſed. He ſays farther, that, having remonſtrated to Rizzo how much he offended the nobility by his affectation to appear ſo great with the queen, he ſeemed to pay ſome regard to his advice; but within a few days told him, he had the queen's orders to behave as he was wont, without minding any thing. This teſtimony added, to Camden's ſilence, who, having undertaken in his Annals of Elizabeth to juſtify the queen of Scots, ſays nothing of Rizzo, ſhews that this miniſter or favourite entirely governed the queen. So, the lord Darnly, being a catholic, and Rizzo the pope's penſioner, as Melvil affirms, it is not to be doubted that the queen was determined to the marriage by her favourite's advice. It was therefore to have an opportunity of drawing that young lord into Scotland, that ſhe reſtored his father to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate. As this was to be done in the aſſembly of the ſtates, ſummoned to meet in January, Darnly demanded leave to be abſent three months, in order to be at the Scotch parliament, and obtained it by the interceſſion of Cecil, who never imagined he would venture to eſpouſe Mary without the queen's permiſſion. Probably he was permitted to go into Scotland only with intent to amuſe the queen, and perhaps to give her an opportunity to entertain for that handſome young lord a paſſion, which would hinder her from thinking of any other. However this be, he was well received by the queen, who immediately gave him great marks of her eſteem, and ſhortly after, it was perceived ſhe deſigned him for her huſband. Rizzo inſtantly contracted ſo cloſe a friendſhip with him, that they both lay in the ſame bed.

After Rizzo had ingroſſed the queen's favour, the earl of Murray ſaw his credit daily decline. This, added to the intended marriage, and the great union between Darnly and Rizzo, convinced him it was time to retire, and, to haſten him, the queen recalled all his enemies to court. The earl of Bothwell returned from France, the earl of Sutherland from Flanders, and George Gordon, who was impriſoned at Dunbar, and under ſentence of death, was releaſed, and, after obtaining his pardon, took the title of earl of Huntley. Murray could not ſee Bothwell (who would have murdered him) without reſentment. He impeached him in a legal manner, and prevailed to have a day aſſigned for his trial. The queen, according to Buchanan, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to oblige Murray to deſiſt from his proſecution, and not ſucceeding, tried to corrupt his judges. Notwithſtanding ſo powerful a protection, Bothwell thought it not proper to appear, but withdrew. Afterwards the queen obtained from the earl of Murray a ſort of reconciliation with Bothwell. The ſame hiſtorian pretends, that the queen had conceived ſo violent hatred againſt Murray, that, jointly with Darnly and Rizzo, ſhe formed a deſign to have him murdered in a journey ſhe made on purpoſe to Perth; but that Murray, having ſome notice of it, retired to his mother's at Lochleven. He ſays further, that the queen being at Perth, a report was induſtriouſly raiſed, that Murray intended to ſurpriſe her and the lord Darnly, in their return to Edinburgh. To make the report the more credible, ſcouts were ſent out on the road, and the queen came to Edinburgh with a precipitation apt to create a belief of the greatneſs of her danger. It muſt however be owned, that Melvil ſpeaks of a conſpiracy to ſeize the lord Darnly, as ſomething real, though Buchanan will have it to be all imaginary; but Melvil does not aſcribe it to Murray alone, ſince the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, were likewiſe concerned.

The earl of Murray had a double intereſt to obſtruct the projected marriage; the one private, the other public. I have already taken notice of the firſt, which engaged him to alter the ſtate of the court, where he could no longer ſupport himſelf. The latter flowed, firſt from the danger into which the queen's marriage with a catholic lord might throw the reformed religion. In the next place, it was to be feared, that this marriage, being made without the queen of England's participation, or any care for the ſupport of the reformed religion, would lay a foundation for troubles, in which it was almoſt impoſſible for England and France not to be concerned, to the great prejudice of the kingdom. The earl of Murray was not the only perſon who diſliked the marriage. The duke of Chateleraut, ſworn enemy to the houſe of Lenox, the earls of Argyle, Rothes, Marr, Glencairn, and many others, ſome from private views, others from more honeſt motives, believed it time to apply effectual remedies to the impending miſchiefs, by making a league to oppoſe the deſigns of the court. It is not eaſy to decide whether theſe lords took up arms before or after the queen's marriage. Buchanan intimates this was not till after, upon the court's intending to oppreſs them. Melvil ſpeaks of an inſurrection of theſe lords after failing to ſeize the lord Darnly, and then proceeds to the recital of the queen's marriage. Camden poſitively aſſerts, that the queen, to celebrate the marriage with more ſafety, was obliged to march with ſome forces againſt the confederate lords, and forced them to fly into England. If this be true, ſhe doubtleſs ſurpriſed them before they were prepared. This is not the only diſagreement between Camden and Buchanan.

However, Mary, having reſolved on her marriage, had now applied to the pope for a diſpenſation [o]. When ſhe knew it was granted, ſhe aſſembled the great men of her court, who were all devoted to her, and aſked their advice concerning her marriage, which was unanimouſly approved. Only it was added, not to exaſperate the people, that care was to be taken of the proteſtant religion. The firſt part of this approbation was gladly accepted; but as for the reſtriction, it was no more heard of. Buchanan ſays, the earl of Murray undertook to procure Elizabeth's conſent, provided the proteſtant religion was ſecured. But this was not the intention of the court, who perceived this ſecurity would be the guaranty of Elizabeth, which agreed neither with the intereſts of the queen, nor thoſe of Rizzo, and the lords newly taken into favour.

Mean time, the people began to murmur by the ſecret inſtigations of the confederate lords. It was debated in private converſations, whether the queen could marry without the conſent of the ſtates. Some ſaid, ſhe could not be denied a natural right enjoyed by all her ſubjects. Others maintained, that the condition of the queen and her ſubjects were not the ſame, becauſe the queen, by her marriage, gave a ſovereign to her ſubjects, which ſhe could not do without their conſent. Theſe freedoms convinced the queen that ſhe muſt haſten her marriage, not to be any longer expoſed to the difficulties which might be ſtarted, whilſt there was hope to obſtruct it. She believed, however, that ſhe could not avoid aſking, not the advice, but the approbation of Elizabeth, whom it was, as I ſaid, her intereſt to manage. She wrote to her, therefore [p], to communicate her deſign as a thing already reſolved. Elizabeth, on ſight of the letter, aſſembled her council, who examined the affair with great attention. The reſult was, that the marriage of the queen of Scotland with Darnly was dangerous to religion and the kingdom. To religion, becauſe that queen, in chuſing a catholic lord, intended, it was to be feared, to reſtore her religion in Scotland, which would be very prejudicial to that of the proteſtants. To the kingdom, as Mary, uniting by this marriage the intereſts of the two houſes who could pretend to the crown of England, ſeemed to have a deſign of forming a powerful party in the kingdom, and preventing the interruption of her cabals, by oppoſing againſt her the houſe of Lenox. For theſe reaſons, ſome of the counſellors were for ſending immediately an army into Scotland, to ſupport the malcontents. But Elizabeth thought it not proper to be ſo haſty, and the more, as the alleging that her marriage might be dangerous to England, was but a weak pretence to make war upon the queen of Scots [q]. She contented herſelf therefore with ſending ſir Nicholas Throckmorton, to make her ſenſible of the hazard ſhe ran of loſing her expecta-

[o] And about this time ſhe created the lord Darnly, baron of Ardamanack, earl of Roſſe, and duke of Rothſay; which are the uſual titles of the eldeſt and ſecond ſons of Scotland. Heylin's Hiſt. Ref. p. 343.

[p] By Liddington. Camden, p. 396.

[q] The two queens had an interview this year, in May or June; but what the effect of it was, does not appear. Strype's Ann. tom. I. p. 510.

tion of mounting the throne of England, by a marriage ſo diſagreeable to the Engliſh. Mary's anſwer was, that the affair was too far advanced to be recalled, nor had Elizabeth any reaſon to diſapprove the marriage, ſince, by her advice, ſhe had now choſe an Engliſhman, deſcended from the royal blood of kingdoms, and the firſt nobleman of all Britain. Throckmorton, unable to prevail with Mary, ſignified to the earl of Lenox, and the lord Darnly, that their licence being expired, they were to return to England, or their eſtates would be forfeited [r]. This menace was incapable to command their obedience in ſuch a conjuncture. However, they both wrote very ſubmiſſively to the queen; and Darnly in particular proteſted, that he only accepted the honour done him by the queen of Scotland, with intent to preſerve a perfect harmony between the two kingdoms.

But this was not the only commiſſion the embaſſador of England was charged with. He had alſo inſtructions to encourage the diſcontented lords, and give them hopes of the queen's protection. It was probably from this encouragement that they took up arms to oppoſe the marriage. But the queen prevented them, by having it ſolemnized the 29th of July in her own chapel, after the manner of the church of Rome. Buchanan ſays, ſhe had two other reaſons to haſten her marriage. The firſt was, her fear of the cardinal of Lorrain's oppoſition, who wiſhed her to make a more conſiderable alliance. The other was, that Rizzo was willing to recommend himſelf to the pope, by giving the queen a catholic huſband, without any ſecurity for the proteſtant religion.

Mean time the confederate lords being cited, and not appearing, the queen, whether before or after her marriage, put herſelf at the head of four thouſand men, and purſuing them from place to place, forced them at laſt to retire into England. There they found a ſafe retreat [s], notwithſtanding the treaty of the year 1560, by which the two queens mutually promiſed to deliver the fugitive rebels. But ſuch articles are uſually very ill obſerved. Melvil relates a particular which deſerves notice. The Scoth fugitive lords having deputed to Elizabeth the earl of Murray to deſire her protection, ſhe politically induced him to own, before the embaſſadors of France and Spain, that ſhe was not concerned in their rebellion. But the words were no ſooner out of Murray's mouth, than ſhe called them rebels and traitors, and forbid them her preſence. This was to clear herſelf to the embaſſadors: but was all a farce, ſince ſhe ſtill granted the fugitives a ſafe retreat in her kingdom. Nay, privately ſupplied them with money by the duke of Bedford [t].

Mary's marriage with a catholic, the great credit of Rizzo, and the concern of many for the fate of the fugitive lords, produced a diſcontent among the Scots, which daily encreaſed by the ſecret intrigues of the relations and friends of the fugitives. The preachers ſtill greatly inflamed it, by inſinuating to the people, that religion was in extreme danger. Notwithſtanding all this, the court, now proſperous and elate, reſolved, contrary to the rules of policy, and at a time when the kingdom was diſſatisfied, to degrade and baniſh the fugitive lords by a degree of the ſtates. To this end, the ſtates were ſummoned to meet in February the next year. Melvil ſays, in his Memoirs, that having repreſented to the queen the miſchiefs this rigour might produce, ſhe at firſt ſeemed to mind him, but, however, perſiſted in her reſolution, for two reaſons. The firſt was, the avarice of Rizzo, who had an eye to the confiſcation of the exiles eſtates. The ſecond was the powerful ſolicitation of the cardinal of Lorrain againſt them. He ſtill thought of placing the queen his niece on the throne of England, and therefore judged, if the fugitives of Scotland, as they were the heads of the proteſtants, were once ruined, it would be eaſy to reſtore the Romiſh religion in Scotland, and afterwards invade Elizabeth from thence. Rizzo, the pope's creature, acted doubtleſs from the the ſame motive, and in all appearance the new king was no enemy to the deſign. If Elizabeth is to be credited, in what ſhe wrote to her embaſſador in France ſome years after, Mary and the lord Darnly, from the moment of their marriage, never ceaſed to cabal againſt England. On this ſuppoſition, it will not appear ſtrange that Elizabeth fomented the troubles in Scotland, to put it out of the power of her enemies to invade her.

In the mean time, Elizabeth ſent into Scotland, Tamworth, a gentleman of her privy-chamber, with a letter written with her own hand, wherein ſhe demanded of Mary, that the lord Darnly, to whom ſhe vouchſafed not to give the title of king, ſhould be delivered up to her, according to the tenor of their treaty. Mary refuſed to give the embaſſador audience, but was willing to receive the letter. Whilſt ſhe was reading it in the preſence of ſome lords, Rizzo came in, and ſnatching it out of her hands, hindered her from proceeding [u]. He judged that Elizabeth demanded the king, only to oblige the queen to pardon the exiles, to which he could not agree, being determined to ruin them, though the earl of Murray had ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, with a fine diamond incloſed. Mary anſwered Elizabeth, That ſhe would not attempt any thing againſt England ſo long as ſhe lived, "provided ſhe was declared her preſumptive heir by act of parliament." As to the fugitive lords, ſhe deſired her to leave her at liberty to diſpoſe of them as ſhe pleaſed, ſince ſhe did not meddle with what paſſed in England.

Whilſt Rizzo was employed in taking meaſures to execute his projects, the queen conceived an extreme averſion to her new ſpouſe, which ſoon became public, becauſe ſhe took no care to conceal it. She was not contented with grievouſly mortifying him in private, but was pleaſed all the world ſhould know how little ſhe valued him. When they were firſt married, ſhe had cauſed the king's name to be ſet with her own in all public acts, and on the coin [w]; but preſently after, ſhe ordered her own to be placed before the king's, and even cauſed his to be left out in the money-ſtamp. Mean while, ſhe continued without any reſerve her ſcandalous familiarities with Rizzo, if we may believe Buchanan. Melvil ſays not ſo much on this ſubject, but, beſides his plain intimations, he manifeſtly ſuppoſes it, otherwiſe there would be no coherence in what he relates. As for Camden, who makes it his buſineſs to vindicate queen Mary upon all occaſions, he ſcarce mentions Rizzo; and for the queen's averſion to the king, he accuſes the earl of Murray, then a fugitive in England, of having cauſed it by his letters and friends. He pretends, Murray took occaſion, from the alteration enjoined by the queen with reſpect to the acts and the coin, to ſow diſcord between them; ſo aſſigning for cauſe, what was only the effect of the queen's averſion.

Buchanan muſt be copied to repreſent fully all the mortifications the queen made the king undergo, the affronts ſhe put upon him, and the little diſcretion ſhe obſerved in her familiarities with Rizzo [x]. Perhaps this hiſtorian is guilty of great aggravation. But, however, it cannot be denied, that the king was jealous. The queſtion was to know, whether the queen gave occaſion for this jealouſy, as Buchanan pretends; or whether, as Camden affirms, the earl of Murray, though abſent, inſtilled it into the king, without any foundation, by his letters and friends [y]. Melvil, who may be conſidered as an unſuſpected evidence, plainly ſuppoſes the king's jealouſy, without any mention of the cauſe; and it may be almoſt affirmed, that if he had thought the queen entirely innocent, he would not have failed to clear her. He adds, that the friends of the fugitive lords, improving the viſible diſcord between the king and queen, and the diſpoſition of the king with regard to Rizzo, induced him to reſolve to take away the life of that favourite, in order by his death to put a ſtop to the proſecution of the fugitives, who properly had no other adverſary but him. This ſeems to confirm what Buchanan ſays, ſince Melvil ſuppoſes the king's jealouſy, and ſince the friends of the fugitives only made uſe of the king's diſpoſition. On the other hand, Camden ſeems to have ſaid juſtly, that the earl

[r] Queen Elizabeth, on June 22, ordered the counteſs of Lenox, and her ſon Charles, to be put in cuſtody. Camden, p. 397. Melvil, p. 58.

[s] Melvil ſays, that queen Elizabeth had, by her embaſſadors, promiſed to hazard her crown in their defence, in caſe they were driven to any ſtrait, for appearing againſt the marriage, p. 57.

[t] Melvil ſays, that had not ſome of the proteſtants in England, who favoured the Scots exiles upon account of their religion, interpoſed with queen Elizabeth, they would have been permitted to have remained within her dominions; though ſhe had promiſed a little before to give them aſſiſtance. And as for ſecret help, ſhe gave them none, only they obtained a ſmall contribution among ſome of their own religion, p. 57.

[u] Buchanan ſays, when ſhe had read about half of the letter, Rizzo ſtood up and bid her read no more, ſhe had read enough, ſhe ſhould ſtop.

[w] And on the 28th and 30th of July 1565, iſſued out two proclamations, whereby ſhe ordered he ſhould be ſtiled king of Scotland. See them in Anderſon's Collect. tom. I. p. 33, &c.

[x] We find (in the lord Ruthven's relation of the death of David Rizzo) the king thus complaining to the queen: "Since yon fellow Davie fell in credit and familiarity with your majeſty, ye regarded me not, neither treated me nor entertained me after your wonted faſhion; for every day before dinner and after dinner, ye would come to my chamber, and paſs time with me, and this long time ye have not done ſo; and when I come to your majeſty's chamber, ye bear me little company, except Davie had been the third marrow; and after ſupper your majeſty hath a uſe to ſet at the cards with the ſaid Davie till one or two of the clock after midnight: and this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time," p. 30.

[y] Blackwood ſays, it was the earl of Morton that put it into the king's head. Martyre de Marie, p. 203, &c. Coll. Jebb. So alſo ſays Caſtelnau, Mem. c. 13.

This

London. Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

Henry LORD Darnly.
KING of SCOTLAND.

Lucas de Heere pinx

Goldar Sculp

From an Original in the Royal Palace of S.t James's

Pub.d as the Act directs Dec.r 16. 1786.

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

of Murray's friends inſpired the king with the deſign to diſpatch Rizzo out of the way. But we ſhall ſee preſently, that by the friends of the fugitive lords, Melvil did not mean the earl of Murray's particular friends, but rather thoſe of the other lords, who, like him, had taken refuge in England.

The king having taken this reſolution, and conſulted ſome of his domeſtics how to excute it, the queen, who was informed of it, was ſo enraged with him, as made him ſtill more ſenſible how much ſhe was concerned for that unworthy favourite. As the deſign was diſcovered, the king was afraid of his own life, and not knowing what courſe to take, aſked advice of his father the earl of Lenox, who was of opinion, privately to recal the fugitive lords, and ſtrengthen himſelf by their aid againſt Rizzo's attempts. Probably it was then the king ſent to theſe lords, that they might return to Scotland, whether he only gave them ſome general hopes of a revolution to their advantage, or informed them of his moſt ſecret deſigns.

In July, this year, was the famous interview of Bayonne, where the two courts of France and Spain reſolved to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extirpate the heretics, as it afterwards appeared. Very likely queen Elizabeth was not forgot on this occaſion.

Pope Pius IV. dying in Sptember, his ſucceſſor took the name of Pius V. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which are very material to clear the hiſtory of Elizabeth [z].

The members of the parliament of Scotland daily repaired to Edinburgh in the beginning of the year 1566. As they arrived, Rizzo openly ſolicited them to obtain the condemnation of the fugitive lords, notwithſtanding the warm inſtances of the Engliſh embaſſador, who conjured the queen to pardon them, or at leaſt delay their trial. Theſe inſtances were ſo far from moving her, that they rather helped to confirm her reſolution, becauſe ſhe conſidered Elizabeth as an enemy, againſt whom ſhe was to guard. Theſe lords being the heads of the proteſtants, it was probable the queen of England demanded their pardon, only to have ſo many powerful friends when they ſhould return to their country. But this was what the queen and Rizzo were reſolved to prevent at any rate, knowing their projects would be very difficult to be accompliſhed when theſe lords were in Scotland. And therefore they were to be deprived of all hopes to return.

Mean while, the king conſulted with the earl of Morton, and ſome other friends, how to diſpatch Rizzo. In ſhort, his death was determined, the king, having firſt ſigned a writing, declaring himſelf to be the author [a]. His inſtruments were, the lord Ruthven, and George Douglaſs, natural ſon to the earl of Angus [b]; Morton only adviſing the thing, without lending his aſſiſtance; and it was executed in this manner: The queen, being at table, and Rizzo in her chamber, the king came up by a private pair of ſtairs, and ſtood ſome time, leaning upon her chair. Preſently after, the lord Ruthven, and George Douglaſs, entered, all armed, and attended with ſome of their accomplices, the reſt having poſted themſelves in ſeveral parts of the palace to prevent aſſiſtance. Theſe men entered ſo abruptly, that the table was overturned. The queen aſking Ruthven what his deſign was, he made her no anſwer; but, ſpeaking to Rizzo, boldly commanded him to go out of the room, ſaying, the place he ſat in was not fit for him. It ſeems by that, Rizzo was at table with the queen. Be that as it will, Rizzo perceiving he was the mark they aimed at, trembled for fear, and took hold of the queen's robe, to put himſelf, as it were, under her protection, who did all ſhe could to interpoſe herſelf between him and the conſpirators. But the king, taking her in his arms, and telling her ſhe had nothing to fear, hindered her from expoſing herſelf to the danger, and withal from ſcreening Rizzo. Mean time, George Douglaſs, taking the king's dagger from his ſide, drew it, and ſtabbed Rizzo, who was immediately dragged into another room [c], and there ſlain [d]. The queen was then above five months gone with child, and it may be eaſily judged that the committing ſuch a deed in her preſence muſt have made her like to miſcarry [e].

Rizzo being dead, a guard was ſet upon the queen, who found means, however, to tell Melvil to go inſtantly to the provoſt of Edinburgh, and bid him draw the people together and come to her relief. Melvil having diſcharged his commiſſion, the provoſt anſwered, he would do his endeavour to ſerve the queen; but there was not much to be expected from the people, who were extremely diſpleaſed with the government. Some, however, appearing in arms before the palace, the king ſhewed himſelf out of a window, and aſſuring them that Rizzo was ſlain by his command, ordered them to retire, which they did immediately [f].

Mean while the queen, not doubting Rizzo's murder was committed in favour of the fugitive lords, and that they would ſoon return into Scotland, ſent to Melvil by one of her ladies, that he would endeavour to prepoſſeſs the earl of Murray, and entreat him, from her, not to join with her enemies, for which he might depend upon her love and favour for ever. Murray and the other fugitive lords arrived indeed two days after Rizzo's death, having had notice of the change which was to happen at court. Camden draws this conjecture from the ſudden arrival of the fugitives, that Rizzo's murder muſt have been committed for the ſake of the earl of Murray, who was to be condemned two days after by the parliament. But it appears, on the contrary, in Melvil's Memoirs, that the earl of Murray's particular friends had no hand in the deed, ſince he did not think himſelf at all obliged to the actors. What Melvil ſays upon this occaſion, ſhews that the conſequence drawn by Camden againſt the earl of Murray, from the ſudden arrival of the fugitives, is not juſt. His words are theſe: "Which commiſſion [to perſuade Murray not to join with her enemies] I did not fail to execute at his coming upon Monday, but he was more moved at his meeting with her majeſty, who embraced and kiſſed him, alleging, that if he had been at home, he would not have ſuffered her to have been ſo uncourteouſly handled. Which ſo much moved him, that the tears ran from his eyes. He knew ſufficiently well that it was not for his cauſe, but their own particular ends, that the greateſt part who had made that enterpriſe

[z] This year, on July 16, there was ſuch a terrible ſtorm of thunder, with violent ſhowers of hail, that at Chelmsford, in Eſſex, there were five hundred acres of corn deſtroyed. Stow, 659. This year alſo, Armigill Wade, Eſq. and William Herlle, gentleman, having found out the way of making brimſtone, and of extracting, out of certain roots and herbs, an oil proper for the dreſſing of cloths, obtained a patent for the ſame. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 650.

[a] The reader may ſee this writing in a curious relation of the death of Rizzo, written by the lord Ruthven, and publiſhed at London, 1699.

[b] Who was father to Margaret Douglaſs, counteſs of Lenox, the king's mother. Melvil, p. 64.

[c] The outer hall. Melvil, p. 65. This was contrary to the deſign of thoſe who conſpired his death; for they had reſolved to hang him publicly. Buchanan.

[d] The account of this matter is thus given by the lord Ruthven, the principal actor in this buſineſs: "Upon Saturday the 9th day of March, the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, and lord Lindſey, with their accomplices, paſſed up to the queen's utter chamber; and the ſaid lord Ruthven paſſed in through the king's chamber, and up through the privy way to the queen's chamber, as the king had learned him, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where he found the queen's majeſty ſitting at her ſupper, at the middes of a little table, the lady Argyle ſitting at one end, and Davie Rizzo at the head of the table, with his cap on his head, the king ſpeaking with the queen's majeſty, and his hand about her waiſt. The lord Ruthven, at his coming in, ſaid to the queen's majeſty, It would pleaſe your majeſty to let yonder man Davie come forth of your preſence, for he hath been over-long here. Her majeſty anſwered, What offence hath he made? The ſaid lord replied again, That he had made great offence to her majeſty's honour, the king her huſband, the nobility, and commonweal of the realm. And how? ſaith ſhe. It will pleaſe your majeſty, ſaid the ſaid lord, he hath offended your majeſty's honour, which I dare not be ſo bold to ſpeak of. As to the king your huſband's honour, he hath hindered him of the crown matrimonial, which your grace promiſed him, beſides many other things which are not neceſſary to be expreſſed: and as to the nobility, he hath cauſed your majeſty to baniſh a great part, and moſt chief thereof, in ſo far as he ſuffered not your majeſty to grant or give any thing but that which paſſed through his hands, by taking of bribes and goods for the ſame; beſides many other inconveniencies that he ſolicited your majeſty to do. Then the ſaid lord Ruthven ſaid to the king, Sir, take the queen's majeſty, your ſovereign and wife to you, who ſtood all amazed, and wyſt not what to do. Then her majeſty roſe on her feet, and ſtood before Davie, he holding her majeſty by the plaits of her gown, leaning back over in the window, his whyniard drawn in his hand. Arthur Erſkin, and the abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and others, began to lay hands on the ſaid lord Ruthven, none of the king's party being preſent. Then the ſaid lord pulled out his whyniard, and freed himſelf while more came in, and ſaid to them, Lay not hands on me, for I will not be handled; and, at the incoming of others into the cabinet, the ſaid lord Ruthven put up his whyniard; and, with the ruſhing in of men, the board fell to the wallwards, with meat and candles being thereon; and the lady of Argyle took up one of the candles in her hand; and, in the ſame inſtant, the ſaid lord Ruthven took the queen in his arms, and put her into the king's arms, beſeeching her majeſty not to be afraid; for there was no man there that would do her majeſty's body more harm that their own hearts; and aſſured her majeſty, all that was done was the king's own deed and action. Then the remanent gentlemen, being in the cabinet, took Davie out of the window; and after that they had him out in the queen's chamber, the ſaid lord Ruthven followed, and bade take him down the privy way to the king's chamber; and the ſaid lord returned to the cabinet again, believing that the ſaid Davie had been had down to the king's chamber, as ſaid is; but the preſs of the people hurled him forth to the utter chamber, where there was a great number ſtanding, who were ſo vehemently moved againſt the ſaid Davie, that they could not abide any longer, but ſlew him at the queen's far door in the utter chamber." Relation of the Death of David Rizzo, by the lord Ruthven, p. 27—29.

[e] Melvil ſays, it appeared to be done to deſtroy both her and her child. For they might have killed Rizzo in any other part, and at any other time, p. 66. The lords concerned in this murder, were for diſpatching Rizzo in his own chamber in a morning, or elſewhere. But the king inſiſted it ſhould be done as it was. Relation of his death, p. 22—23.

[f] Buchanan ſays, there was a great tumult in the city, and that the citizens took up arms; but, according to Melvil, the tumult was not very conſiderable. Rapin.

Buchanan

had therein engaged, which made him the leſs concerned in them." Can any thing be more oppoſite to Camden's inference? This hiſtorian will have Rizzo to be ſlain on the earl of Murray's account, and, in order to prevent his condemnation, without mentioning the other fugitive lords, as if their friends had not been concerned in the deed. And yet Melvil, who was then preſent in the court, and wrote long before him, ſays poſitively, that the friends of the other fugitive lords were the ſole authors of the murder, and that the earl of Murray's were not engaged in it. By ſuch ſtrokes as theſe, and by perpetual invectives againſt Murray, Camden has disfigured the Scotch hiſtory of thoſe days, and withal that of England, in what it has in common with this neighbouring kingdom.

While the queen was kept in confinement, Scotland was in a real anarchy, which, however, did not laſt. The king quickly began to repent of following ſuch violent counſels, and the queen, who perceived it, managed him ſo artfully, that ſhe perſuaded him to abandon Rizzo's murderers [g]. This unexpected turn aſtoniſhed them, eſpecially as they ſaw, contrary to their expectation, that the earl of Murray would not join with them. The queen, embracing ſo fair an opportunity, propoſed an agreement, to which they readily conſented, unable as they were to ſupport themſelves. But ſhe had the addreſs to cauſe the writing to be ſo penned, that there was occaſion to make ſeveral alterations before it could be ſettled. This was done to gain time, and give the queen leiſure to take neceſſary meaſures to free herſelf from captivity. When the writing was drawn to the ſatisfaction of the parties, ſhe repreſented to the king, that if ſhe ſigned it whilſt a priſoner, it would be of no force, and by that means ſhe got her guard to be diſmiſſed. But, inſtead of ſigning the writing, ſhe found means to eſcape [h], and retire to Dunbar, where ſhe brought the king along with her [i]. When ſhe was going away, ſhe ordered Melvil, by one of her ladies, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to keep the earl of Murray in his good reſolution; and Melvil ſays, Murray and his friends aſſured him of their conſtant fidelity to the queen.

Mary, being come to Dunbar, and reſuming her authority, granted a pardon to the earl of Murray, and afterwards the earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn, obtained the ſame favour. As for the duke of Chateleraut, he had withdrawn from them before they were conſtrained to fly into England. The queen's anger was wholly turned againſt Rizzo's murderers; but Morton, Ruthven, and Douglaſs, being fled into England, ſhe could puniſh only ſome of their accomplices, who were executed. Buchanan affirms, ſhe cauſed Rizzo's body to be removed from the obſcure place where it was buried, and laid in the ſepulchre of the kings, cloſe by Magdalen of France, daughter of Francis I. It is eaſy to gueſs that the deed lately committed by the king greatly encreaſed the queen's averſion to him. She put a conſtraint upon herſelf whilſt a priſoner; but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw herſelf at liberty, ſhe mortified him beyond all patience. Buchanan is very circumſtantial; and what he relates is in a manner confirmed by Melvil, who ſays, "the queen could not bear the king in her ſight: ſhe fled from his company; and he went up and down all alone, ſeeing few durſt bear him company. He was miſliked by the queen, and by all ſuch as ſecretly favoured the late baniſhed lords: ſo that it was a great pity to ſee that good young prince caſt off, who failed rather for want of good counſel and experience, than from any bad inclinations." In a word, the queen, who had reſolved to lie-in at Sterling, ſeeing the king arrive there, retired without him to the caſtle of Edinburgh, to wait the time of her delivery.

Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzo had poſſeſſed. As the new favourite found the queen had a great regard for the earl of Murray, who had lately given her convincing proofs of his fidelity, he joined with the earl of Huntley, and John Leſly, biſhop of Roſs, to deſtoy him. To this end, they intimated to the queen, that he intended to get the earl of Morton and the reſt of Rizzo's murderers recalled, in order to form a party againſt her whilſt ſhe was in childbed [k]. But ſhe would not believe it, and Melvil entirely undeceived her. Thus Murray was always expoſed to his enemies, to whom the queen, to her own misfortune, gave but too much acceſs to her perſon.

Elizabeth, being fully informed of what paſſed at the court of Scotland, was not ſorry to ſee her good ſiſter (for ſo ſhe called Mary) purſue a courſe contrary to her true intereſt, in truſting to men who could not but ruin her. She knew Mary could not relinquiſh her project of dethroning her; and that the pope, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the courts of France and Spain, took great care to keep her in that reſolution. So, the better to diſcover her ſecrets, ſhe had ſent one Ruxby [l] into Scotland, who feigning to fly out of England, and to hate Elizabeth mortally, had inſinuated himſelf into Mary's favour, and by degrees got out of her ſome important ſecrets which he communicated to ſecretary Cecil. Theſe diſcoveries having confirmed Elizabeth's ſuſpicions, were the reaſon that though ſhe had by proclamation commanded all the fugitive lords of Scotland to depart out of her dominions, ſhe gave them private aſſurances of her protection, deſigning, when occaſion, to make them her inſtruments to raiſe Mary diſturbances, which ſhould prevent her from thinking of England.

Mean while ſir Robert Melvil, the Scotch embaſſador in England, having found that Ruxby was Cecil's ſpy, gave notice of it to the court of Scotland, who ordered him to be arreſted with all his papers, among which were found ſome of Cecil's letters in cypher [m]. He was kept with ſuch care, that it could not be known why he was apprehended. Shortly after, Elizabeth ſending Killigrew into Scotland about ſome affairs, ordered him to demand Ruxby as an Engliſh fugitive. Mary, feigning to be ignorant of Ruxby's buſineſs in Scotland, replied, ſhe was ready to deliver him to any perſon whom the queen her ſiſter ſhould commiſſion to receive him. But Elizabeth underſtanding he had been arreſted, and ſuſpecting the reaſon, ſaid no more of the matter. Thus theſe two queens, amidſt their mutual demonſtrations of friendſhip, looked upon one another however as real enemies, and not without cauſe. Mary was privately labouring by her emiſſaries to corrupt Elizabeth's ſubjects, and inſpire them with a ſpirit of rebellion. Elizabeth on her part countenanced the malcontents of Scotland with ſecret intimations, that they ſhould always find in her a powerful protection.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the queen of Scotland was delivered of a prince, on the 19th of June, and immediately James Melvil was ſent to Elizabeth, to carry her the news and deſire her to ſtand godmother to the new-born infant. Melvil ſays in his Memoirs, that ſecretary Cecil having brought the news to the queen, who was then at a ball, the dancing immediately ended, and the queen ſat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without ſpeaking a word; that one of her ladies aſking the reaſon of her ſudden melancholy, ſhe replied, "The queen of Scots was mother of a ſon, while ſhe was but a barren ſtock." However, the next morning, when ſhe gave audience to the envoy, ſhe appeared better dreſſed and more gay than uſually, expreſſing great joy that the queen, her good ſiſter, was ſafely delivered. At the audience, Melvil inſinuating to her, that in this juncture ſhe could not better ſhew her concern for what related to the queen of Scotland, than by declaring her preſumptive heir to the crown of England; ſhe coldly anſwered, the affair was in the hands of the lawyers, and ſhe heartily wiſhed her title might be found well grounded.

Whilſt Melvil was at London, Mary's principal friends thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove the court of England's ſuſpicions occaſioned by Ruxby's intelligence; and that, for this purpoſe, it would be proper for queen Mary to write two letters, one to her embaſſador in ordinary, to be ſhewn to Elizabeth, another to ſecretary Cecil [n], and draughts were ſent to her. Theſe letters were wrote accordingly. In that to her embaſſador, Mary proteſted ſhe expected nothing, but by the favour and friendſhip of her good ſiſter. She enjoined her embaſſador not to hearken to any propoſal of the malcontents, but to threaten to diſcover their plots if they came to his knowledge. The other letter, directed to the ſecretary of ſtate, contained much the ſame proteſtations. "By theſe

[g] Buchanan does not fully explain this, and thereby makes his account very obſcure. Rapin.

[h] At midnight, March 12. Melvil, p. 66.

[i] Buchanan ſays, ſhe compelled him to go with her; but in the condition ſhe was in, it was hardly poſſible for her to uſe force, and conſequently it is much more likely that he followed her voluntarily. Rapin.

[k] And therefore adviſed her to impriſon him till ſhe was delivered. Melvil, p. 67.

[l] This man was to appear to be a zealous favourer of Mary's right and title to the crown of England, and to inform her of the great friendſhip divers of the catholics had for her, who durſt not deal with the Scotch embaſſador, being a proteſtant; but that he would deal himſelf betwixt her majeſty and them.

[m] It was only one letter, wherein ſecretary Cecil promiſed Ruxby to ſee him rewarded, and deſired him to continue in his diligence. Melvil, p. 69.

[n] The letters were both wrote to Melvil, of which the queen was to ſee one, and Cecil the other. They are to be ſeen, p. 73, of Melvil's Memoirs.

Thus

letters, adds Melvil, Ruxby's intelligence was ſuppreſſed, and my brother ſuffered to ſtay in England, whereby the queen's friends ſo encreaſed, that many whole ſhires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility."

This confeſſion of a man, who probably was well informed, ſince he was brother of the embaſſador in ordinary, ſhews what were Mary's deſigns. Can it be thought that the embaſſador undertook to incite the nobles and counties of England to rebel, contrary to the will of the queen his miſtreſs, or without her knowledge? There are in Melvil's Memoirs ſeveral paſſages to the like effect, which ſhew that Mary and her friends were perpetually ſtriving to encreaſe her adherents in England, and to keep them diſpoſed to take up arms againſt Elizabeth, when it ſhould be deemed proper. It is therefore no wonder if Mary refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. That ratification would have diſcouraged her friends in England and other countries. Elizabeth was not ignorant of Mary's aim, which, in ſhort, was to dethrone her, if ſhe could poſſibly find means. This was the reaſon of her preſſing her ſo earneſtly to take the falſe ſtep of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, in order to break her meaſures. On the other hand, at the very time Mary was making proteſtations of friendſhip to her good ſiſter, and entreating her to ſtand godmother to her ſon, ſhe was endeavouring to enſnare her, by perſuading her to get her declared heir to the crown. She knew, could ſhe once obtain that advantage, her party, which was already very great in England, would become more numerous and powerful. But they both knew their intereſts too well to fall into the ſnares they laid for each other. So, Mary never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, neither did Elizabeth ever declare her next heir. It may however be juſtly preſumed, that if Mary had not loſt herſelf another way, as we ſhall ſee preſently, ſhe would have thrown Elizabeth into difficulties, of which, with all her policy, ſhe would have hardly got clear.

In the interval between Mary's delivery and the prince's baptiſm, ſhe was ſeen to treat the king with ſo great contempt, and to put ſuch grievous affronts upon him, that it was the talk of the whole kingdom. Buchanan is not content with enlarging upon this ſubject; but ſpeaks moreover of the queen's amours with Bothwell, in a manner that ſhews ſhe had loſt all ſhame, and no longer regarded what the world ſaid of her. It might be thought Buchanan, who hated the queen, has uſed aggravation, if what happened afterwards did not too evidently confirm what he has ſaid. Camden ſays nothing of the queen's amours with Bothwell, and ſpeaks but ſlightly of her averſion to the king, calling it only a difference between them, becauſe theſe were things directly contrary to his deſign of an entire vindication. Melvil found himſelf embarraſſed. He durſt not ſay all, but the ſequel and connection of his Memoirs neceſſarily requiring he ſhould ſay ſomething of the queen's amours, he contents himſelf with intimating, in ſeveral places, that Bothwell was at that time abſolute at court, and entirely governed the queen [o]. He was not ſo reſerved with reſpect to the queen's averſion to the king, ſince he does not ſcruple to ſhew it was extreme.

The prince's baptiſm being to be celebrated at Sterling, the embaſſadors of France, England, and Savoy, who were to ſtand godfathers, repaired thither, and the court was very numerous. It was the earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth ſent to ſtand in her place [p]. The prince was named James, and the queen prevailed, though with much difficulty, that he ſhould be baptiſed after the manner of the Romiſh church, intending to educate him in the catholic religion. Whilſt the court was at Sterling, the king was expoſed to unheard-of indignities, not daring to ſhew himſelf, by reaſon of the extreme want he was reduced to, whilſt Bothwell appeared with a royal magnificence, to the great ſcandal of the world. But, without inſiſting upon what Buchanan ſays, ſince he is not thought impartial, I ſhall content myſelf with the teſtimony of Melvil. The queen, ſays that author, being at Sterling, ſeemed very melancholy, and complained to me of Rizzo's murder, as of an outrage which could not be blotted out of her mind. I endeavoured to comfort her, and to perſuade her to recal the baniſhed lords, that ſhe might enjoy a peaceable government. I had now ſomewhat prevailed with her, "but, alas! ſhe had bad company about her; for the earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he ſhot at, as ſoon as he underſtood of her wiſe and merciful deliberations, took occaſion to bring in the earl of Mortoun, and his aſſociates, thereby to make them friends, and by them to fortify his faction. For, apparently, he had already in his head the reſolution of performing the foul murder of the king, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the queen." He adds further, that the earl of Bedford, being upon the point of returning to England, deſired him to tell the queen from him, "That for her own honour, ſhe ſhould entertain the king as ſhe had done at the beginning." Melvil diſcharged his commiſſion, but without any effect. What Buchanan relates, is much better confirmed by theſe teſtimonies than confuted by Camden's ſilence.

After the ceremony of the baptiſm, the earl of Bedford, purſuant to Elizabeth's orders, preſſed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Hitherto ſhe had only uſed pretences and excuſes to evade the demand; but now ſhe ſpoke more freely. She anſwered, there was an article in the treaty expreſſed in ambiguous terms, which ſhe could not ratify without great prejudice to herſelf: that, however, ſhe offered to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, to agree with thoſe of the queen of England upon a new treaty, wherein ſhe would promiſe to aſſume neither the title nor arms of England, ſo long as Elizabeth and her heirs ſhould live. Thus the difficulty was at length unravelled, and indeed Elizabeth could not with juſtice require more of her. Nevertheleſs, ſhe took this anſwer for a refuſal; which, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of what I have ſaid elſewhere, that Elizabeth intended to make uſe of this abſolute ratification, if Mary had been ſo unwiſe as to give it, againſt Mary herſelf, and thereby prove ſhe had no title to the crown of England. It is extremely probable, that moſt of the Engliſh proteſtants, after having been ſo cruelly perſecuted in the foregoing reign, wanted only a pretence to exclude a catholic princeſs from the ſucceſſion.

The court of Scotland being returned to Edinburgh after the prince's baptiſm, the king was treated there in ſo injurious a manner, that he reſolved at laſt to retire to Glaſgow to the earl, his father, who had left the court, not to be a witneſs of the baſe indignities offered to the king, his ſon. Juſt as he was going, ſome of the queen's officers took away all his plate, and gave him a ſet of pewter. He was hardly a mile from Edinburgh, when he felt himſelf ſeized with a very violent illneſs, cauſed by poiſon, given him before his departure [q]. He went on, however, to Glaſgow, where phyſic and the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame the violence of his diſtemper, though with great difficulty. Not to interrupt the thread of the affairs of Scotland, I have run over at once what of moment happened in that kingdom, in the year 1566. We muſt now proceed to other matters.

In the beginning of this year, Charles IX. ſent Mr. de-Rambouillet into England, with two collars of the order of St. Michael, which he deſired Elizabeth to confer on what two noblemen ſhe pleaſed. She made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter; and honoured the bearer with the order of the garter [r]. But we muſt not be deceived by theſe external marks of mutual eſteem and friendſhip between the two courts, for they were far from being ſincere. Elizabeth had broke the meaſures of the court of France by driving the French out of Scotland. Moreover, ſhe was looked upon as the head and protectreſs of the proteſtants, whoſe deſtruction had been determined in the conference of Bayonne. So, in all appearance, it was only to amuſe her, that the court of France gave her this equivocal mark of their eſteem. Elizabeth was not ignorant, that the French court, which was extremely bigotted, and where the queen of Scotland had ſuch powerful friends, had no affection for her: nay, ſuppoſing ſhe had received no intelligence of the reſolution taken at Bayonne, which was however known or gueſſed by the Hugonots of France, ſhe could never truſt that court.

This year, the earl of Arundel departed the kingdom with the queen's leave, under colour of changing the air for the recovery of his health. It was thought, the real motive of his retreat was his deſpair of marrying the queen, with which he had vainly flattered himſelf [s].

[o] Thus, p. 77, he ſays, that the earl of Bothwell ruined all at court, having brought home the baniſhed lords, and patched up quiet friendſhip with the earl of Morton; and in the ſame page he affirms, that the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterpriſed the ſlaughter of the earl of Murray at Jedburgh; but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterpriſe.

[p] He was accompanied by George Carey, eldeſt ſon of the lord Hunſdon; Chriſtopher Hatton, eſq. Mr. Ligniſh, &c. Melvil, p. 76. The prince was baptiſed Dec. 18. Stow, p. 660.

[q] Camden ſays not a word of this poiſoning. Rapin.—Melvil's account is this, "The king followed the queen about whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got no good countenance. So, that finding himſelf ſlighted, he went to Glaſgow, where he fell ſick, it being alleged, that he had got poiſon from ſome of his ſervants." p. 77.

[r] It was not the bearer, but king Charles, his maſter, that was honoured with the order of the garter. Rambouillet, in the king his maſter's room, took his place amongſt the knights of St. George at Windſor, ſays Camden, p. 399.

[s] He left the kingdom after the expence of a vaſt treaſure, on the vain hopes of enjoying the queen. At the ſame time others of the Engliſh nation

had therein engaged, which made him the leſs concerned in them." Can any thing be more oppoſite to Camden's inference? This hiſtorian will have Rizzo to be ſlain on the earl of Murray's account, and, in order to prevent his condemnation, without mentioning the other fugitive lords, as if their friends had not been concerned in the deed. And yet Melvil, who was then preſent in the court, and wrote long before him, ſays poſitively, that the friends of the other fugitive lords were the ſole authors of the murder, and that the earl of Murray's were not engaged in it. By ſuch ſtrokes as theſe, and by perpetual invectives againſt Murray, Camden has disfigured the Scotch hiſtory of thoſe days, and withal that of England, in what it has in common with this neighbouring kingdom.

While the queen was kept in confinement, Scotland was in a real anarchy, which, however, did not laſt. The king quickly began to repent of following ſuch violent counſels, and the queen, who perceived it, managed him ſo artfully, that ſhe perſuaded him to abandon Rizzo's murderers [g]. This unexpected turn aſtoniſhed them, eſpecially as they ſaw, contrary to their expectation, that the earl of Murray would not join with them. The queen, embracing ſo fair an opportunity, propoſed an agreement, to which they readily conſented, unable as they were to ſupport themſelves. But ſhe had the addreſs to cauſe the writing to be ſo penned, that there was occaſion to make ſeveral alterations before it could be ſettled. This was done to gain time, and give the queen leiſure to take neceſſary meaſures to free herſelf from captivity. When the writing was drawn to the ſatisfaction of the parties, ſhe repreſented to the king, that if ſhe ſigned it whilſt a priſoner, it would be of no force, and by that means ſhe got her guard to be diſmiſſed. But, inſtead of ſigning the writing, ſhe found means to eſcape [h], and retire to Dunbar, where ſhe brought the king along with her [i]. When ſhe was going away, ſhe ordered Melvil, by one of her ladies, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to keep the earl of Murray in his good reſolution; and Melvil ſays, Murray and his friends aſſured him of their conſtant fidelity to the queen.

Mary, being come to Dunbar, and reſuming her authority, granted a pardon to the earl of Murray, and afterwards the earls of Argyle, Rothes, and Glencairn, obtained the ſame favour. As for the duke of Chateleraut, he had withdrawn from them before they were conſtrained to fly into England. The queen's anger was wholly turned againſt Rizzo's murderers; but Morton, Ruthven, and Douglaſs, being fled into England, ſhe could puniſh only ſome of their accomplices, who were executed. Buchanan affirms, ſhe cauſed Rizzo's body to be removed from the obſcure place where it was buried, and laid in the ſepulchre of the kings, cloſe by Magdalen of France, daughter of Francis I. It is eaſy to gueſs that the deed lately committed by the king greatly encreaſed the queen's averſion to him. She put a conſtraint upon herſelf whilſt a priſoner; but as ſoon as ſhe ſaw herſelf at liberty, ſhe mortified him beyond all patience. Buchanan is very circumſtantial; and what he relates is in a manner confirmed by Melvil, who ſays, "the queen could not bear the king in her ſight: ſhe fled from his company; and he went up and down all alone, ſeeing few durſt bear him company. He was miſliked by the queen, and by all ſuch as ſecretly favoured the late baniſhed lords: ſo that it was a great pity to ſee that good young prince caſt off, who failed rather for want of good counſel and experience, than from any bad inclinations." In a word, the queen, who had reſolved to lie-in at Sterling, ſeeing the king arrive there, retired without him to the caſtle of Edinburgh, to wait the time of her delivery.

Now began the earl of Bothwell to hold in the queen's affection the place Rizzo had poſſeſſed. As the new favourite found the queen had a great regard for the earl of Murray, who had lately given her convincing proofs of his fidelity, he joined with the earl of Huntley, and John Leſly, biſhop of Roſs, to deſtoy him. To this end, they intimated to the queen, that he intended to get the earl of Morton and the reſt of Rizzo's murderers recalled, in order to form a party againſt her whilſt ſhe was in childbed [k]. But ſhe would not believe it, and Melvil entirely undeceived her. Thus Murray was always expoſed to his enemies, to whom the queen, to her own misfortune, gave but too much acceſs to her perſon.

Elizabeth, being fully informed of what paſſed at the court of Scotland, was not ſorry to ſee her good ſiſter (for ſo ſhe called Mary) purſue a courſe contrary to her true intereſt, in truſting to men who could not but ruin her. She knew Mary could not relinquiſh her project of dethroning her; and that the pope, the cardinal of Lorrain, and the courts of France and Spain, took great care to keep her in that reſolution. So, the better to diſcover her ſecrets, ſhe had ſent one Ruxby [l] into Scotland, who feigning to fly out of England, and to hate Elizabeth mortally, had inſinuated himſelf into Mary's favour, and by degrees got out of her ſome important ſecrets which he communicated to ſecretary Cecil. Theſe diſcoveries having confirmed Elizabeth's ſuſpicions, were the reaſon that though ſhe had by proclamation commanded all the fugitive lords of Scotland to depart out of her dominions, ſhe gave them private aſſurances of her protection, deſigning, when occaſion, to make them her inſtruments to raiſe Mary diſturbances, which ſhould prevent her from thinking of England.

Mean while ſir Robert Melvil, the Scotch embaſſador in England, having found that Ruxby was Cecil's ſpy, gave notice of it to the court of Scotland, who ordered him to be arreſted with all his papers, among which were found ſome of Cecil's letters in cypher [m]. He was kept with ſuch care, that it could not be known why he was apprehended. Shortly after, Elizabeth ſending Killigrew into Scotland about ſome affairs, ordered him to demand Ruxby as an Engliſh fugitive. Mary, feigning to be ignorant of Ruxby's buſineſs in Scotland, replied, ſhe was ready to deliver him to any perſon whom the queen her ſiſter ſhould commiſſion to receive him. But Elizabeth underſtanding he had been arreſted, and ſuſpecting the reaſon, ſaid no more of the matter. Thus theſe two queens, amidſt their mutual demonſtrations of friendſhip, looked upon one another however as real enemies, and not without cauſe. Mary was privately labouring by her emiſſaries to corrupt Elizabeth's ſubjects, and inſpire them with a ſpirit of rebellion. Elizabeth on her part countenanced the malcontents of Scotland with ſecret intimations, that they ſhould always find in her a powerful protection.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the queen of Scotland was delivered of a prince, on the 19th of June, and immediately James Melvil was ſent to Elizabeth, to carry her the news and deſire her to ſtand godmother to the new-born infant. Melvil ſays in his Memoirs, that ſecretary Cecil having brought the news to the queen, who was then at a ball, the dancing immediately ended, and the queen ſat down in her chair, leaning her head upon her hand, without ſpeaking a word; that one of her ladies aſking the reaſon of her ſudden melancholy, ſhe replied, "The queen of Scots was mother of a ſon, while ſhe was but a barren ſtock." However, the next morning, when ſhe gave audience to the envoy, ſhe appeared better dreſſed and more gay than uſually, expreſſing great joy that the queen, her good ſiſter, was ſafely delivered. At the audience, Melvil inſinuating to her, that in this juncture ſhe could not better ſhew her concern for what related to the queen of Scotland, than by declaring her preſumptive heir to the crown of England; ſhe coldly anſwered, the affair was in the hands of the lawyers, and ſhe heartily wiſhed her title might be found well grounded.

Whilſt Melvil was at London, Mary's principal friends thought it abſolutely neceſſary to remove the court of England's ſuſpicions occaſioned by Ruxby's intelligence; and that, for this purpoſe, it would be proper for queen Mary to write two letters, one to her embaſſador in ordinary, to be ſhewn to Elizabeth, another to ſecretary Cecil [n], and draughts were ſent to her. Theſe letters were wrote accordingly. In that to her embaſſador, Mary proteſted ſhe expected nothing, but by the favour and friendſhip of her good ſiſter. She enjoined her embaſſador not to hearken to any propoſal of the malcontents, but to threaten to diſcover their plots if they came to his knowledge. The other letter, directed to the ſecretary of ſtate, contained much the ſame proteſtations. "By this

[g] Buchanan does not fully explain this, and thereby makes his account very obſcure. Rapin.

[h] At midnight, March 12. Melvil, p. 66.

[i] Buchanan ſays, ſhe compelled him to go with her; but in the condition ſhe was in, it was hardly poſſible for her to uſe force, and conſequently it is much more likely that he followed her voluntarily. Rapin.

[k] And therefore adviſed her to impriſon him till ſhe was delivered. Melvil, p. 67.

[l] This man was to appear to be a zealous favourer of Mary's right and title to the crown of England, and to inform her of the great friendſhip divers of the catholics had for her, who durſt not deal with the Scotch embaſſador, being a proteſtant; but that he would deal himſelf betwixt her majeſty and them.

[m] It was only one letter, wherein ſecretary Cecil promiſed Ruxby to ſee him rewarded, and deſired him to continue in his diligence. Melvil, p. 69.

[n] The letters were both wrote to Melvil, of which the queen was to ſee one, and Cecil the other. They are to be ſeen, p. 73, of Melvil's Memoirs.

Thus

letters, adds Melvil, Ruxby's intelligence was ſuppreſſed, and my brother ſuffered to ſtay in England, whereby the queen's friends ſo encreaſed, that many whole ſhires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by the election of the nobility."

This confeſſion of a man, who probably was well informed, ſince he was brother of the embaſſador in ordinary, ſhews what were Mary's deſigns. Can it be thought that the embaſſador undertook to incite the nobles and counties of England to rebel, contrary to the will of the queen his miſtreſs, or without her knowledge? There are in Melvil's Memoirs ſeveral paſſages to the like effect, which ſhew that Mary and her friends were perpetually ſtriving to encreaſe her adherents in England, and to keep them diſpoſed to take up arms againſt Elizabeth, when it ſhould be deemed proper. It is therefore no wonder if Mary refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. That ratification would have diſcouraged her friends in England and other countries. Elizabeth was not ignorant of Mary's aim, which, in ſhort, was to dethrone her, if ſhe could poſſibly find means. This was the reaſon of her preſſing her ſo earneſtly to take the falſe ſtep of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, in order to break her meaſures. On the other hand, at the very time Mary was making proteſtations of friendſhip to her good ſiſter, and entreating her to ſtand godmother to her ſon, ſhe was endeavouring to enſnare her, by perſuading her to get her declared heir to the crown. She knew, could ſhe once obtain that advantage, her party, which was already very great in England, would become more numerous and powerful. But they both knew their intereſts too well to fall into the ſnares they laid for each other. So, Mary never ratified the treaty of Edinburgh, neither did Elizabeth ever declare her next heir. It may however be juſtly preſumed, that if Mary had not loſt herſelf another way, as we ſhall ſee preſently, ſhe would have thrown Elizabeth into difficulties, of which, with all her policy, ſhe would have hardly got clear.

In the interval between Mary's delivery and the prince's baptiſm, ſhe was ſeen to treat the king with ſo great contempt, and to put ſuch grievous affronts upon him, that it was the talk of the whole kingdom. Buchanan is not content with enlarging upon this ſubject; but ſpeaks moreover of the queen's amours with Bothwell, in a manner that ſhews ſhe had loſt all ſhame, and no longer regarded what the world ſaid of her. It might be thought Buchanan, who hated the queen, has uſed aggravation, if what happened afterwards did not too evidently confirm what he has ſaid. Camden ſays nothing of the queen's amours with Bothwell, and ſpeaks but ſlightly of her averſion to the king, calling it only a difference between them, becauſe theſe were things directly contrary to his deſign of an entire vindication. Melvil found himſelf embarraſſed. He durſt not ſay all, but the ſequel and connection of his Memoirs neceſſarily requiring he ſhould ſay ſomething of the queen's amours, he contents himſelf with intimating, in ſeveral places, that Bothwell was at that time abſolute at court, and entirely governed the queen [o]. He was not ſo reſerved with reſpect to the queen's averſion to the king, ſince he does not ſcruple to ſhew it was extreme.

The prince's baptiſm being to be celebrated at Sterling, the embaſſadors of France, England, and Savoy, who were to ſtand godfathers, repaired thither, and the court was very numerous. It was the earl of Bedford, whom Elizabeth ſent to ſtand in her place [p]. The prince was named James, and the queen prevailed, though with much difficulty, that he ſhould be baptiſed after the manner of the Romiſh church, intending to educate him in the catholic religion. Whilſt the court was at Sterling, the king was expoſed to unheard-of indignities, not daring to ſhew himſelf, by reaſon of the extreme want he was reduced to, whilſt Bothwell appeared with a royal magnificence, to the great ſcandal of the world. But, without inſiſting upon what Buchanan ſays, ſince he is not thought impartial, I ſhall content myſelf with the teſtimony of Melvil. The queen, ſays that author, being at Sterling, ſeemed very melancholy, and complained to me of Rizzo's murder, as of an outrage which could not be blotted out of her mind. I endeavoured to comfort her, and to perſuade her to recal the baniſhed lords, that ſhe might enjoy a peaceable government. I had now ſomewhat prevailed with her, "but, alas! ſhe had bad company about her; for the earl of Bothwell, who had a mark of his own that he ſhot at, as ſoon as he underſtood of her wiſe and merciful deliberations, took occaſion to bring in the earl of Mortoun, and his aſſociates, thereby to make them friends, and by them to fortify his faction. For, apparently, he had already in his head the reſolution of performing the foul murder of the king, which he afterwards put in execution, that he might marry the queen." He adds further, that the earl of Bedford, being upon the point of returning to England, deſired him to tell the queen from him, "That for her own honour, ſhe ſhould entertain the king as ſhe had done at the beginning." Melvil diſcharged his commiſſion, but without any effect. What Buchanan relates, is much better confirmed by theſe teſtimonies than confuted by Camden's ſilence.

After the ceremony of the baptiſm, the earl of Bedford, purſuant to Elizabeth's orders, preſſed the queen of Scotland to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Hitherto ſhe had only uſed pretences and excuſes to evade the demand; but now ſhe ſpoke more freely. She anſwered, there was an article in the treaty expreſſed in ambiguous terms, which ſhe could not ratify without great prejudice to herſelf: that, however, ſhe offered to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, to agree with thoſe of the queen of England upon a new treaty, wherein ſhe would promiſe to aſſume neither the title nor arms of England, ſo long as Elizabeth and her heirs ſhould live. Thus the difficulty was at length unravelled, and indeed Elizabeth could not with juſtice require more of her. Nevertheleſs, ſhe took this anſwer for a refuſal; which, in my opinion, is a clear evidence of what I have ſaid elſewhere, that Elizabeth intended to make uſe of this abſolute ratification, if Mary had been ſo unwiſe as to give it, againſt Mary herſelf, and thereby prove ſhe had no title to the crown of England. It is extremely probable, that moſt of the Engliſh proteſtants, after having been ſo cruelly perſecuted in the foregoing reign, wanted only a pretence to exclude a catholic princeſs from the ſucceſſion.

The court of Scotland being returned to Edinburgh after the prince's baptiſm, the king was treated there in ſo injurious a manner, that he reſolved at laſt to retire to Glaſgow to the earl, his father, who had left the court, not to be a witneſs of the baſe indignities offered to the king, his ſon. Juſt as he was going, ſome of the queen's officers took away all his plate, and gave him a ſet of pewter. He was hardly a mile from Edinburgh, when he felt himſelf ſeized with a very violent illneſs, cauſed by poiſon, given him before his departure [q]. He went on, however, to Glaſgow, where phyſic and the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame the violence of his diſtemper, though with great difficulty. Not to interrupt the thread of the affairs of Scotland, I have run over at once what of moment happened in that kingdom, in the year 1566. We muſt now proceed to other matters.

In the beginning of this year, Charles IX. ſent Mr. de-Rambouillet into England, with two collars of the order of St. Michael, which he deſired Elizabeth to confer on what two noblemen ſhe pleaſed. She made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter; and honoured the bearer with the order of the garter [r]. But we muſt not be deceived by theſe external marks of mutual eſteem and friendſhip between the two courts, for they were far from being ſincere. Elizabeth had broke the meaſures of the court of France by driving the French out of Scotland. Moreover, ſhe was looked upon as the head and protectreſs of the proteſtants, whoſe deſtruction had been determined in the conference of Bayonne. So, in all appearance, it was only to amuſe her, that the court of France gave her this equivocal mark of their eſteem. Elizabeth was not ignorant, that the French court, which was extremely bigotted, and where the queen of Scotland had ſuch powerful friends, had no affection for her: nay, ſuppoſing ſhe had received no intelligence of the reſolution taken at Bayonne, which was however known or gueſſed by the Hugonots of France, ſhe could never truſt that court.

This year, the earl of Arundel departed the kingdom with the queen's leave, under colour of changing the air for the recovery of his health. It was thought, the real motive of his retreat was his deſpair of marrying the queen, with which he had vainly flattered himſelf [s].

[o] Thus, p. 77, he ſays, that the earl of Bothwell ruined all at court, having brought home the baniſhed lords, and patched up quiet friendſhip with the earl of Morton; and in the ſame page he affirms, that the earls of Bothwell and Huntley enterpriſed the ſlaughter of the earl of Murray at Jedburgh; but the lord Hume came there with forces, and prevented that enterpriſe.

[p] He was accompanied by George Carey, eldeſt ſon of the lord Hunſdon; Chriſtopher Hatton, eſq. Mr. Ligniſh, &c. Melvil, p. 76. The prince was baptiſed Dec. 18. Stow, p. 660.

[q] Camden ſays not a word of this poiſoning. Rapin.—Melvil's account is this, "The king followed the queen about whitherſoever ſhe rode, but got no good countenance. So, that finding himſelf ſlighted, he went to Glaſgow, where he fell ſick, it being alleged, that he had got poiſon from ſome of his ſervants." p. 77.

[r] It was not the bearer, but king Charles, his maſter, that was honoured with the order of the garter. Rambouillet, in the king his maſter's room, took his place amongſt the knights of St. George at Windſor, ſays Camden, p. 399.

[s] He left the kingdom after the expence of a vaſt treaſure, on the vain hopes of enjoying the queen. At the ſame time others of the Engliſh nation

Shortly after Elizabeth's receiving the news of the queen of Scotland's delivery, ſhe viſited the univerſity of Oxford, where ſhe was received in the ſame manner as at Cambridge. She alſo ſhewed here, by her diſcourſe and courteous behaviour, an extraordinary regard for that univerſity [t]. Never was prince greater maſter than herſelf of the art of gaining the love of her ſubjects, by kind and affectionate expreſſions, which ſeemed to flow from her heart [u].

Notwithſtanding all this, a terrible ſtorm was gathering againſt her. The queen of Scotland having been delivered of a prince, her friends began to ſtir, and ſcrupled not to act openly, in order to have her declard the queen's heir. The parliament met in November [w] with that reſolution. Thoſe who managed the affair were Mary's chief friends, and had only her in view: but the public good was pretended by all. Among the lords there were ſome, who ſeeing Elizabeth unmarried, and the queen of Scots inclined to a divorce, flattered themſelves with marrying one or other. To this end they kept behind the curtain, and ſet their friends to work, in order to ſtrike in the moſt critical minute. At length, the party being made, it was moved in the upper houſe to addreſs the queen, and pray her to marry, or appoint a ſucceſſor. Among the reaſons alleged for this requeſt, ſome were contradictory; but all arguments were good to thoſe who had formed the project, provided they could engage the majority on their ſide. To gain thoſe who had only the public good in view, they were told, if the queen died without iſſue, the kingdom would be expoſed to great troubles, becauſe nothing yet was ſettled about the ſucceſſion. The zealous proteſtants were made to fear, that the queen of Scotland having a claim to the crown, there was danger of ſeeing the late reign acted over again, if the queen did not take a huſband, and, with the bleſſing of God, get a ſucceſſor. Many fell into the ſnare, imagining the queen, who had ſo great an affection for her ſubjects, would comply with their deſires, and reſolve at length to marry, and they hoped by that means to ſee the kingdom in perfect tranquility. The queen of Scotland was not mentioned, and yet it was ſhe alone the heads of the plot had in view. They knew the queen had reſolved never to marry. Nay, it was believed, ſhe could not do it without hazarding her life, and that her phyſicians had told her the ſame [x]. But, feigning ignorance, they reſolved ſhe ſhould be preſſed to marry, that they might, from her refuſal, have a pretence to oblige her to name a ſucceſſor. This could be only the queen of Scotland, there being no other perſon that could diſpute her title. The ducheſs of Suffolk and her two eldeſt daughters were dead. The third was very deformed, and had married a man of a very mean condition. Nay, I do not know whether ſhe was yet alive. As for the children of Catherine Grey, the ſecond of the three ſiſters by the earl of Hertford, Elizabeth had cauſed them to be declared baſtards by a legal ſentence. Conſequently they could not pretend to the throne. As for the counteſs of Lenox's title, Mary had taken care to unite it with her own by her marriage with the lord Darnly. It was neceſſary therefore, either to call to the ſucceſſion ſome deſcendant from the females of the houſe of York, to which the queen and parliament would not have willingly agreed, or to nominate Mary Stuart to fill the throne after the queen. The combination was ſo ſtrong in the upper houſe, that ſome of the lords were of opinion it was not ſufficient to entreat the queen, but that ſhe ought to be obliged to marry; or in caſe of a refuſal, a ſucceſſor be declared by act of parliament, even againſt the queen's will [y]. At laſt it was reſolved to ſend the lord-keeper Bacon, to beſeech her, in the name of the houſe, to chuſe a huſband, and to lay the reaſons before her [z].

Things were managed with ſtill leſs temper in the lower houſe. It was openly maintained, that ſince the queen would not marry, ſhe ought to be conſtrained to appoint a ſucceſſor: that by neglecting ſo neceſſary a precaution, ſhe ſhewed that her pretended affection for her people was all diſſimulation, ſince ſhe preferred her own intereſt to the welfare of the nation: that ſhe could deny what was deſired of her, only out of fear of her ſucceſſor, which fear could be entertained by none but timorous princes or faint-hearted women [a].

The queen took ſome time to return an anſwer, to the lords, and ſeemed to be ignorant of, or overlooked, what paſſed in the houſe of commons. She was however extremely mortified, that her enemies had credit enough to turn both houſes of parliament againſt her, and to ſee thoſe whom ſhe had moſt favoured, prevailed with to act ſo directly contrary to her intereſts. As ſhe knew very many of her ſubjects were not fully convinced of the juſtice of her title to the crown, ſhe plainly perceived, to appoint the queen of Scotland for her preſumptive heir, was really encreaſing and ſtrengthening the right of that dangerous rival. Among the ſovereign princes, ſhe had no ally or true friend. On the contrary, ſhe could not doubt that the pope, France, and Spain, would readily aſſiſt to deprive her of the crown. Her whole dependence was upon the affection of her people, whoſe repreſentatives ſhe ſaw combined, as I may ſay, againſt her, to oblige her to take a ſtep ſo oppoſite to her true intereſt. It is not eaſy to gueſs what ſhe would have reſolved, if the lords had perſiſted in their demand, and been ſeconded by the commons. Until ſhe could more fully diſcover the intrigues which influenced the parliament, ſhe made uſe of an expedient, which ſucceeded, delaying to take other meaſures, according as her enemies ſhould proceed. The expedient was, to order thirty of each houſe to come to her [Theſe ſhe diverted by the moſt obliging expreſſions, mixed with a gentle reproof from their reſolution, and promiſed them to manage things, not only with the care of a prince, but the tenderneſs of a parent. And whereas the houſe had offered greater ſubſidies than uſual [b], on condition ſhe would declare a ſucceſſor, ſhe refuſed thoſe extraordinary grants [c], and accepted a ſmaller ſum, ſaying, "That money in her ſubjects purſe, was as good as in her own exchequer [d]."

The laſt day of the ſeſſion, ſhe made the following ſpeech to both houſes], to let them know, or rather to diſguiſe, her intentions, and evade their requeſt.

"MY lords, and others the commons of this aſſembly, although the lord-keeper hath, according to order, very well anſwered in my name, yet as a periphraſis, I have a few words farther to ſpeak unto you. Notwithſtanding I have not been uſed, nor love to do it, in ſuch open aſſemblies; yet now (not to the end to amend his talk) but remembring that commonly a prince's own words be better printed in the hearers memory, than thoſe ſpoken by her command, I mean to ſay thus much unto you. I have in this aſſembly found ſo much diſſimulation, where I always profeſſed plainneſs, that I marvel thereat, yea two faces under one hood,

[t] She ſtaid there ſeven days. Ibid.

[u] She returned the univerſity thanks for their civilities, in a Latin ſpeech. Camden, ibid.

[w] It met by adjournment on September 30. D'ewes, p. 93.

[x] Huick, the queen's phyſician, diſſuaded her, it ſeems, from marrying, on pretence of ſome natural defect. Camden, p. 399.——Here it may not perhaps be diſagreeable to the reader, to peruſe a ſtory related by Melvil. He was told at Newcaſtle, by an Engliſhman, one of the gentlemen of queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber, that king Henry VIII. had been ſo curious as to enquire of diviners or necromancers, what ſhould become of his ſon Edward, and of his two daughters Mary and Elizabeth. He was anſwered, that Edward ſhould die, having few days and no ſucceſſion; and that his two daughters ſhould ſucceed one another. That Mary, his eldeſt daughter, ſhould marry a Spaniard, and that way bring many ſtrangers into England, which would occaſion great ſtrife and alteration. That Elizabeth ſhould reign after her, who ſhould marry either a Scotchman or a Frenchman. Whereupon the king cauſed to give poiſon to both his daughters, but becauſe this had not the effect he deſired (for they finding themſelves altered by vehement vometings and purgings, and ſuſpecting poiſon, had taken remedies), he cauſed to proclaim them both baſtards. But the women that attended about queen Mary, alleged, that her matrix was conſumed; for ſhe was ſeveral times ſuppoſed to be with child by king Philip of Spain, yet brought forth nothing but dead lumps of fleſh. Therefore, to be revenged of her father, ſhe had cauſed, ſecretly in the night, to take up her father's bones, and burn them. Melvil, p. 28.

[y] The earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter did openly, and the duke of Norfolk with more caution, profeſs this to be their opinion. But they made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained their pardon. Camden, p. 399.——Moſt of the lords and other great men in England, were then well affected to the queen of Scots, and kept a correſpondence with her; as may be ſeen in Melvil, p. 46, &c.

[z] This petition was preſented to the queen November 5. D'ewes, p. 104, 105.

[a] Theſe and other points were firſt moved in the houſe by Mr. Molineux; and were inſiſted upon by Bell and Monſon, great lawyers, with Dutton, Kingſmill, Wentworth, and others. Camden, p. 400. D'ewes, p. 124, &c.

[b] There is mention in the Journals only of a ſubſidy, and one tenth and fifteenth. The bill for it was firſt read in the houſe of commons, October 28, and in the houſe of lords on December 17, and for the ſecond and third times on the 18th. See D'ewes, p. 111, 125, 126.

[c] The reaſon of this refuſal ſeems to be, that the declaration of a ſucceſſor, and the ſubſidy bill, were ordered by the houſe of commons to proceed together; ſo that the one could not be rejected without the other. See D'ewes, p. 124. She remitted only the third payment of the ſubſidy, as before rated, granted by parliament, to induce her to declare a ſucceſſor. See D'ewes, p. 131.

[d] Rapin, miſtaking the thirty members ſent for by the queen from each houſe for ſo many deputies from the parliament, makes the queen ſpeak the following ſpeech to them, and not to both houſes, as ſhe did at the end of the ſeſſion. Had he happened to ſee the original ſpeech, which is here inſerted, inſtead of the abridgment in Camden, he would have perceived his error. What is inſerted between the two crotchets, is ſupplied from Camden, in order to rectify Rapin's miſtake.

The

and the body rotten, being covered with two vizors, ſucceſſion and liberty, which they determined muſt be either preſently granted, denied, or deferred; in granting whereof they had their deſires, and denying and deferring thereof (thoſe things being ſo laudable, as indeed to all men they are) they thought to work me that miſchief which never foreign enemy could bring to paſs, which is the hatred of my commons. But alas! they began to pierce the veſſel before the wine was fined; and began a thing, not foreſeeing the end: now, by this means, I have ſeen my well-wiſhers from my enemies, and can, as me ſeemeth, very well divide the houſe into four. Firſt, the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greateſt faults: ſecondly, the ſpeakers, who, by eloquent tales, perſuaded others, are in the next degree: thirdly, the agreers, who being ſo light of credit that the eloquence of the tales ſo overcame them, that they gave more credit thereunto than to their own wits: and laſtly, thoſe that ſat ſtill, mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, diſallowing the matter; who, in my opinion, are moſt to be excuſed. But do you think that either I am unmindful of your ſurety by ſucceſſion, wherein is all my care, conſidering I know myſelf to be mortal? No, I warrant you; or that I went about to break your liberty? No, it was never my meaning, but to ſtay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time; and although perhaps you may have after me one better learned, or wiſer, yet I aſſure you, none more careful over you; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware how you prove your prince's patience, as you have done mine.

"And now to conclude, all this notwithſtanding (not meaning to make a Lent of Chriſtmas) the moſt part of you may aſſure themſelves, that you depart in your prince's grace."

It is not eaſy to comprehend what the queen would have intimated to the parliament, when ſhe ſaid, "Whether I live to ſee the like aſſembly or no." For theſe are ambiguous words, which may be taken in various ſenſes. Beſides, they are put in where they have not much connection with the preceding or following words:—However, after this confuſed ſpeech, the parliament was immediately diſſolved. But this was only a palliative remedy, which was not capable of allaying the fermentation already raiſed among the people[e]. If it gave the queen time to take other meaſures, it afforded alſo her enemies leiſure more ſtrongly to erect their batteries. Very probably, the affair would have been debated again in the next parliament, if in the mean while the queen of Scotland had not loſt herſelf by her ill-conduct, and viſibly leſſened her party in England[f]. This is what I am going to ſhew, after cloſing the year 1566, with a brief account of the affairs of the Netherlands.

After Philip II. had quitted theſe provinces in 1559, in order to reſide in Spain, the diſcontent of the nobles and people was grown to that height, that it was not poſſible the affairs of that country ſhould remain any longer in their preſent ſituation. This univerſal diſſatisfaction flowed from ſeveral cauſes: I. The people's belief, that the king had formed a deſign to aboliſh their liberties and privileges, and eſtabliſh an arbitrary power. II. The erection of the biſhoprics, which greatly leſſened the juriſdiction and revenues of the abbies, in which many families were concerned. III. The inquiſition which was intended to be ſet up in theſe provinces, and which was little leſs abhorred by the catholics than by the proteſtants themſelves. IV. The prohibition to aſſemble the ſtates. V. The king's project to extirpate the heretics, who were now very numerous in the country. VI. and laſtly, The intereſt of the great men, who plainly ſaw how fatal to them the execution of the king's deſign would be. They had in vain for ſeveral years beſought their governeſs to aſſemble the ſtates, and prevent the calamities with which they foreſaw their country was ſoon going to be afflicted. Their requeſt was conſtantly rejected. This rigour had at length obliged the prince of Orange, count d'Egmont, count Horn, and ſeveral other lords, to withdraw from the council of ſtate, and write to the king, that cardinal de Granvelle had rendered himſelf ſo odious, that the worſt was to be feared, if he continued any longer in the Low Countries. Philip, not thinking proper to recal the cardinal directly, adviſed him, however, to withdraw. As ſoon as Granvelle was gone, the great men went and reſumed their places in the council.

Mean while, the inquiſition being univerſally abhorred, the people began to ſtir, and ſhew their reſolution to free themſelves from that yoke. The great men ſupported this reſolution with two motives. Firſt, becauſe they perceived the inquiſition muſt prove deſtructive of liberty. In the ſecond place, becauſe they were informed the king had taken terrible reſolutions againſt them, on account of what had paſſed about cardinal de Granvelle. Whereupon they formed a confederacy againſt the inquiſition; and Lewis, count of Naſſau, brother to the prince of Orange, with four hundred attendants, preſented a petition to the governeſs. On this occaſion it was that the proteſtants received the name of Gueux, or Beggars. The governeſs not having power to grant their requeſt, the proteſtants, of their own accord, took the liberty to preach publicly, and the governeſs was forced to ſuffer it, and at length to allow it expreſly. From that time, Philip conſidered the people of the Low Countries as rebels; and they for the moſt part looked upon him but as an unjuſt and cruel ſovereign, who aſpired to be abſolute maſter of their eſtates, their bodies, and their ſouls. I ſhall enter no farther into theſe affairs. It ſuffices to have briefly ſhewn the ſpring of the troubles of the Netherlands, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of ſometimes in the ſequel. I return to the affairs of Scotland, which more nearly relate to England[g].

I am now going to give an account of an event which has been rendered obſcure, as well by religious prejudices, as for the ſake of the prince of Scotland, whoſe birth I have mentioned. This prince, coming to the crown of England after queen Elizabeth's death, thought it his duty to try to vindicate the queen, his mother, from the horrible crime ſhe was accuſed of during her life; I mean of murdering the king, her huſband. In all likelihood, he made uſe of Camden's pen for that purpoſe.

[1567] It is agreed, that Henry Stuart, king of Scotland, huſband of queen Mary, was aſſaſſinated the beginning of the year 1567. It cannot be denied that this murder was committed by the earl of Bothwell, or his order; that the earl was then in great credit with the queen, and that ſhe married him a few months after the tragical death of the king. This, added to her averſion for the king, forms a ſtrong prejudice againſt her. On the other hand, almoſt all the Roman catholic writers, who mention this murder, make it their buſineſs to juſtify the queen, and throw it on the earl of Murray. They ſeem to have taken this courſe with the more reaſon, as Camden, a proteſtant author, in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, has openly undertaken Mary's defence, and repreſented the earl of Murray as the author, not only of the crime, but even of all the troubles which happened in Scotland, after the marriage of queen Mary with Francis II.

It will be aſked, perhaps, where is the neceſſity of clearing this fact in a hiſtory of England? I anſwer, there is an abſolute neceſſity, becauſe, otherwiſe, queen Elizabeth's conduct will be either inconceivable, or miſunderſtood. The hiſtory, therefore, as well as truth, requires a diſtinct knowledge of the foundation of queen Elizabeth's politics, and of the real cauſe of the events which will be related hereafter. This fact is as the hinge on which all the affairs of England and Scotland turn for ſeveral years. They who, under colour of clearing it, have laboured to darken it as much as they could, were very ſenſible, how contrary the truth was to the idea they deſired to give of the affairs of this reign. So, to ſet it in a true light, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to follow a quite different courſe.

To ſucceed in what I propoſe, I muſt largely treat of the affairs of Scotland. Some grave authors, of an eſtabliſhed reputation, have endeavoured to diſguiſe the facts they have related, by curtailing and altering them, by ſuppreſſing material truths, and ſuppoſing things which have not even the leaſt probability. To oppoſe to them a bare narration, containing only the naked truth, would not be the way to ſatisfy the reader, who would be ſtill at a loſs to know whom he ought moſt to credit. It is neceſſary therefore to prove what

[e] The queen, about this time, caſt one Thornton, a reader of law in Lincoln's-Inn, into the Tower, upon the queen of Scots complaint, that he had called her title in queſtion. Camden, p. 401.

[f] This laſt mentioned parliament, which was diſſolved on January 2, granted the queen a ſubſidy, and one tenth, and a fifteenth. The clergy granted at the ſame time, a ſubſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. The acts made in this ſeſſion were theſe: 1. An act declaring the making and conſecrating of biſhops within this realm to be good, orderly, and lawful. 2. That no man ſhall ſend any rams, ſheep, or lambs, alive out of the realm, upon pain, for the firſt offence, of forfeiture of all his goods, and one year's impriſonment; and for the ſecond, of being declared a felon. 3. That cut-purſes and pick-pockets ſhall not have benefit of clergy. 4. Whereas there were but one ſheriff for Surrey and Suſſex, one for Eſſex and Hertfordſhire, one for Somerſet and Dorſet, one for Warwick and Leiceſter, one for Nottingham and Derby, one for Oxford and Berkſhire, it was ordered, that for the future (the year 1567 being the firſt) each of theſe counties ſhould have a ſheriff a-piece. See Statut.

[g] This year, on the 7th of June, the foundation of the Royal-Exchange in London was laid by ſir Thomas Greſham, knt. Hollingſh. p. 1209.

Camden's

I advance, and in matters of fact there are no better proofs than the mutual connection of these same facts, and the testimonies of unsuspected persons. But it is almost impossible to shew where the truth has been altered, without running into some reasonings which indeed do not always suit with history, but which, on this occasion, seem to me unavoidable.

Three historians, who may be considered as originals, have related what passed in Scotland during the reign of Elizabeth; namely, George Buchanan, William Camden, and James Melvil. Some remarks on these three authors will help to give the reader a true notion.

Buchanan, a Scotchman and protestant, was a man of great learning, and much esteemed by all the learned in Europe. If he had not penned the History of Scotland, he would perhaps have been neither envied nor hated: but as in the recital of the frequent quarrels between England and Scotland, he does not always agree with the English historians, a prejudice is formed against him in England, as if he endeavoured to falsify whatever might be to the advantage of the English. This difference would have been little regarded by other nations, if what Buchanan says of queen Mary Stewart had not excited all the Roman catholics in Europe against him. His aim was to shew, that queen Mary was the sole cause of the troubles of Scotland, and particularly, the author of the king her husband's death; and his history is full of circumstantial facts, which have a visible connection, and tend all to the end he proposed. He does not cite testimonies to confirm what he says, because he wrote at the very time the things were transacted, or shortly after. On the other hand, he was Murray's creature, and counted revengeful. It is chiefly upon these prejudices that his history has been discredited, without however any express endeavours to confute him in any material assertion.

Camden, an English author and protestant, wrote the Annals of the reign of queen Elizabeth in the time of James I. son of queen Mary. He was eminent for his knowledge in the antiquities of England, and, if I mistake not, he was Clarenceux king at arms. The History of England is indebted to him for several good works, which have greatly served to illustrate it. But it manifestly appears, that, in writing the Annals of Elizabeth, his only aim was to vindicate the queen of Scots, under colour that the History of Elizabeth cannot be compiled without a particular account of the affairs of Scotland. He speaks extremely well of Elizabeth when Mary is not concerned. But in the places where the two queens must be necessarily put in opposition, he does it so artfully, that Elizabeth is shewn to be in the wrong. It is not the same, where he can praise or excuse Mary without wounding Elizabeth; for then he makes no scruple to represent Mary as a pattern of virtue. He entirely passes over in silence whatever may injure her reputation, or contents himself with confuting what she is accused of, by a bare and directly opposite narration, without alleging the least proof. So, when a man reads the histories of Camden and Buchanan, he would think these two writers are speaking of two different queens, who reigned at the same time in Scotland. Buchanan's design was to blacken Mary's reputation, and Camden's to vindicate or praise her. Wherefore, Camden, who wrote last, has taken care to warn his readers, that no credit is to be given to Buchanan, because he was the earl of Murray's creature, a mercenary writer, and his works were condemned by the states of Scotland. Nay, he pretends that, before his death, he repented of his malice[h]; but, according to custom, supports what he advances with no proof, neither does he take up Buchanan in any remarkable circumstance, but only, as I said, by giving a contrary account. Having thus removed the testimony of the Scotch historian, he adds, "For his part, he proposes, to the end both sides may be heard, to relate the affair [the king's murder] without any mixture of love or hate, as far as he can come to the knowledge of it, from writings, published at the very time, but soon suppressed in favour to the earl of Murray, and in hatred to the queen; or from letters of embassadors, and of other persons worthy of credit." It must be observed, that he cites in his Annals no passage from these suppressed writings; gives neither the titles nor authors; neither does he name the embassadors, and persons of credit, on whose testimony he builds his account. He alleges but one single paper, which I shall speak of in its place, and which carries all possible marks of forgery. Thus, after a caution not to believe Buchanan, who wrote of what passed in his own time, and before his own eyes, he will have us believe him, who did not write till above forty years after the event, upon his bare word, and upon the testimony of persons and books unknown[i].

After this preamble, he enters upon the subject; and, in order to relate the king's death, begins with a character of the earl of Murray, and represents him as a man of boundless ambition, and aspiring to the crown. It has been seen that this was the accusation brought against him before Henry II. by the queen-dowager and the cardinal of Lorrain, and of which Melvil has fully cleared him. Camden adds, that, with this view, Murray did all he could to hinder the queen's marriage, and not succeeding, took up arms against her, and was at length forced to fly into England: that, during his absence, by his letters and friends, he sowed discord between the king and queen; and, to hinder his condemnation, the earl of Morton, his friend, persuaded the king to cause Rizzo, secretary to the French dispatches, to be assassinated: that the king coming to a sense of the heinousness of the crime, conceived such an aversion to Murray, that he resolved to make away with him; but that Murray, having notice of it, was immediately reconciled to Bothwell, and determined with him to kill the king, in order to cast the deed on the queen, ruin her in the affection of her subjects, and at the same time destroy the earl of Bothwell, and seize the government.

This is the substance of the story forged by camden to justify the queen, and throw the murder of the king upon the earl of Murray. I call it a forged story, because indeed it is impossible to reconcile it with the history of Scotland, the principal circumstances whereof this author has been pleased to omit. For instance, he says nothing of the favour Rizzo was in with the queen, or of his great credit at court, neither does he mention that princess's amours with Bothwell; and, yet, in his very narrative, these two facts must be necessarily supposed. For, how can it be conceived, that, to save the honour and estates of the earl of Murray, there was a necessity of assassinating a secretary for the French dispatches, if this secretary had not been in great credit with the queen? Again, why must Murray destroy Bothwell, in order to usurp the government, if Bothwell had not been in possession of it? It is very visible, that otherwise Camden's account has neither coherence nor foundation. In short, this author was not ignorant that the queen of Scots had been publicly accused of the king her husband's death; that all Scotland and all England were full of it; and that it passed for a certain fact in both kingdoms. Can therefore facts publicly known, if I may so say, be overthrown forty years after, by a bare contrary account, without the least proof of what is advanced? But, to confirm what I have been saying with regard to Camden, I need only observe, that Melvil's Memoirs, penned before Camden's Annals, but which appeared not till long after, are entirely opposite to what that author has said, and perfectly agree with Buchanan's history, a few circumstances excepted.

Melvil is the third author I am to speak of. He was a person of distinction, who was employed in several embassies, and concerned in what passed at the court of Scotland. Nay, it appears, in his Memoirs, that he was very much in the queen's favour, since she chose him to advise her about her behaviour, and tell her of her faults. A sovereign can hardly give a subject greater marks of esteem. If Buchanan has not mentioned him in his history, it was probably because he loved him not. Melvil, on his part, has drawn in his Memoirs a character of Buchanan, which, though it does justice to his sense and great knowledge, gives no very advantageous idea of the qualities of his mind. This suffices to shew he has not copied that historian, and that they did not correspond. He has wrote what passed before his eyes, from the year 1563, when he returned to his own country, to the year 1594. Consequently he cannot be said to be ill informed. He may be still less suspected by the queen's friends, since it is plain in his Memoirs, that he was always attached to the interests of

[h] Camden's words upon that point are very inconsistent. He says, "That Buchanan often blamed himself with tears in the king's presence, for having employed his pen in too virulent a strain against queen Mary; and wished on his death-bed, that he might live so long as to recal the truth of that fact." Now, surely, if he had often blamed himself for this fact, he had time enough to recal the truth of it before he came to be on his death-bed. See Thuanus, Addit. ad Vol. III. p. 582.

[i] Many believe Camden wrote nothing in his Annals about Scotland, but what was dictated to him, or enjoined by James I. We must therefore understand here by Camden, the real author of the Annals, whoever he be. Rapin.——Osborn says, that Camden's lines were directed by king James; and he led rather to vindicate the honour and integrity of his mother, than to do right for a mistress, that had from a schoolmaster raised him to a capacity of being the first king at arms. Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, sec. 16. It is something remarkable, that the records of the criminal court, or justiciary of Scotland, commonly called The Acts of Adjournal, are missing during the government of queen Mary, and also of her son, king James, till after the trial and execution of the earl of Morton in 1581. In which records was the earl of Bothwell's trial, and the trials of some others of the regicides of king Henry Darnly. The records of the parliament of Scotland, held in August 1560, by appointment of queen Mary and her husband Francis, wherein the authority of the pope was abolished, and the protestant religion established, are likewise missing; as were also those of the parliament in December 1657, wherein the acts made concerning the protestant religion were ratified, and several acts concerning queen Mary. Anderson's Collect. Preface to the first Vol. p. 7, 8.

In

that princeſs. Accordingly he ſpeaks of her every where with great caution, contenting himſelf with briefly intimating ſome things which Buchanan has not ſcrupled to inſiſt upon more largely. He has not thought fit however to conceal the principal facts, becauſe theſe facts ſerve for foundation to his Memoirs, which otherwiſe would have no connexion. He has not wrote either to juſtify or accuſe the queen, but purely for the inſtruction of his ſon in what paſſed in his own time. If we compare his Memoirs with Buchanan's Hiſtory and Camden's Annals, we ſhall ſoon be convinced it is impoſſible to reconcile them with what Camden ſays; but that on the contrary, they agree in the principal facts related by Buchanan. All the difference is, Melvil has cleared many things which Buchanan did not well know; and on the other hand, Buchanan has enlarged much more upon every thing that can reflect on the queen, whereas Melvil very ſlightly touches upon ſuch paſſages. By that he ſhews he ſpeaks of them with regret, and ſo far only as to carry on the thread of his Memoirs.

After theſe remarks upon three hiſtorians, of whom two were cotemporaries, eye-witneſſes of what they relate, and agree together in the main without having written by concert, and without one at leaſt being liable to be ſuſpected of diſguiſing the truth, and of whom the third wrote forty years after, and is directly contrary to the two others, without ſupporting his ſtory with any teſtimony, or known author, I think I cannot be blamed if I take the two firſt for guides preferably to the laſt [k].

Whilſt the king was taking remedies to expel the poiſon, the queen removed the young prince her ſon from Sterling, and ordered him to be carried to Edinburgh, though it was in the midſt of winter [l]. Shortly after, ſhe heard the king had reſolved to withdraw into France or Spain, and that there was an Engliſh ſhip ready to receive him, as ſoon as he could bear the fatigue of the voyage. This precaution making her apprehenſive he would get away, and ſo break all her meaſures with Bothwell, ſhe expreſſed an intention to be reconciled to him. To that purpoſe, ſhe ſent ſeveral tender and affectionate letters, to convince him of her ſincerity. At laſt, ſhe went to ſee him at Glaſgow [m], and ſo artfully managed him, that ſhe prevailed with him to return to Edinburgh in a litter. Melvil does not mention the queen's journey to Glaſgow, but neceſſarily ſuppoſes a reconciliation, ſince he ſpeaks of the king's voluntary return to Edinburgh [n]. As ſoon as he came there, he was lodged in a loneſome houſe [o], near the walls of the city, on pretence he would be diſturbed by the noiſe in the palace. For ſome days the queen made him frequent viſits, and even cauſed her own bed to be brought into a room underneath the king's. In a word, ſhe omitted nothing to perſuade him ſhe did not bear him the leaſt ill will. At that time the earl of Murray, upon news that his wife was like to die of a miſcarriage, deſired leave to go and ſee her, and went away accordingly, notwithſtanding the queen's inſtances to the contrary. This circumſtance makes equally for Buchanan and Camden. Buchanan infers from it, that the earl of Murray had no hand in the king's murder, who was killed the night following, ſince he abſented himſelf the day before the deed [p]. Camden draws a quite contrary inference, ſaying the motive of his going away was to hinder his being ſuſpected. Buchanan and Melvil affirm, many knew there was a deſign to kill the king, but no man durſt warn him of it, becauſe he told all again to the queen, or to ſome of his ſervants who betrayed him. However, the earl of Orkney, half-brother to the earl of Murray, gave him notice of it, which he telling again to the queen, ſhe ſent for the earl of Orkney to examine him; but he denied in her preſence he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing [q].

At length, the time appointed for the deed being come, the queen left the king, to go and put to bed one of her women [r] who had been married that day. I omit numberleſs circumſtanceſs whereby Buchanan inſinuates the queen was in the plot. Indeed thoſe circumſtances would be ſo many proofs, if they were confirmed by an unſuſpected author: but as Melvil ſays nothing of them, I chuſe to paſs them over in ſilence. However, the king was ſtrangled that night [s], with one of his ſervants who lay in his room. As ſoon as he was dead, his body was carried into a garden belonging to a neighbouring houſe, where his ſlippers were alſo brought. Then fire was ſet to ſome barrels of powder placed in the room where the queen's bed was, and the houſe was blown up. The people who came running in at the noiſe, were told at firſt, that the violence of the gunpowder had thrown the king into the garden. But as his ſlippers were found by him, as his ſhirt was not ſinged by the fire, and as ſome black and blue marks were ſeen round his neck, the people were not ſo credulous. The ſame night it was rumoured about the city, that the earls of Morton and Murray had cauſed the king to be aſſaſſinated; and this report ſpread immediately as far as the borders of England. Camden infers from hence, that the earl of Murray muſt have been concerned in the murder, ſince he was preſently accuſed by the voice of the public: but this voice of the public conſiſted doubtleſs of ſome people who were ſuborned to ſpread the report. Melvil affirms on the contrary, it was whiſpered at court that Bothwell had cauſed the king to be murdered, and that he was ſtrangled with a napkin. He adds, "I came to the door of the queen's chamber the next morning after the murder, and the earl of Bothwell ſaid, That her majeſty was ſorrowful and quiet, which occaſioned him to come forth. He ſaid, the ſtrangeſt accident had fallen out which ever was heard of, for thunder had come out of the ſky, and had burnt the king's houſe, and himſelf was found dead lying a little diſtance from the houſe under a tree. He deſired me to go up and ſee him, how that there was not a hurt nor a mark on all his body. But when I went up to ſee him, he had been taken into a chamber, and kept by one Alexander Durham; but I could not get a ſight of him." Buchanan adds, the queen ordered the body to be brought to her on the wrong ſide of a bench, and after viewing it ſome time, without any ſigns of joy or grief, commanded it to be interred near Rizzo, in the ſepulchre of the kings [t]. It is ſtrange that Camden, who attempts to ſtrip Buchanan of all credit, ſhould not undertake to confute any of the circumſtances related by that hiſtorian, though they are many in number, and very diſhonourable to the queen.

The earl of Murray, though ſick, and notwithſtanding the rumour about him, came to court two days after, and appeared without fear. This ſhews he was in no dread of the accuſations of his enemies; and indeed he was never queſtioned for the fact [u]. The queen keeping her chamber but a few days, reſumed her uſual way of life, having always the earl of Bothwell with her.

Mean while, the people murmured exceedingly that there was no enquiry concerning the king's death, of which they openly accuſed the earl of Bothwell. Theſe murmurs were ſo public, that Bothwell could not help taking ſome ſtep to ſhew he was willing to clear himſelf. He went therefore in company with ſome friends to the earl of Argyle, chief juſtice of the kingdom, and requeſted him to make inquiſition concerning the murder of the king. Upon his requeſt, a proceeding was begun, and the depoſitions of ſeveral perſons were taken; but all was ſuppreſſed on a ſudden. The court was contented with offering a reward to any perſon that ſhould diſcover the authors of the king's death; but as all believed the queen and Bothwell guilty, no one was ſo bold as to accuſe them. It would have been very dangerous to take ſuch a ſtep [w]. However, libels and ballads were publiſhed, wherein Bothwell was ſtill accuſed. Whereupon he cauſed it to be fixed up in ſeveral places, that he would fight any perſon that ſhould dare to maintain the accuſation. He was anſwered by another paper, poſted up without a name, that his challenge was accepted, provided he would appoint a neutral place for the duel; but this came to nothing.

This queen perceiving at length that the murmurs and

[k] In ſhort, it may be ſaid of theſe three hiſtorians, in regard to queen Mary, that Camden has ſcarce ſaid one word of truth; that Buchanan has ſaid all the truth, and more than the truth; and that Melvil has ſaid the truth, but not the whole truth.

[l] Pretending that the houſe where he was kept, was inconvenient, and Sterling a moiſt and cold place, where he ſhould catch cold. Buchanan. Melvil ſays nothing of this journey; but he ſuppoſes it afterwards, when he ſays, the queen delivered the prince to the earl of Marr, that the caſtle of Edinburgh might be taken out of his hands. Rapin.

[m] Attended only by the Hamiltons, and other enemies of the king. Buchanan.

[n] His words are: The king was afterwards brought to Edinburgh, and lodged in the Kirk-field, as a place of good air, where he might beſt recover his health. But many ſuſpected that the earl of Bothwell had ſome enterpride againſt him. p. 78.

[o] Uninhabited for ſome years. Buchanan.

[p] Melvil ſays, that he was retired from the court ſeveral days before. p. 78.

[q] This advertiſement, ſays Melvil, moved the earl of Bothwell to haſte forward his enterprize; he had before laid a train of powder under the houſe where the king did lodge, and in the night did blow up the ſaid houſe with the powder; but it was ſpoken, that the king was taken forth, and brought down to a ſtable, where a napkin was ſtopped in his mouth, and he therewith ſuffocated. p. 78.

[r] Sebaſtian, one of her muſic. Buchanan.

[s] February 10, two hours after midnight. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. I. p. 36. Conatus varies from this account in ſome circumſtances, but agrees with it in the main. See Jebb's Collect. tom. II. p. 29.

[t] Though the nobility there preſent had decreed to give him a magnificent burial. Buchanan.

[u] But Bothwell attempted to diſpatch him out of the way. See Buchanan, l. 18.

[w] Since, as Buchanan obſerves, the earl of Bothwell was to be the accuſed perſon, the judge, the examiner, and the puniſher too, l. 18.

complaints of the people might be attended with ill conſequences, was deſirous of having the caſtle of Edinburgh in her hands, the cuſtody whereof was committed to the earl of Marr by the ſtates. The earl was unwilling to comply with the queen's deſire: but at length, imagining a civil war was at hand, he offered to deliver the caſtle, provided he was ſuffered to carry the young prince to Sterling, of which he was governor alſo. He thought it more advantageous to be maſter of the prince's perſon than of the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the queen agreed to the exchange.

Hitherto people were contented with liberally publiſhing their ſuſpicions of Bothwell, without any adverſary appearing againſt him: but at laſt the earl of Lenox, finding the queen very ſlow to puniſh the crime lately committed, ſolicited her by letter for juſtice upon Bothwell, charging him with being the author of the king his ſon's murder. This letter threw the queen into great perplexity. She could not deny a father the ſatisfaction he demanded, eſpecially in a caſe concerning the death of a king who had been her huſband. I ſhall not relate here all her artifices to evade this proſecution, and to get Bothwell acquitted, becauſe Buchanan, who has given the particulars, may be ſuſpected. I ſhall content myſelf with tranſcribing what Melvil ſays upon this ſubject:

"Every body ſuſpected the earl of Bothwell; and thoſe who durſt ſpeak freely to others, ſaid plainly, that it was He. Whereupon he drew together a number of lords of his dependers to be an aſſize, which cleared and acquitted him; ſome for fear, ſome for favour, and the greateſt part in expectation of advantage. This way being aſſailed, he remained ſtill the greateſt favourite at court."

This teſtimony of a man who cannot be ſuſpected of ſlandering her, is very ſtrong againſt the queen. She not only could not part with a man publicly accuſed of the murder of the king her huſband, but even made him her prime miniſter and favourite. Though ſhe had believed him innocent, it was renouncing the laws of decency, which a woman ſeldom does, unleſs carried away by the violence of paſſion: but theſe are trifles in compariſon of what ſhe did afterwards [x].

The report of the queen's intending to marry the earl of Bothwell, flying from the court over all the kingdom, the lord Herris came to Edinburgh. He took ſo ſeaſonable a time, that he accoſted the queen in Bothwell's abſence, and, caſting himſelf at her feet, freely told her, it would be an everlaſting diſhonour to her if ſhe married her huſband's murderer. The queen, feigning a ſurpriſe, anſwered, ſhe did not know from whence he had that intelligence; and very coldly added, that hitherto her heart had dictated nothing to her in favour of Bothwell. A few days after, Melvil received a letter from England about the ſame thing, but expreſſed in much ſtronger terms than the lord Herris's remonſtrance, which he ſhewed to the queen, who ſaid it was a device of his own. Melvil aſſured her, the letter came from the perſon whoſe name was ſubſcribed, and contained nothing but what he himſelf had deſigned to repreſent to her, as he was in duty bound. Thus the queen in reſolving to marry Bothwell, ſinned not out of ignorance, ſince ſhe was fully informed of the people's opinion concerning the author of the king's death.

A few days after, ſhe went to Sterling, to ſee the prince her ſon. If Buchanan is to be credited, her intent was on ſome pretence to get him out of the hands of the earl of Marr, who plainly refuſed to deliver him. In her return to Edinburgh, ſhe was met by the earl of Bothwell, with a company of armed men [y], who carried her away, and conducted her to Dunbar. Melvil, who was preſent, and was himſelf arreſted, ſays, "Bothwell only took her majeſty's horſe by the bridle," and adds not a word which may inſinuate that the queen ſeemed ſurpriſed at this violence, or that ſhe offered to make the leaſt reſiſtance [z]. He ſays on the contrary, that captain Blachater, who ſeized him, aſſured him all was done with the queen's own conſent.

When Bothwell came to Dunbar, he procured a divorce from his wife, daughter of the earl of Huntley, whom he had married but ſix months before. The divorce was decreed by two ſentences, one in the eccleſiaſtical, and the other in the civil court, and both at the ſuit of the counteſs of Bothwell. In the firſt trial, before the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, Bothwell was accuſed of a criminal commerce with a kinſwoman of his wife; and upon his confeſſion, the archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence of divorce [a]. In the ſecond, his wife accuſed him of adultery; and as he did not deny it, the marriage was annulled. He was forced to uſe theſe two means, by reaſon of the different rules the two courts obſerve with regard to the cauſes for annulling a marriage. The proceſs was commenced and ended in leſs than ten days. In all appearance, the earl of Huntley, Bothwell's great friend, perſuaded his daughter himſelf to ſue for a divorce. This is Buchanan's account; but Melvil ſays, he cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his wife, becauſe having been releaſed, he had left Dunbar. Hence it is plain at leaſt, he had not read Buchanan's Hiſtory, when he wrote his Memoirs, nor did copy that hiſtorian, though they agree in the principal facts.

Bothwell being thus parted from his wife, carried the queen to Edinburgh, and the next day ſhe appeared in the courts of juſtice, and declared ſhe was entirely free. This was done to prevent an objection, which might be taken from her captivity, to null the marriage ſhe intended to contract with Bothwell. This marriage was ſo odious in all its circumſtances, that it was very difficult to find any pretence to leſſen the horror of it. The only method the queen and Bothwell could find, was to make the lords of the court accomplices of the ſame crime. To that end Bothwell, having invited them to dinner, preſented to them and cauſed them to ſubſcribe a paper, the purport whereof was, "That they judged it was much the queen's intereſt to marry Bothwell, he having many friends in Lothian and upon the borders, which would cauſe good order to be kept. And then the queen could not but marry him, ſeeing he had run away and lain with her againſt her will." One of Camden's artifices, among many others, is to ſpeak of this paper or approbation of the great men in a very looſe manner, and alter it entirely, under colour of relating the ſubſtance. Moreover he ſpeaks of it before he relates the queen's rape, that the rape might be conſidered as a conſequence of the approbation of the great men; whereas it was juſt the contrary, as may be ſeen by the very writing in Melvil [b]. However, the marriage was ſolemnized [c] after the manner of the proteſtants, by the biſhop of Orkney, who was very ready to do ſo odious an office.

Whatever ſuſpicion the queen had given of herſelf, by her neglect to puniſh the authors of the king's murder, there were ſome however who ſtill doubted whether ſhe was guilty. But when they ſaw her publicly eſpouſe the earl of Bothwell, hardly was there a man who durſt undertake her defence [d]. It was eaſy for her to perceive the change in the hearts of her ſubjects, ſo viſible was their diſcontent. For this reaſon, ſhe reſolved to ſtrengthen herſelf with the aſſiſtance of the great men, by forming a league with them for the defence of herſelf and new ſpouſe. All thoſe that depended on Bothwell readily ſigned the league; but herein lay not all the difficulty. There was another very conſiderable party which was to be gained, otherwiſe the league of the court would be of little power. To that end, the queen and Bothwell thought it neceſſary to begin with the earl of Murray, that he might influence all the reſt. The confederacy therefore was brought him to ſign. But he anſwered, that to oblige him to ſerve the queen, it was needleſs to make him ſign the paper; and for the earl of Bothwell, ſince the queen had deſired he would be reconciled to him, he ſhould punctually obſerve whatever he had promiſed. However, fearing after this refuſal to be expoſed to the reſentment of the court, he deſired leave to withdraw to St. Andrew's; but perceiving the queen made ſome ſcruple, prayed her to permit him to paſs ſome time in France; to which ſhe readily conſented, and he departed within a few days [e]. Camden has taken care not to mention the reaſon of Murray's retiring into France: that very ill agrees with his ſcheme. For, had that lord aſſociated with Bothwell to kill the king, why ſhould he quit the court, at at a time when, inſtead of having any thing to fear, he might have expected every thing from the great credit of his pretended friend?

[x] John Habroun, Talla, Dagleiſh, and Powry, were executed for the king's murder January the 3d enſuing. See Buchanan's Detection.

[y] Six hundred men, at Almon bridge. Buchanan.

[z] The queen, in her inſtructions to the biſhop of Dunblane, ſays, That the earl partly extorted, and partly obtained, her promiſe to take him for her huſband. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. I. p. 99.

[a] Some ſay he had a bull to abſolve him from this inceſt. If ſo, he would not plead it, that he might give occaſion to the annulling of the marriage. Rapin.

[b] And yet the queen, in her inſtructions to the biſhop of Dunblane, makes this writing to have been ſigned before ſhe was carried away. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. I. p. 94, and 104.

[c] May 15, at the palace in Holyrood-houſe, by Adam Bothwell, biſhop of Orkney. Melvil, p. 80.

[d] And people began to think, that the prince was in danger to be cut off by him who had ſlain his father;———for Bothwell boaſted, that if he could get him once in his hands, he ſhould warrant him from revenging his father's death. Melvil, p. 78, 81.

[e] Melvil ſpeaks not of this confederacy. He ſays only, that the earl of Murray retired into France, without ſhewing the reaſon. Rapin.

And

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London: Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

JAMES EARL of MORTON.

Goldar Sculp.t

In the Poſſeſſion of the R.t Hon.ble the Earl of Morton

Publiſh'd as the Act directs May 1 1785

Mean while, all Scotland loudly complained that no vengeance was taken for the king's death, and at ſeeing the queen married to the man who was univerſally conſidered as the murderer. The king of France even wrote to Du Crocq his embaſſador, to ſignify his aſtoniſhment at it, and his letter was ſhewn to ſeveral lords. In ſhort, the earls of Argyle, Morton, Marr, Athol, Glencarn, and the baron of Boyd, meeting at Sterling, ſigned a confederacy, the intent whereof was to bring the murderers of the king to condign puniſhment, and to cauſe the queen's late marriage to be diſſolved [f]. They hoped to effect this the more eaſily, as they had room to believe the queen herſelf would not be ſorry to be compelled, conſidering the unworthy treatment ſhe had now received from her new ſpouſe. Melvil ſays, he heard her one day call for a knife to ſtab herſelf, not being able to bear his brutiſh uſage.

As the confederates did not queſtion that the people of Edinburgh would countenance their undertaking, they had projected to inveſt the city, that the queen and Bothwell, who were there without troops, might not eſcape. But Bothwell, having notice of their deſign, retired with the queen to Borthwick. They were purſued by the confederates; but it was in vain, the queen and Bothwell being now gone to Dunbar. Having miſſed their aim, the confederates marched to Edinburgh, where the gates were opened to them, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the earl of Huntley, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the biſhop of Roſs, to the contrary, who were even forced to withdraw into the caſtle, from whence ſir James Balfour, whom the queen had made governor, afforded them means to eſcape. He gave alſo the confederates to underſtand, he would not give up the caſtle, but intended to ſtand neuter.

Mean time, the queen and Bothwell drew together ſome forces at Dunbar with all poſſible diligence. But the confederates were extremely embarraſſed. They had no money: Balfour refuſed to give them any artillery or ammunition; and by reaſon of the ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe of Borthwick, part of their troops had deſerted them. So, after ſeveral conſultations, they had almoſt reſolved to give over their projects, and return to their homes. The queen and Bothwell, being informed of their condition, marched immediately towards Edinburgh, in hopes of ſurpriſing them before they came to any reſolution. The news being brought to the confederates in the night, inſtead of flying, they reſolved to meet the queen, and decide the affair by a battle. This reſolution ſtopped their enemies, who, finding things take a quite different turn from what they expected, ſuffered them to paſs the Eſk without oppoſition; after which, the two armies ſtood very near each other. Then it was the queen perceived her troops did not ſerve her heartily, and that but few of her officers and ſoldiers were willing to fight in her quarrel. The knowledge of this inſpiring her with great fear, ſhe deſired to ſpeak with William Kircaldie, laird of Grange, one of the heads of the confederates, who commanded a ſmall body, more advanced than the reſt of the army. Kircaldie waiting on her, told her plainly, there were no hopes of agreement, unleſs ſhe would put away Bothwell, who was reckoned the late king's murderer, and moreover, was married to another woman; but, on that condition, the confederates would honour and obey her as they ought. The queen aſking him, whether ſhe could rely upon his word, he returned to the confederates, and brought a full power to treat with the queen upon that condition. Whereupon Bothwell, ſeeing no remedy, choſe to retire to Dunbar, and the queen put herſelf into the hands of Kircaldie, who conducted her to the confederate army. The heads received her with more reſpect than ſhe expected; but it was with great difficulty the ſoldiers were reſtrained, who cried out againſt her very irreverently. She was conducted that night to Edinburgh, and lodged in the provoſt's houſe, where a guard was ſet on her, ſo that ſhe was really a priſoner. It is likely, the heads were not yet fully determined what to do with her; but ſhe afforded them herſelf an occaſion to be reſolved. The very night ſhe came to Edinburgh, ſhe bribed one of her guard, and gave him a letter for Bothwell, full of tender and affectionate expreſſions, calling him, "her dear heart," and promiſing never to forſake him. This letter falling into the hands of the confederate lords, made them reſolve to be more watchful over her, and afforded a pretence to ſhut her up in the caſtle of Lochlevin, under the cuſtody of the earl of Murray's mother.

The queen complained grievouſly of this uſage, and wrote to Kircaldie, reproaching him that what had been promiſed her was not performed. Kircaldie anſwered, he had already upbraided the lords for the ſame; but they had ſhewed him a letter, under her own hand, which had ſtopped his mouth. He ended his letter with ſaying, he could do nothing for her, but adviſe her to think no more of a man who was married to another, and accuſed of killing her huſband. The queen, as ſhe read the letter, ſhed a flood of tears.

But a thing which happened a few days after was ſtill more prejudicial to her. Bothwell, coming to Dunbar, ſent a man to Balfour, governor of Edinburgh caſtle, for a caſket which he had truſted with him. It was a ſilver caſket, preſented to the queen by Francis II. which ſhe had given to Bothwell. Balfour delivered it to the meſſenger; but, if we may believe Buchanan, gave notice of it to the confederate lords, who took it from the bearer. However, it fell into their hands. They opened it, and found a great many love-verſes and letters, and, among the reſt, ſome that contained the whole plot againſt the late king, and the manner it was to be executed [g]. But this was not all; Buchanan ſays, there were alſo three contracts of marriage between the queen and Bothwell, one of which was written in the queen's hand before the king's death. Another was written in the earl of Huntley's hand, in the interval between the king's death and the queen's third marriage [h]; and the laſt was a contract in form, made at the time of the nuptials. Probably, the two firſt were only draughts, ſuppoſing Buchanan ſpeaks the truth; for Melvil ſays nothing of the caſket or contracts. Camden ſays, however, on another occaſion, that certain verſes and love-letters were produced againſt the queen; but mentions not the caſket ſpoken of by Buchanan.

The queen's captivity, and the ſeizing of her papers, having made Bothwell ſenſible it would not be proper for him to be in Scotland, he retired to the iſles of Orkney [i]; where he turned pirate for ſome time, either for his ſubſiſtence, or to be revenged of the Scots.

Mean while, the chiefs of the confederates, conferring together upon their affairs, conſidered that if they ſhould put the queen again in poſſeſſion of the government, they could not rely on her promiſes, or be ſecure againſt her [k]. They concluded, therefore, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to deprive her of the adminiſtration; and to that end ſent the earl of Lindſay [l], to perſuade her to reſign the crown to the prince her ſon. Camden ſays, to oblige her to this, ſhe was threatened to be brought to a public trial for the murder of the king, her huſband, for incontinency, and for breach of promiſe on the account of religion. And Melvil affirms, the earl of Lindſay had orders to threaten her, if he thought it neceſſary. The queen was ſtrangely ſurpriſed at this propoſition: but rightly judging it was not in her power to deny what was demanded, and that an obſtinate refuſal might draw upon her worſe troubles, ſhe gave her conſent. She did it the more readily, as ſhe was privately told by ſome of the confederates, and Throckmorton, the Engliſh embaſſador, that whatever ſhe ſigned in priſon would not be of any force, but might be revoked when ſhe ſhould be at liberty. The confederate lords willingly agreed ſhe herſelf ſhould nominate one or more regents to govern the kingdom during the prince's minority. She appointed the earl of Murray, either of her own choice [m], or becauſe it was hinted to her that he was deſired for regent; and, in caſe he refuſed the office, ſhe ſubſtituted the duke of Chateleraut, the earl of Argyle, and ſome other lords [n]. Then ſhe was made to ſign all the acts neceſſary for the reſignation of the crown; and notice being ſent to the earl of Murray, who was in France, the preparations were made for the inauguration of the new king, who was but a year old. The queen's reſignation was ſigned the 24th of June, and the young king was inaugurated the 29th of the ſame month by the biſhop of Orkney.

Shortly after, ſome lords [o], who were not of the confederacy, met at Hamilton-caſtle, to conſult what was to be done,

[f] And for that purpoſe aſſembled about three thouſand men together. Melvil, p. 82.

[g] Theſe letters were firſt publiſhed at the end of Buchanan's Detection; others have ſince been printed at London in 1726, by Mr. Edward Simmonds, under Mary's name, but do not agree with the former.

[h] Dated April 5. See Buchanan's Detect.

[i] And from thence to the Schetland iſles. Buchanan.

[k] Lidington, and ſome others, were for reſtoring her to her authority on on theſe terms: That the king's murderers ſhould be puniſhed; that care ſhould be taken of the prince's perſon, and that Bothwell ſhould be divorced from her, and religion eſtabliſhed. Others were, for her abdicating the kingdom in behalf of her ſon, and being ſent in perpetual exile, either in France or England. Others were of opinion, that ſhe ſhould be tried, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and her ſon crowned in her room. And others again, that ſhe ſhould loſe her crown and life together. Camden, p. 405.

[l] And the lord Ruthven. Spotiſwood, p. 211.

[m] Melvil ſays, ſhe deſired the lord Murray to be the firſt regent, p. 85.

[n] Matthew earl of Lenox, John earl of Athol, James earl of Morton, Alexander earl of Glencarn, and John earl of Marr. Camden, p. 405. Buchanan.

[o] The lords Hamilton, Paſly, Fleming, Boid, John Hamilton, biſhop of St. Andrew's, &c. Melvil, p. 85.

He

at this juncture. The confederates having notice thereof, ſent James Melvil, author of the Memoirs, to know the reaſon of their being aſſembled. They replied, they could not but think it ſtrange that the king ſhould be crowned without their being called to the ceremony, ſince they had no leſs zeal than the reſt of the lords for the good of their country; and they believed to have cauſe to fear there were ill deſigns againſt them, ſince ſuch important reſolutions had been taken without conſulting them; that therefore they were met, not with intent to offend any perſon, but only to provide for their own ſafety. Melvil ſays, the wiſeſt of the confederates were for admitting theſe lords to their conſultations, but the others reſolved to exclude them, and that this advice prevailed to the great detriment of the kingdom. Indeed, from this ſmall number of lords aſſembled at Hamilton, roſe a party, which declared at length for the queen, and ſerved long to foment the troubles of the kingdom.

The chiefs of the confederates had not the ſame views. Some acted only out of private intereſt, and made uſe of the preſent juncture to ruin their enemies. Others, in ſigning the confederacy, intended to remove the ſcandal which the queen's marriage had given, to get rid of Bothwell, to put the queen again in poſſeſſion of the government, and perhaps to limit her authority by means of the ſtates. Theſe knowing the earl of Murray was returning to Scotland [p], ſent James Melvil to inform him of the ſituation of affairs, and to exhort him to behave with great moderation, and above all things to avoid an entire rupture with the queen. They repreſented to him, that his intereſt required it, becauſe he would be much more maſter of his own party, ſo long as he left the queen ſome hopes, than if he reduced her affairs to ſuch a ſtate that her enemies would have nothing more to fear from her. Murray perceived, that indeed ſuch a conduct would be advantageous to him, and promiſed to follow their advice. But he was no ſooner arrived than he ſuffered himſelf to be ſwayed by the violent men of his party, who perſuaded him to put affairs beyond the power of being ever reſtored. This is the repreſentation Melvil gives of the earl of Murray's conduct. A few days after his arrival, he waited on the queen, and inſtead of comforting her, as he had done formerly, when ſhe was under confinement at Edinburgh, he loaded her with reproaches. This had like to break her heart; for till then, ſhe was in hopes the earl of Murray would labour to reſtore her.

Mean while, the confederates praying him to accept of the regency, he ſeemed inclined to refuſe it, and deſired a few days to conſider of it: but this was all grimace, and at length he accepted it [q]. Before the ſtates, which had been convened in his abſence, met, he wrote to the Hamiltonians (for ſo were called the lords aſſembled at Hamilton), to deſire them to come and join with the reſt of the ſtates, in what ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the good of the kingdom: but they refuſed to come. An agreement was talked of ſome time, but there occurred inſuperable difficulties. Buchanan caſts the whole blame upon the Hamiltonians; and Melvil, on the contrary, upon the violent party of the confederates, with whom the regent was joined. All that can be conjectured is, that they who had procured the aſſembly at Hamilton, intended to ſerve the queen, and wanted only a pretence to declare, which the earl of Murray furniſhed them with, perhaps very imprudently. However, Murray not thinking fit to defer the convention of the ſtates, in expectation of an agreement with the Hamiltonians, which to him ſtill ſeemed more remote, the regency was confirmed by a decree, ſubſcribed by above two hundred lords and gentlemen of the greateſt diſtinction, as well catholics as proteſtants.

The new regent's firſt care was to remove Balfour, who had rendered himſelf ſuſpected, from the government of Edinburgh caſtle, and to confer it on the laird of Grange. Mean while the Hamiltonians, at the head of whom was the earl of Argyle, loudly complained of their being neglected, and refuſed to acknowledge the earl of Murray for regent. It was eaſy to perceive, their aim on that pretence was to form a party for the queen. And indeed ſome time after they met at Dunbarton, and ſigned an aſſociation, the intent whereof was to releaſe the queen, and replace her on the throne. Twelve lords [r], of whom the earl of Argyle and the biſhop of St. Andrew's were the chief, ſubſcribed the bond of aſſociation. But the earl of Argyle deſerted that party preſently after, and came to the parliament. This lord, who frequently changed ſides, did not remain long with the party he had eſpouſed. As for the duke of Chateleraut, he was then in France about his own private concerns. The aſſociation was not at firſt very formidable to the regent; but it became ſo afterwards, becauſe all the malcontents of the king's party joined it by degrees, it not being eaſy for the regent to pleaſe all.

During the reſt of the year, the regent took into his hands all the ſtrong places of the kingdom, and beſtowed the offices and governments as he judged neceſſary for the preſervation of the public peace. He took care, above all things, to cauſe juſtice to be adminiſtered punctually and impartially. Melvil blames him only for one thing, namely, his not being ſo diligent as he might have been in gaining the Hamiltonians. But it muſt be conſidered, Melvil himſelf manifeſtly leaned to that party. The queen valued and loved him, and conſequently it was natural to wiſh her reſtoration. He plainly ſhews in his Memoirs, that he heartily deſired ſhe might be replaced on the throne, which made him blame thoſe who oppoſed it.

The knowledge of the affairs of Scotland is ſo abſolutely neceſſary for underſtanding the motives of queen Elizabeth's conduct and politics, that it is not to be thought ſtrange that I have given ſo particular an account of what paſſed in that kingdom. The ſequel will juſtify, as I hope, this long digreſſion. I return now to the affairs of England.

The term for the reſtitution of Calais being expired, Elizabeth ſent into France ſir Thomas Smith ſecretary of ſtate, and ſir William Winter maſter of the naval ſtores, to demand that place of the king, according to the treaty of Cateau. But nothing was farther from the king of France's thoughts. He appointed commiſſioners to treat with the Engliſh embaſſadors, as if it was to be conſidered again to whom that place was to belong, and as if the treaty of Cateau was to be reckoned as nothing. Michael Hoſpital chancellor, who was firſt commiſſioner, made on the occaſion a long ſpeech, of which it will be ſufficient to relate the ſubſtance, to ſhew how groundleſs were the reaſons with which he ſupported the refuſal of Calais. He ſaid,

"By the ſame right the Engliſh demanded Calais, they may as well claim Paris; for the one, as well as the other, was won and loſt by arms [s].

"The Engliſh plead a new title to Calais, whereas the king of France's title is of the ſame date with the monarchy itſelf.

"Though the Engliſh had it in poſſeſſion above two hundred years, yet the right was as much in the kings of France, as were the dukedoms of Guienne and Normandy, which the Engliſh detained a long time by force. And therefore it could not be ſaid, the French had conquered Calais and thoſe dukedoms, but only recovered what belonged to them.

"Preſcription of time is of no conſideration among princes, but right always takes place; and by the law of the Twelve Tables, the authority remains perpetual againſt an enemy.

"Though the Engliſh undertook the late war for the ſake of Calais, yet that place was not mentioned in the treaty of Troye, and thereby they owned they had no farther pretenſions to it.

"The clauſe inſerted in the treaty of Troye, relating to the reſervation of rights, concerns only ſmall and ſignificant matters, and not the reſtitution of Calais, which is an article of the greateſt importance.

"The pretended attempts of Francis II. in Scotland, could by no means effect the right of Charles IX. his ſucceſſor. Indeed, the very intentions of private perſons are in ſome reſpects liable to the laws; but the caſe of princes is quite different.

"The late king, in aiding the queen of Scotland his wife, did no more than the Engliſh themſelves had done in ſeizing Havre de Grace, under colour of keeping it for the king. Moreover they furniſhed the prince of Condé with money, and therefore have forfeited their claim to Calais.

"When it pleaſed God that the French ſhould recover Calais, he ſet the natural bounds between the kingdoms of France and England, according to the poet:

"Et penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos.

"In a word, if any one had the aſſurance to propoſe to

[p] He came to Edinburgh, Auguſt 11. Spotiſwood, p. 211.
[q] He was elected regent, Auguſt 20. Ibid, p. 212.
[r] Eleven only. Melvil, p. 88.

[s] There was an expreſs treaty for Calais; but there was none for Paris. Rapin.

H

London: Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin

S.r THOMAS SMYTH.

Holben Pinx.t *Goldar Sculp.t*

In the Possession of S.r Edw.d Smyth Bar.t of Hill Hall, Essex.

Publish'd as the Act directs July 16. 1725

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

the king the reſtitution of Calais, he would deſerve not only death, but a worſe puniſhment, damnation."

Smith replied, "he would not ſtay to ſhew the weakneſs of the arguments alleged by the chancellor, becauſe he could not believe the refuſing to reſtore Calais would in good earneſt be founded upon reaſons ſo little plauſible. There was a treaty made expreſly on this account, which the chancellor never mentioned, as if he had forgot, that, upon this treaty, ſigned, ratified, and ſworn to by the king of France, the queen of England's demand was grounded. Neither did he intend to loſe time in combating maxims, which, if admitted, would render all treaties between ſovereigns of no effect: but would content himſelf with anſwering two objections, which were the moſt ſpecious. As for the treaty of Troye, he appealed to ſome of the commiſſioners who were preſent at the concluſion of that treaty, whether it was not agreed that the reſtitution of Calais ſhould be compriſed in the general reſervation of rights; and that the reaſon which they alleged to hinder the town of Calais from being reſerved by name, was, becauſe the eight years were not yet expired. As for Havre de Grace, the Engliſh made a peaceable entry, being invited by the inhabitants and the people of Normandy. In ſhort, as for the money lent to the prince of Condé, the king of France himſelf owned it was for his ſervice, ſince it was to pay the German ſoldiers, who threatened to ravage the kingdom." But all theſe reaſons were to no purpoſe, France being reſolved not to part with Calais. I ſhall obſerve here by the way, that the chancellor of France did not uſe, in order to evade the reſtitution of Calais, the arguments taken from the treaty itſelf of Cateau, as he might have juſtly done, if that treaty were expreſſed in the terms, or after the manner mentioned by the French hiſtorians.

It was not the chancellor's arguments that hindered Elizabeth from aſſerting her right to Calais, but the ſituation of her affairs, which permitted her not to enter into a war with France. Her intention was not to invade, but to defend and maintain herſelf on the throne, in ſpite of the endeavours of her enemies. This was her only care during the whole courſe of her reign. Hence it was that ſhe ſometimes ſeemed willing to marry, though in all appearance ſhe had no ſuch deſire. The firſt ſhe decoyed with this hope was the archduke Charles of Auſtria, the ſame that was propoſed to the queen of Scotland by the cardinal of Lorrain. She carried her diſſimulation ſo far, as to ſend Thomas Ratcliffe, earl of Suſſex, in embaſſy to the emperor Maximilian, to ſettle the marriage articles, the emperor on his part having diſpatched count Stolberg to keep her in this good reſolution. The earl of Suſſex ſtaid five months at Vienna, about the negotiation, going thither under colour of carrying the emperor the Order of the Garter. But he was accompanied with the lord North, the earl of Leiceſter's creature, who was ordered by his patron to defeat the negotiation as much as poſſible, by tacitly hinting to the Imperial court, that the queen had no deſign to marry, whatever ſhe pretended. The emperor found afterwards that North was better informed than the embaſſador, who, fearing the queen would eſpouſe the earl of Leiceſter, did his utmoſt to adjuſt all differences and remove the objections. The main difficulty was, to find expedients upon the article of religion which ſhould ſatisfy both courts. The emperor relaxed as much as he could; and the earl, on his part, did all that lay in his power to remove this obſtacle. They were now agreed, that the archduke ſhould have the title of king of England, and guardianſhip of the children, in caſe the queen died firſt. As to religion, after the emperor had often, but in vain, demanded the privilege of a public church for the archduke, he conſented at length, that he ſhould be ſatisfied with a private chapel in ſome part of the royal palace, where no Engliſhman ſhould be admitted; and if his way of worſhip happened to give any offence, he ſhould forbear it for a time, and be preſent with the queen at the ſervice of the church of England. But this affair being debated in the council of England, the queen ſent the earl of Suſſex word, that ſhe could not admit even of this. So the negotiation was broke off, though without noiſe, with marks of eſteem and friendſhip, mutually given by the emperor and the queen. By the way, this obſtacle, concerning religion, was the means the queen always uſed to break off all the negotiations about her marriage. And therefore ſhe ever treated with catholic princes, becauſe ſhe was ſure of breaking off the negotiation whenever ſhe pleaſed. As for the proteſtant princes, who offered themſelves, whilſt ſhe was of age, to marry, ſhe took care to let them ſoon know they had nothing to hope for. This behaviour confirms the ſuſpicion which had been always entertained, that ſhe had made a ſettled reſolution never to ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, though her affairs obliged her ſometimes to pretend the contrary.

This year arrived at London embaſſadors from John Baſilowitz, grand duke of Muſcovy. Their public commiſſion was, to confirm and renew the favours which the czar, their maſter, had granted to the Engliſh merchants, aſſociated by the name of the Muſcovy company. But with theſe embaſſadors returned Anthony Jenkinſon, an Engliſhman, who had made a long ſtay in that country, and was charged with ſome private inſtructions [t]. The Czar's deſign was to make with Elizabeth a league offenſive and defenſive, with a mutual obligation to afford each other a ſafe retreat, in caſe either ſhould be driven out of their dominions. This prince, who was a great tyrant, was willing to provide for his ſafety, being apprehenſive his ſubjects would not always ſuffer his tyranny. The queen returned him a doubtful anſwer, which he had no reaſon to be pleaſed with; and yet he granted, two years after, to the Engliſh merchants, privileges which very much conduced to render their trade with Muſcovy flouriſhing.

About this time there were commotions in Ireland, occaſioned by the rebellion of Shan-Oneal, a lord of great intereſt in the north; but which ended with the death of the rebel, who was ſlain by his own people.

The duke of Norfolk, who was one of thoſe that were moſt in the queen's favour, loſt his ducheſs this year [u], and by that means unfortunately ſaw himſelf in a condition to form projects which proved his deſtruction [w].

The affairs of the Low Countries were very much altered during this year. The great men were divided, and ſeveral had betrayed the common cauſe. The prince of Orange was withdrawn to his governments, count Horn to his own houſe, and count Egmont continued with the governeſs, who, improving the diſſention, revoked whatever ſhe had been forced to grant to the reformed. Then ſhe ſent for forces out of Germany, and raiſed ſome Walloon regiments. Shortly after, Philip II. reſolved to ſend the duke of Alva into the Low Countries with an army of native Spaniards, to chaſtiſe both the nobles and people. Whereupon the prince of Orange retiring into Germany, the duke of Alva entered the country at the head of his army without any oppoſition. At his arrival at Bruſſels, the ducheſs of Parma put the government into his hands, and then the duke exerciſed cruelties, which it is needleſs to relate, ſince they are univerſally known. The counts of Egmont [x] and Horn loſt their lives by the hand of the hangman, whilſt Montigny ſuffered the ſame puniſhment in Spain, and all the prince of Orange's lands were confiſcated.

On the other hand, the court of France, under colour of fearing the duke of Alva, who was to paſs near the borders, levied ſix thouſand Switzers, with deſign to extirpate the Hugonots, whilſt the duke of Alva ſhould do the ſame in the Netherlands, purſuant to the agreement at Bayonne. It is eaſy to ſee, that in ſuch a juncture, Elizabeth could not attempt the recovery of Calais. It was ſufficient if ſhe could avert the flames which threatened England. Mean while, the prince of Condé, having with difficulty eſcaped the ſnares of the court, re-aſſembled the Hugonots by the admiral's help, and was very likely to have ſucceeded in his deſign of carrying away the king at Meaux. After that diſappointment, he went and blocked up Paris. In ſhort, on the 10th of November was fought, at the gates of Paris, a battle, wherein the conſtable, Montmorency, was ſlain. This action not being deciſive, the prince marched to meet Caſimir, count Palatine, who was bringing him an aid of three thouſand foot and ſix thouſand five hundred horſe. In September, La Noue, one of the chief of the Hugonots, took Orleans. Thus

[t] He took an accurate map of Ruſſia, and was the firſt Engliſhman who ventured through the Caſpian ſea, into the country of the Bactrians. Camden, p. 408.

[u] She was his third wife, with whom he had lived about a year. Her name was Elizabeth; ſhe was daughter of ſir Francis Leiburne, knight, and widow of Thomas lord Dacres, of Gilletland. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 276.

[w] This year alſo, in January, died doctor Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, often mentioned in this Hiſtory. Camden, p. 408.—On June 8, ſir Thomas Sackville was created baron of Buckhurſt. Stow, p. 661.

[x] Charles Lamoral, count of Egmont, was beheaded at Bruſſels in the beginning of July. The French embaſſador, who was a private ſpectator of the execution, is ſaid to have wrote to Charles IX. king of France, "That he had ſeen that head ſtruck off, whoſe valour had made France twice tremble." Alluding to the battles of St. Quintin and Graveling. The Flemings were ſo fond of him, that his execution made them loſe all patience. No offers from Philip could quiet them, and they never left purſuing their revenge, till they had entirely ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke. Strada, de Bell. Belg. l. 7.

all the neighbouring countries of England, namely, Scotland, France, and the Low Countries, were in trouble and confuſion, whilſt the Engliſh, by the wiſe management of the queen, enjoyed a profound peace.

[1568] It is however at the expence of her own, that Elizabeth ſecured the repoſe of her people. She had to fear both at home and abroad; and conſequently was obliged to attend perpetually as well to foreign as domeſtic affairs, in order to prevent the deſigns of her enemies. The ſtate of the Hugonots in France made her very uneaſy. Their enemies were likewiſe her's; and as there was little appearance of their withſtanding the catholics, who were an hundred to one, and ſupported by the authority royal, ſhe was apprehenſive that, after their extirpation, the ſtorm would fall upon England. It was ſcarce to be doubted that the war, which was waging at once with the proteſtants of France and the Low Countries, was the effect of the mutual counſels of the French and Spaniſh courts, and that the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion was the principal object theſe two courts had in view. Elizabeth therefore thought it abſolutely neceſſary to let the king of France know, ſhe was concerned for the preſervation of the Hugonots, whatever reaſon ſhe might have to complain of their behaviour to her. To that purpoſe ſhe ordered Norris, her embaſſador to Charles IX. to intercede earneſtly for them, and give to underſtand, ſhe knew her own intereſt too well to ſuffer them to be entirely ruined. Theſe threats from England, the reſolution of the Hugonots, and their aſſiſtance from Germany, produced a good effect, and procured them a peace; but it was only a treacherous peace, wherein the court intended only to deceive them and which for that reaſon was called afterwards the Lame Peace. Catherine de Medici knowing it would not be long before the war would re-kindle, reſolved to be beforehand, to prevent Elizabeth from aſſiſting the Hugonots. To that end ſhe began now to hint, to the Engliſh embaſſador, a marriage betwixt Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, who was but ſeventeen years of age. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of the ſequel of this project.

At the ſame time, Philip II. ſhewed his ſpite againſt Elizabeth, by confining her embaſſador [y] to a country village. On the other hand, ſir John Hawkins, an Engliſh merchant, who was gone to trade in the Bay of Mexico with five ſhips, by virtue of the treaty between Charles V. and Henry VIII. was inſulted by the Spaniſh fleet, which took and rifled three of his ſhips. Theſe outrages were very grievous to Elizabeth, eſpecially as the merchants loudly murmured, and were importunate for a war with Spain. But ſhe did not think proper then to ſhew her reſentment, for fear of being engaged farther than the ſituation of her affairs would permit. She had the more reaſon not to enter into a war of this nature, as at the ſame time the affairs of Scotland, which touched her more nearly, took a new turn, and might be to her of very great conſequence.

Queen Mary was priſoner at Lochlevin; but that did not hinder her from having ſtill a ſtrong party, conſiſting of all the catholics, with thoſe that envied and hated the earl of Murray, or ſuch as were in credit about him. Indeed, moſt of thoſe men little regarded the queen, but thought ſhe could afford them a plauſible pretence to act againſt the regent, and it was this that cauſed them to declare for her. On the other ſide, in the regent's party itſelf, which was called the king's, there were ſome who were engaged in it purely to ruin Bothwell, whom they hated and feared. Theſe imagined, if they could get him out of the way, things would return to their proper channel, and the queen might marry ſome prince, who would cauſe Scotland to flouriſh again. Kircaldie, who was of this number, being informed that Bothwell was playing the pirate near the iſles of Schetland, equipped two veſſels, and reſolved to go in chace of him, believing all troubles would ceaſe with his death. He was ſo fortunate as to meet with him. He purſued and obliged him at length to run his ſhip aſhore, and eſcape to land in his boat: but his ſhip was taken with his ſervants, who, it is ſaid, gave information of many things concerning the late king's murder, which reflected on the queen. But there is no relying upon ſuch ſort of public reports. Bothwell having the good fortune to eſcape, but not knowing which way to fly, reſolved at laſt to retire into Denmark, where he was taken up and thrown into priſon. He lived there ten years in extreme miſery, which turned his brains. Camden affirms, that before his death, "he ſolemnly proteſted, the queen was in no degree privy to the murder of the king her huſband [z]." But, according to cuſtom, this author does not ſay from whence he had this particular [a].

Bothwell being no longer to be feared, all thoſe that had declared againſt the queen from their hatred to him, forſook the king's party, ſome privately, others openly. Lidington and the lord Boyd were amongſt thoſe who feigned to be ſtill attached to the regent, in order to have a fairer opportunity to do the queen ſervice. The earl of Argyle wavered for a time, but at laſt quitted the earl of Murray, and joined the other party.

Mean while the regent, being gone to Glaſgow, heard a few days after that the queen had made her eſcape from Lochlevin [b], and was at Hamilton caſtle, but twelve miles from Glaſgow. This news quickly ſpreading, the lord Boyd, who was of the regent's council, forſook him immediately, and went to the queen.

The regent was extremely perplexed, eſpecially as he learned at the ſame time, that the queen's friends were drawing people together from all ſides, and flocked to her in great numbers. This made him ſenſible he muſt either forſake the party, or try the fortune of a battle. He choſe the laſt, and aſſembling ſome forces, though in number very inferior to the queen's, he departed from Glaſgow, at the very time the queen was marching to give him battle. Melvil ſays, the queen's deſign at firſt was not to fight, having left Hamilton caſtle only to retire to Dunbarton, but that the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the reſt of the heads of the party [c], were for hazarding a battle, truſting to their numbers, and hoping to govern in the queen's name, when the regent was vanquiſhed. Be this as it will, the army, ſix thouſand ſtrong [d], advancing towards Glaſgow, met the regent, who had but four thouſand men, and the battle began. It is needleſs to give a deſcription of it here [e]. It ſuffices to ſay, in a word, the queen loſt the day, and for fear of falling into the hands of her enemies, fled towards the borders of England. She choſe for her firſt retreat the houſe of Maxwell baron of Herris [f]; but a few days after, not thinking herſelf ſafe there, or in any other place of the kingdom, ſhe reſolved to retire into England. Upon the leaſt attention to what had paſſed hitherto between Elizabeth and Mary, and to the juſt reaſons they had to diſtruſt and conſider each other as real enemies, notwithſtanding their external demonſtrations of a mutual friendſhip, which was all diſſimulation, it will not be thought that Mary would have voluntarily taken refuge in England, had it been her choice to retire elſewhere: but there was a neceſſity either of falling once more into the hands of the Scots her enemies, or of throwing herſelf into the arms of Elizabeth. Of the two dangers, one was near and infallible; the other was yet diſtant, and not ſo certain as to deſtroy all hopes of finding aſſiſtance in that queen's generoſity. However, ſhe ſent one of her ſervants, John Beton, to Elizabeth, to deſire her protection and leave to retire into England. Camden ſays, ſhe ſent by the ſame meſſenger a diamond, which ſhe had received from her as a pledge of her friendſhip, and of a promiſe to aſſiſt her to the utmoſt of her power, when there ſhould be occaſion. And yet this ſame author has inſerted, under the year 1582 of his Annals, a letter of Mary to Elizabeth, wherein it appears the diamond was ſent back before the battle of Glaſgow: beſides, though Elizabeth may poſſibly have added to her preſent of the diamond, ſome tender and affectionate expreſſions, with ſome general promiſes, it is not likely ſhe intended to oblige herſelf ſo far as Camden would inſinuate. This is what I believe, for ſeveral reaſons. Firſt, it is certain Elizabeth was never ſo well affected to Mary. Secondly, ſuch an engagement was directly contrary to her intereſt, which required not that ſhe ſhould be ſo careful of her rival's proſperity. Laſtly, no time can be aſſigned when Elizabeth was under any neceſſity to carry her diſſimulation to that height. Camden adds, Eliza-

[y] — Man. Camden, p. 410.

[z] Her conſenting to marry him ſo ſoon after her huſband's murder, carries with it a very ſtrong preſumption, which nothing but a direct proof can poſſibly overturn.

[a] By Bothwell, queen Mary had a daughter, who was a nun at Notre Dame de Soiſſons. Jebb's Collect. tom. II. p. 610.

[b] On May 2. By the aſſiſtance of George Douglas, half-brother to the regent; whoſe mother was likewiſe thought to be concerned in it. Buchanan. Camden, p. 410.

[c] Chiefly the houſe of Hamilton. Some ſaid, that the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's intended to cauſe the queen to marry the lord Hamilton, in caſe they had obtained the victory. And the queen herſelf feared the ſame. Melvil, p. 91.

[d] Buchanan ſays, it conſiſted of about ſix thouſand five hundred fighting men, l. 19. On the queen's ſide, the earl of Argyle commanded the battle, and the lord of Arbroth the vanguard. And on the other ſide, the regent led the battle, and the earl of Morton the vanguard. Melvil, p. 91.

[e] Melvil deſcribes this battle at large (which was fought on May 13. Buchanan, l. 19). The victory was owing to the conduct of the laird of Grange. See Melvil's Memoirs, p. 91.

[f] Dundreven in Galloway. Blackwood, p. 231.

Camden's

beth ſent word to Mary, by Beton, that ſhe would give her all the proofs of friendſhip which could be expected from a ſiſter. But, as I have often hinted, it is not always ſafe to rely wholly on the teſtimony of this author[g]. However, before this anſwer arrived, Mary, fearing to be diſcovered in her retreat, took boat[h], and came to Wirkington, in Cumberland, attended only by the lords Herris and Fleming, and a few ſervants. The ſame day ſhe wrote to Elizabeth, acquainting her with her arrival in England. She told her in the letter, that, having eſcaped out of priſon, and intending to go to Dunbarton, her enemies came againſt her to diſpute her paſſage[i], and defeated her army: that this misfortune obliged her to quit her kingdom, where ſhe could not be with ſafety, to come and implore her protection, and ſhe entreated her to cauſe her to be conducted to her preſence. She ſaid alſo, in the ſame letter, "That her enemies, after murdering her ſervant before her face, had committed a new crime, which they pretended to charge her with, though themſelves had plotted it, as appears by a writing, under their own hands and ſeals." It is this, doubtleſs, which gave Camden occaſion to ſay, under the year 1567, that the earls of Murray and Morton bound themſelves, by a writing, to ſupport Bothwell when he ſhould have killed the king[k]. If this writing, which never appeared, were really true, it would evidently follow, that Mary was not ignorant of Bothwell's being author of the king her huſband's murder, ſince ſhe knew Murray and Morton had promiſed to ſcreen him: but it is not likely ſhe would have made ſuch a confeſſion to Elizabeth. Beſides, ſuppoſing that Mary's letter was ſuch as Camden repreſents it, ſhe does not name the earl of Murray. She only imputes to her enemies the crime ſhe herſelf was accuſed of. We ſhall ſee hereafter how ſhe maintained what ſhe had advanced, and after what manner ſhe made her defence.

Elizabeth, being informed the queen of Scots was in England after the loſs of a battle, ſent ſir Francis Knolles to comfort her, and ordered her to be lodged at a gentleman's houſe, where ſhe was treated as a queen. After that, ſhe was conducted to Carliſle[l]. Here Mary writes a ſecond letter, according to Camden, entreating her either to admit her to her preſence, or give her leave to depart elſewhere. Camden ſays, "That Elizabeth was touched with compaſſion[m], becauſe the queen of Scots offered to debate her cauſe before her, and engaged to prove her adverſaries guilty of the crime they unjuſtly loaded her with." But this hiſtorian ſtretches a little too far what Mary ſaid in her letter, ſince ſhe did not offer to prove her adverſaries guilty, as indeed ſhe never attempted it. There is not a ſingle word in Camden's Annals concerning the queen of Scots, but what muſt be guarded againſt. We are going to ſee Elizabeth's compaſſion for this queen. She ſent her word, that as ſhe ſtood charged by the voice of the public with being privy to the murder of the king her huſband, or at leaſt with not enquiring after the murderers, and with keeping ſtill in her ſervice, and in her very houſe, ſuch as were accuſed of being accomplices, ſhe could not ſee her till ſhe had cleared herſelf of ſo heinous an accuſation, and deſired to know in what manner ſhe intended to juſtify herſelf. Whereupon it was agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould hear her defence, and protect her if innocent. It is very probable, or rather certain, that herein Elizabeth intended only to gain time, and have a pretence to detain her till ſhe had determined what was to be done, which her council was at no ſmall loſs to know.

There was on this occaſion ſeveral ways to be taken, and each had its difficulties. But, as is very uſual in the councils of princes, the ſtar by which the miniſters and counſellors were guided, was not juſtice or equity, but the queen's ſafety. In much the ſame caſe Henry IV. ſtayed the king of Scotland's eldeſt ſon, who was afterwards king himſelf, under colour that he was come into his dominions without his leave, and that prince was detained till the reign of Henry VI. It cannot be denied, that a ſovereign has power to ſeize a foreign prince, who enters his territories without a ſafe conduct. But there are caſes wherein ſtrict right becomes the greateſt injuſtice. Such was that of Henry IV. with regard to the prince of Scotland: but, in Mary's caſe, the circumſtances appeared ſtill more favourable. It was a woman, vanquiſhed by her own ſubjects, whoſe violence ſhe feared, and who, far from being ſuſpected of any ill deſign againſt England, was come only for refuge, and to implore the protection of a queen, her near relation, who had always affected to give her marks of her friendſhip. So, to conſider the queen's fault only as a ſort of breach of the law of nations, ſhe did not deſerve to be detained in captivity. But, as I ſaid, it is not always by theſe maxims that ſovereigns are guided. The point in debate in the Engliſh council was, not to ſearch for what was moſt conſonant to juſtice or generoſity, but what was moſt advantageous[n]. The various courſes therefore which might be taken with reſpect to the queen of Scots were examined, in order to chuſe the moſt beneficial to Elizabeth. The firſt was to reſtore her to the throne, for an example, that ſubjects ſhall not expel their ſovereigns with impunity. But though this was what Elizabeth ſhould have done as a ſovereign, yet other more particular conſiderations hindered her from endeavouring to reſtore and render more powerful, a queen whom ſhe juſtly looked upon as a dangerous rival. For the ſame reaſon it was to be feared, if ſhe ſent her back to Scotland, though without ſuccours, her faction would revive; and one victory, which was not impoſſible, might render her abſolute. In that caſe ſhe might recal the French into Scotland, and purſue the execution of the projects formed in France in the reign of Francis II. her huſband. On the other hand, if ſhe were ſent over to France, there was no certainty that ſhe would not return to Scotland. Beſides, if the king of France and the princes of Lorrain were maſters of her perſon, it was very likely they would make uſe of her name to invade England, and the pope and king of Spain join with them. There was no way therefore but to keep her in England, either free or in priſon; but to leave her at liberty was running a manifeſt hazard. Her title to the crown of England would draw to her court all the catholics and diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, as well as the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, to aſſiſt her with their counſels. That if, being abſent, ſhe had been able to form a ſtrong party in England, how much more might her preſence render the ſame party more numerous and powerful. It is certain, though Elizabeth and her miniſters pretended to think it very ſtrange Mary ſhould claim the crown of England, they knew, however, the grounds of her title, and that many people were convinced it was even more lawful than the queen's. Finally, in detaining her in priſon, there was no queſtion Elizabeth would incur the indignation of all Europe by ſuch a ſeverity, the motives whereof would not be generally known. This was, however, the courſe which Elizabeth took, by the advice of her council, and, without doubt, by her own inclination. It is certain, beſides the reaſons of ſtate which induced her thereto, ſhe was alſo moved by a perſonal jealouſy of the queen of Scots, who was handſomer and younger than herſelf, though ſhe was very far behind her in other reſpects. However, to colour in ſome meaſure the rigour which was to be uſed to the queen, Elizabeth reſolved to appear extremely concerned for her misfortune, and very deſirous to be convinced of her innocence, that ſhe might afterwards give her a powerful aſſiſtance without fear of reproach: but, withal, ſhe took a reſolution to delay the methods to be uſed for that purpoſe, till time and opportunity ſhould afford room for other meaſures. From thenceforward ſhe conſtantly refuſed to hear thoſe who ſpoke againſt the queen of Scots; but then ſhe was not ſorry that divers accuſations were publicly ſpread againſt her, that it might not be thought ſtrange the affair could not be cleared in a ſhort time. So Camden had reaſon to ſay, Elizabeth ſeemed touched with a ſenſe of the queen of Scotland's misfortunes, and openly deteſted the behaviour of the Scots. But it does not follow, theſe were her real ſentiments. Her aim being only to prolong the affair, under colour of labouring the juſtification of her priſoner, it was not proper ſhe ſhould by her diſcourſe declare herſelf a party againſt her. She ought rather to ſhew ſhe inclined to her ſide. Mary herſelf was long deceived by this policy. She imagined Elizabeth really intended to ſerve her; but, diſcovering the artifice at laſt, ſhe reſolved to take ſuch meaſures as furniſhed her enemy with a plauſible pretence to detain her in priſon. I will venture to affirm, this is the true key of the affair, which will never be well underſtood, if we ſtand to what is ſaid by the hiſtorians of either ſide.

[g] Camden's account is confirmed by Leſley's Negotiations, from whence it is viſibly taken, and on whoſe credit it entirely reſts. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. III. p. 10, &c.

[h] She got into a fiſher-boat at Kirkcudbright, with eighteen or twenty perſons. Spotiſwood, p. 217. Anderſon's Collect. tom. IV. p. 2, &c.

[i] The contrary appears by the teſtimony of Melvil, above-mentioned. Rapin.

[k] The words in Camden are: "They went ſo far as to charge me with a new pretended crime, and ſign this accuſation with their own hands." Which words do not ſeem to give Camden occaſion to ſay, as Rapin here imagines.

[l] And June 16, was removed to Bolton, a houſe belonging to the lord Scroop, warden of the weſt marches. Anderſon's Collect. tom. IV. p. 6.

[m] Camden's words are, "She ſeemed at laſt touched (for who can dive into the hearts of princes, of which they who are wiſe always keep the key) with a hearty ſenſe of, &c.

[n] It was at firſt reſolved in the Engliſh council to uſe the queen of Scots well, and reſtore her to her crown and country; as is ſhewn by biſhop Burnet. Hiſt. Ref. tom. II. p. 417.

Melvil

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the earl of Murray called a parliament at Edinburgh, to get thoſe condemned who had taken up arms againſt the king in favour of the queen. The oppoſite faction, ſeeing they were like to be oppreſſed by the decree of the ſtates, uſed all their endeavours to prevent their aſſembling. They even demanded aid of the French, who reſolved to ſend an army into Scotland, under the conduct of Martigues. In the mean time, the queen's friends met at Glaſgow, to conſult how to hinder the ſeſſion of the parliament; but, as they could not agree, the earl of Argyle withdrew to his houſe. The earl of Huntley, more fiery than the reſt, aſſembled ſome troops, and poſted himſelf at Perth, to alarm the regent, till the arrival of the French ſuccours. But the civil war, which re-kindled in France, obliging the king to keep the forces deſigned for Scotland, the earl of Huntley was conſtrained to retire. This reſource failing, the queen's friends applied to Elizabeth, repreſenting to her, that the regent, by an unſeaſonable ſeſſion of a parliament, was going to drive the principal lords of Scotland to deſpair, and offered to take her for umpire of their differences with the regent. This offer was very grateful to Elizabeth, becauſe ſhe could thereby render herſelf miſtreſs of the affair, and prolong it as ſhe pleaſed. She therefore let Murray know, he would oblige her in deferring the parliament till ſhe was better informed of the reaſons which had induced the Scots to deprive their queen of the government of the kingdom. But he deſired to be excuſed, and held the parliament on the day appointed. Buchanan pretends, Lidington, who feigned to be attached to the regent, managed it ſo by his intrigues, that the ſtates reſolved to puniſh only ſome of the moſt guilty, and that this indulgence was a great means to ſtrengthen the queen's party. The parliament breaking up, the regent raiſed an army to purſue thoſe who were condemned. He reduced ſeveral places to the obedience of the king, and very probably would have over-run the whole kingdom, if the court of England had not interrupted the execution of his deſigns.

Elizabeth found ſo great an advantage in becoming umpire of the affairs of Scotland, that ſhe took care not to loſe the preſent opportunity without improving it. To compaſs her ends the more eaſily, ſhe plainly intimated, that ſhe believed the queen of Scots innocent; that ſhe herſelf was concerned in the quarrel, which all ſovereigns ought to eſpouſe; and that it was their intereſt to chaſtiſe rebellious ſubjects, who might give a dangerous example to others. In a word, ſhe ſo artfully diſguiſed her ſentiments, that the Scotch queen's friends, blinded by theſe appearances, perſuaded the unfortunate queen to offer to appoint commiſſioners to defend her cauſe before Elizabeth, and ſo fell into the ſnare Elizabeth had laid for her. She had no ſooner made this imprudent offer, but Elizabeth wrote to the earl of Murray, that the proceedings of the Scots in depoſing their queen, were ſo extraordinary, that ſhe could not approve them, unleſs they ſhewed, by very good reaſons, that they could not have done otherwiſe. That if their queen were innocent, ſhe thought herſelf bound by all ſorts of conſiderations to protect her, and reſtore her to the throne; but was willing, before ſhe came to any reſolution, to hear what they had to ſay in vindication of their conduct. That therefore ſhe deſired the regent would ſend ſome well-informed perſons to York, where ſhe would order commiſſioners to hear what the Scots had to allege againſt their queen. That it was neceſſary he ſhould in perſon clear himſelf of the crimes he was accuſed of. In ſhort, ſhe gave him to underſtand, ſhe ſhould take his refuſal as an authentic proof of Mary's innocence. Elizabeth muſt have talked very high, to oblige the regent to take ſo extraordinary a ſtep. Beſides, it was no leſs neceſſary to keep by that means the queen of Scots in the belief, that Elizabeth ſought only to cauſe her to come off honourably, for fear ſhe ſhould revoke the conſent ſhe had given. Elizabeth's real aim was to have a pretence to detain the queen of Scots till the affair ſhould be cleared, well knowing ſhe ſhould not want means to prolong it as ſhe pleaſed. Beſides, how much ſoever ſhe pretended not to be fully informed, ſhe knew enough to judge that the Scots would bring good evidence againſt Mary, and thereby furniſh her with a very natural excuſe to require a farther examination. All this was extremely agreeable to the ſcheme ſhe had laid, and afforded her means to ſilence the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors, who preſſed her continually in behalf of the captive queen. She told them, ſhe intended to aſſiſt Mary with all her forces, and reſtore her to her former dignity; but that decency required the queen ſhould firſt be cleared, in the eyes of the public, of the crime ſhe was charged with, and that all poſſible expedition was uſing to make her innocence appear.

The earl of Murray was very much at a loſs what anſwer he ſhould return to Elizabeth's ſummons. It was dangerous for a regent of Scotland to put to arbitration an affair already decided by the parliament, and diſhonourable to anſwer before a foreign power. But, on the other hand, he could ſupport himſelf only by the aſſiſtance of England; how much leſs, if Elizabeth ſhould reſolve to reſtore Mary to the throne? Beſides, he was afraid his refuſal would be conſtrued as a ſign he miſtruſted the juſtice of his cauſe. So, after conſulting his friends upon ſo nice a point, he reſolved to go himſelf to York with eleven deputies, who were appointed to aſſiſt him [o]. Theſe were, James Douglas, earl of Morton; Adam, biſhop of Orkney; Robert, commendator of Dumferling; and Patrick, lord Lindſay. Mary nominated the lords, Herris, Levingſton, Boyd; Gavin, commendator of Kylwyning; John Gordon, of Locheinvarr; James Cockburne, of Skirling, knt. and the biſhop of Roſs. Elizabeth commiſſioned Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk; Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Suſſex; and ſir Ralph Sadler [p], to hear what both parties had to ſay, whether for or againſt. All theſe lords came to York on the ſame day, the 4th of October.

In order to underſtand fully what paſſed at the conference of York, and at another afterwards at Hampton-court, it will be neceſſary to know what is ſaid upon the occaſion in Melvil's Memoirs. Without this key, there is no comprehending any thing by Buchanan's account, and ſtill leſs by Camden's, who endeavoured rather to darken than clear the affair. What Melvil relates is a ſecret, equally unknown to Buchanan and Camden.

Very likely the duke of Norfork, who had loſt his dutcheſs laſt year, had now formed the project of marrying the queen of Scots, before he repaired to York. At leaſt it may be affirmed, the duke was Mary's principal friend in England. For which reaſon he accepted the commiſſion of preſiding at the York conference, only to hinder the ſucceſs Elizabeth expected, and to break her meaſures. However ſecret the queen's project was, the duke of Norfolk, it ſeems, had entire knowledge of it; courtiers having uſually a wonderful ſagacity to diſcover what the prince would keep moſt private. Nay, it is ſaid, he had ordered the earl of Weſtmoreland, his lieutenant in the preſidentſhip of the north, to kill the earl of Murray when he came upon the borders, and ſeize all his papers, in order to deſtroy the proofs he was bringing againſt the queen of Scots, but altering his mind, had revoked the order. In the beginning of the conference, he ſtarted ſeveral incidents to retard the concluſion of the affair in debate. But at laſt, perceiving all his endeavours would avail only for a delay of a few days, he opened his mind to Lidington, who, though ſuſpected by all the king's party, had attended the regent as deputy and ſecretary of ſtate. The duke told this lord, that he could not imagine what had induced the Scots to come and accuſe their queen before Engliſh commiſſioners; that they greatly diſhonoured their nation, and would one day be reſponſible for it. Lidington replied, he was very glad to find him of this opinion; that for his part he had done his utmoſt to hinder the regent from taking this ſtep; that Kircaldie had done the ſame, but to no purpoſe: and if he had accompanied the regent, it was only in hopes to ſucceed better in England, and deſired him to talk with the regent, and to try to diſſuade him from accuſing the queen. The duke of Norfolk knowing by this, the earl of Murray's proceedings were not approved by all his party, and that even remonſtrances had been made to him upon this occaſion, hoped by ſpeaking to him himſelf to prevail with him in ſome meaſure. He talked with him therefore in private, and repreſenting to him what he had before ſaid to Lidington, added, he was much miſtaken, if he imagined Elizabeth intended to give ſentence upon the difference he and his party had with the queen of Scots; but that her ſole aim was to make them ſubſervient to her own ends: that if he deſired to be convinced of this, he had only to require a promiſe under her own hand to give ſentence as ſoon as the proofs ſhould be produced, and to ſupport the king of Scotland's party, in caſe the queen his mother was found guilty. He added, the queen would never give any ſuch promiſe in writing, and thereby demonſtrate ſhe ſought only to amuſe them. In ſhort, he ſo managed the regent, that before they

[o] Melvil names ſeventeen, including no doubt all thoſe who attended the regent. He was himſelf of this number. Rapin.———As were alſo ſecretary Lidington; Macgil, a famous civilian; George Buchanan. And on the queen's ſide, the lord Fleming; ſir Robert Melvil, brother to the author of the Memoirs, &c. See Melvil, p. 93. Rapin was miſtaken in the names of the Scottiſh deputies, but his miſtake is here rectified out of the original commiſſions extant in Anderſon's Collect. tom. IV. part 2, p. 34, 35.

[p] Chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. Spotiſwood, p. 219.

A

London, Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin

THOMAS HOWARD, *DUKE of* NORFOLK.

Sr Ant. More pinxt *Goldar sculp.*

In the Collection of Mr Richardson.

Published as the Act directs 11 Sept.r 1784.

BRITISH
18 JY60
MUSEUM

parted, they agreed, that when he was called upon to produce his evidences, he ſhould demand a previous engagement from the queen, ſuch as the duke had ſuggeſted to him. The earl of Murray imparted this agreement to none but Lidington and ſir James Melvil, who liked it extremely [q].

At the next meeting, the regent being preſſed to give in his proofs againſt the queen of Scots, replied as he had agreed with the duke of Norfolk, to the great ſurpriſe of the hearers, except thoſe who were in the ſecret. It was reſolved therefore to write to the queen, to inform her of this new and unexpected difficulty, and to know whether ſhe would give the regent of Scotland the engagement he demaned. Her anſwer was, ſhe thought it very ſtrange her word could not be taken, but that a writing under her own hand ſhould be required; and prayed the earl of Murray to ſend two deputies to acquaint her with his reaſons. The regent choſe for this purpoſe Lidington[r], and Macgil, to the great amazement of the reſt of the deputies, who could not conceive that he ſhould truſt with ſuch a commiſſion ſecretary Lidington, of whom the whole party were ſo jealous.

Shortly after, the queen deſired the regent to come himſelf to London with the other deputies[s], to which he conſented. When they were arrived, ſhe appointed other commiſſioners to confer with them, namely, ſir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil, the earl of Leiceſter, the lord high-admiral [t], and ſir William Sadler [u]. Probably, ſhe ſuſpected the duke of Norfolk of ſome prevarication, and this ſuſpicion was not groundleſs. She earneſtly wiſhed, upon ſeveral accounts, to have in her hands the proofs intended to be uſed in ſupport of the accuſation againſt the queen of Scots. Firſt, to ſilence ſuch as murmured at her not endeavouring to reſtore that princeſs. And indeed it was manifeſt, if Mary were guilty of the crime laid to her charge, ſhe was unworthy of her protection. Secondly, having theſe proofs in her power, ſhe would not only have the management of the affair, but might alſo cauſe all delays to be conſidered as ſo many favours to Mary, who, in all appearance, would not dare to preſs her to give ſentence. Spite and jealouſy might poſſibly be a third reaſon, Elizabeth being ſecretly pleaſed with her rival's ſhame. In the firſt conference at Hampton court, the Engliſh commiſſioners were very urgent with the earl of Murray, to give in his proofs againſt the queen of Scots. He anſwered, it was with extreme reluctance that he could reſolve to accuſe the queen his ſiſter, and ſhould never proceed to that extremity, unleſs it were for the real good and welfare of all Scotland: that therefore he required the queen of England's written promiſe, to protect the king, in caſe the queen his mother were found guilty.

The affair ſtanding thus, and the earl of Murray ſtill perſiſting in his demand, the earl of Morton happened to be informed of his agreement with the duke of Norfolk, by ſome one whom Mary had truſted with the ſecret [w]. Then it was, Morton came to know the true motive of the regent's conduct, which hitherto ſeemed to him incomprehenſible, ſince he refuſed to accuſe the queen, though he was come into England for that very purpoſe. He imparted the ſecret to ſome of his colleagues, and they reſolved to acquaint ſecretary Cecil with it. What paſſed afterwards between Cecil and the earl of Murray is not known; but it may be conjectured by what followed, that Murray ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed with to act quite contrary to his engagement with the duke of Norfolk.

At the firſt meeting after this diſcovery, the Engliſh commiſſioners demanding that the proofs againſt the queen ſhould be given in, and the regent refuſing it, all the Scots, except Lidington, were for producing them. Then Wood, ſecretary to the regent, pretending a zeal for his maſter, ſaid, it was not from a ſpirit of cavil, as ſome thought, that the regent would not give in the accuſation, but becauſe the queen of England refuſed the promiſe required: that this promiſe benig given, he would immediately deliver the accuſation and proofs which he had all ready; and with that, he took the papers out of his boſom, and ſhewed them to every body. But whilſt he was holding them up, the biſhop of Orkney eaſily ſnatched them out of his hand, and gave them to the Engliſh commiſſioners. It is evident, Murray had been gained by Elizabeth's miniſters, and took this method only to ſave in ſome manner his promiſe to the duke of Norfolk. With this key it will be eaſy to underſtand what Buchanan and Camden ſay about the York conferences, which I ſhall but juſt mention, becauſe as theſe two hiſtorians, were ignorant of the duke of Norfolk's ſecret intentions, and the motives of the regent's conduct, what they have related cannot be of much ſervice towards clearing this part of the hiſtory.

At the York conferences, Mary's deputies were heard firſt. They proteſted [y], that the preſent proceeding ſhould not be prejudicial to the rights of Scotland, ſince queen Elizabeth had no power to meddle with the affairs of that kingdom. Then they ſet forth at large the injuries received by the queen of Scots from her own ſubjects, and craved Elizabeth's aſſiſtance to recover her throne. The earl of Murray anſwered, That Bothwell was author of the king's murder: That he carried away the queen with her own conſent, and publicly married her: That afterwards ſhe reſigned the crown to the prince her ſon: That the reſignation was confirmed by the ſtates, and it was not in his power to alter what the ſtates had ratified. Mary's deputies replied, That the queen's mrrriage with Bothwell was not a ſufficient reaſon to depoſe her, becauſe Bothwell was legally acquitted: That beſides, it was manifeſt, Bothwell was only a pretence uſed by the rebels to act againſt the queen, ſince they might have taken him if they had pleaſed; but they let him eſcape, becauſe the queen alone was what they aimed at. Then they made appear, that the reſignation of the crown was extorted by force, ſince it was not in the queen's power to refuſe it.

Both parties being heard upon theſe general points, the Engliſh commiſſioners declared, they could not admit of the proteſtation againſt the queen's being a competent judge, by reaſon of her right of ſovereignty over the kingdom of Scotland. As to the regent's anſwer, they ſaid, the queen having commiſſioned them to hear what the deputies of Scotland had to ſay againſt their queen, they could not allow the determination of the ſtates to be valid, becauſe the queſtion was to know, whether they had juſt grounds to determine in the manner they had done, which could not be known till the reaſons, on which their determination was built, were examined. Then they appointed the 7th of October to examine the proofs.

At the ſame meeting [z], the duke of Norfolk, who ſought only to gain time, required that the regent ſhould do homage to the queen for the kingdom of Scotland. But Lidington anſwered for him, and affirmed, the kingdom of Scotland owed no homage to England; that if the kings of Scotland had formerly done any, it was only for the earldom of Huntington and ſome other lands, which were ſince fallen into the hands of the Engliſh [a].

Between this and the next meeting, on the 7th of October, it was that the earl of Murray made the forementioned agreement with the duke of Norfolk. Lidington opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech directed to the regent and deputies of Scotland, telling them, "That whereas it appeared, by the authority granted by the queen of England to her commiſſioners, that her whole deſign was to engage the Scots to throw a blemiſh on the reputation of their king's mother, they would therefore do well to conſider carefully beforehand what hazard they expoſed themſelves to, and how they would draw upon themſelves the reſentment of the queen, her relations, and friends, and the indignation of all Europe, ſhould they impeach her of a crime which muſt ſtain her honour, and in ſo public a manner, before the Engliſh, the profeſſed enemies of Scotland: what account would they be able to give their king when he came of age, of a charge ſo bold and diſhonourable to the king, to his mother, and to the whole nation? He therefore, for his part, thought it neceſſary to wave ſo ſcandalous an accuſation; or if they would proceed, it was requiſite, at leaſt, that the queen of England ſhould expreſly engage to defend them againſt ſuch as ſhould hereafter give them any diſturbance upon this account." He concluded with ſaying, "That he thought it his duty to give them this advice, as he was ſecretary of Scotland."

It is eaſy to perceive, that the drift of this ſpeech was to give the regent an excuſe to drop the accuſation, according to his agreement with the duke of Norfolk. He was come from Scotland on purpoſe to accuſe the queen, being provided with

[q] And in the preſence of Lidington, it was agreed, between the regent and the duke of Norfolk, that the regent ſhould in no way accuſe queen Mary; and that the duke ſhould obtain to him the queen's favour, with a confirmation of the regency. Melvil, p. 95.

[r] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him all along earl of Lidington, whereas he was but laird Lidington.

[s] The reaſons of the conferences being removed to London, were a ſuſpicion entertained by queen Elizabeth againſt ſome of her own commiſſioners; as alſo that the Scottiſh deputies were over ſlow, and loth to enter into the grounds of the cauſe. Leſley's Negotiations, p. 24.

[t] Edward Fynes, lord Clinton and Saye.

[u] Together with the duke of Norfolk, and the earls of Arundel and Suſſex. They met at the Painted Chamber at Weſtminſter. Anderſon's Collect. tom. II. part 2, p. 97. Leſley's Negotiations, p. 28.

[w] The duke of Norfolk had by a ſecret hand advertiſed the queen, and ſhe again told it to one of her familiars, who advertiſed the earl of Morton thereof. Melvil, p. 96.

[y] Their proteſtation, dated October 7, is extant in Anderſon's Collect. tom. IV. part 2, p. 49.

[z] It was on the firſt day of the meeting. See Melvil, p. 94.

[a] He added, "The kingdom of Scotland was freer than England itſelf had been lately, when it paid St. Peter's penny to the pope. Melvil, p. 94.

all the proofs he intended to uſe: but the duke of Norfolk's ſuggeſtion, had altered his mind. It was neceſſary therefore to find a pretence for this change, and this pretence Lidington furniſhed him with, by laying before him ſuch plauſible reaſons. Camden and Buchanan were at a loſs for the reaſon of the earl of Murray's ſudden change. Camden would inſinuate, that the engagement he demanded of Elizabeth was only a cavil, to hide his miſtruſt of the juſtice of his cauſe. He ſays, the Engliſh commiſſioners preſſed him very much to give proofs of the accuſation, which as yet appeared to be founded only upon a few letters from the queen, ſo much the more ſuſpicious, as Lidington had privately intimated, he himſelf had often counterfeited her hand. But I believe Camden would have been puzzled to prove, that any of the articles of the accuſation were examined at York. Buchanan, who knew as little of the ſecret as Camden, though he was one of the Scotch deputies [b], pretends, the regent, purely out of conſcience, ſcrupled to accuſe his ſiſter before foreigners.

The York conference breaking off, and being, as I ſaid, removed to Hampton-court, before new commiſſioners, the regent, or Wood his ſecretary, ſuffered the accuſation, with the proofs, to be ſnatched out of his hand. Which done, a day was appointed for the Scots to enlarge upon their proofs. The regent agreed to it, and demanded that Mary's deputies ſhould be preſent, that they might urge their objections, and matters be more fully cleared [d]. But when the day came, Mary's deputies produced a formal revocation of their commiſſion, and an exception againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners unleſs the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors were joined with them. Mary demanded farther, that the earl of Murray ſhould be ſent to priſon, affirming, ſhe could convict him of being author of the king's murder.

This revocation, juſt at the critical time, when the proofs againſt Mary were going to be examined, gave occaſion to ſuſpect, ſhe thought herſelf unable to anſwer to the purpoſe. Whilſt ſhe was made to hope that matters would not come to the producing and examining the proofs, ſhe had left a full power with her deputies. But as ſoon as ſhe found Elizabeth, inſtead of ſerving her as ſhe expected, ſought to bring to light what was capable of diſhonouring her, ſhe believed it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid ſuch an examination. For that reaſon, ſhe revoked the commiſſion to her deputies, excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, and required an impoſſible condition, knowing the French and Spaniſh embaſſadors would not receive a commiſſion from Elizabeth, and that the queen would not ſuffer them to be concerned in the affair. In ſhort, ſhe did not offer to prove the earl of Murray guilty of the king's death, till ſhe had revoked the power of thoſe who were to have accuſed him in her name. All theſe things give occaſion to believe, ſhe dreaded the event of this examination, though by her letters to Elizabeth, it ſhould ſeem, ſhe moſt earneſtly deſired to have an opportunity to make her innocence appear before her.

Elizabeth did not much trouble herſelf about theſe acts. Her deſign was not to judge the queen of Scots, but to draw from her accuſation and the proofs, a pretence to detain her till the affair ſhould be fully cleared, being reſolved never to think it ſufficiently explained either for or againſt, but to teſtify however ſhe ſhould be very glad to find her innocent. I ſay only to teſtify, for certainty ſhe was pleaſed to have in her hands proper proofs to ſhew, upon occaſion, that ſhe could not juſtify her. She acted this part a good while.

In fine, though Mary had excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, they proceeded however to the examination of the proofs. The earl of Murray produced the confeſſions of thoſe who were executed for being concerned in the king's murder. Then he read the decree of the ſtates, confirming the queen's reſignation of the crown to the king her ſon. After which, he produced the fatal caſket, which Bothwell would have taken from the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſhewed the letters, verſes, and contracts, before mentioned. This is what Buchanan, who was preſent, atteſts [e]. But Camden, without deſcending to any particulars, contents himſelf with ſaying, "The earl of Murray endeavoured to prove her guilty of her huſband's murder, by conjectural proofs and circumſtances, by ſome few affidavits, by certain love-letters and verſes wrote, as he affirmed, with the queen's own hand. But theſe letters and verſes were little regarded, there being no name or date to them."

Buchanan's Hiſtory was publiſhed when Camden wrote his Annals. The firſt atteſts, that in the caſket were found letters containing the whole conſpiracy againſt the king, and the queen's rape, beſides the contracts. Camden inſiſts upon ſome letters and verſes, and even inſinuates they were forged. Had he wrote firſt, he might have ſuppoſed his aſſertions would not be queſtioned. But as he wrote forty years after Buchanan, he ought, in my opinion, either to have poſitively denied or explained the facts related by that hiſtorian. And therefore, as he does not confute them, it is plain he had nothing material to object to them. He farther adds, Murray gave the commiſſioners a book of Buchanan's, entitled, The Detection, wherein was a particular account of the king's death, with the vouchers: but that it found little credit with the commiſſioners, "becauſe the author was a mercenary writer." As to the confeſſions of thoſe that were put to death, he ſays in another place, that all declared the queen innocent with their laſt breath. Here he owns, the depoſitions of theſe ſame people were produced againſt her, but anſwers them not. He adds however, that Elizabeth was very well pleaſed that theſe accuſations had ſullied the queen of Scots reputation [f]. But if the commiſſioners gave no credit to the proofs of the accuſers, as he would inſinuate, Mary's reputation could not be ſullied, but on the contrary, ſhe would have been fully cleared [g].

The examination being ended, Elizabeth forbore to decide either for or againſt, as ſhe had reſolved. Mean while, as Mary's friends were endeavouring to raiſe troubles in Scotland, and the regent's preſence was neceſſary, Elizabeth took occaſion to defer the concluſion of the affair till a more convenient time. Thus ſhe obtained her deſires, that is, a pretence to detain Mary till the affair was more fully cleared, and withal, proofs which would very probably hinder the queen and her friends from ſolliciting a deciſion. Buchanan affirms, ſhe cauſed the Scotch deputies to be told, that thus far ſhe did not ſee any thing blameable in the conduct of the Scots. Camden ſays, on the contrary, ſhe abhorred their inſolence. Melvil adds, ſhe acquainted Mary, that ſhe believed her wrongfully accuſed, and could not enough deteſt the inſolence of her accuſers; nor ſhould the accuſation be ever made public. The difference between Camden and Melvil is, that Melvil relates this only to ſhew to what height Elizabeth carried her diſſimulation; but Camden pretends to infer from thence, ſhe believed her innocent. After all, the accounts of theſe three authors may be equally true, becauſe Elizabeth's ſcheme was to leave the affair undetermined, and put both parties in hopes of her favour. Buchanan ſays, before the conference ended, Murray offered to clear himſelf of the king's murder before Mary's deputies, but that they thought proper to drop their accuſation [h]. They could hardly do otherwiſe, for though they might have hoped to convict him, their commiſſion was revoked.

[b] He was only one of thoſe that accompanied them. See p. 312.

[c] The conference was held at Weſtminſter, November 25, 26, 29, 30, December 1, 6, 8, 9; and at Hampton-court, December 3, 14, 15, 16. See a full and curious account of it in Anderſon's Collect. tom. II. part 2, p. 101, &c.

[d] On November 6, the accuſation againſt queen Mary was produced; and indeed it was very home and expreſs. "It is certain, and we boldly and conſtantly affirm (ſays the regent, and the reſt of the deputies), that as James, ſome time earl of Bothwell, was the chief executor of the horrible and unworthy murder, perpetrate in the perſon of the late king Henry of good memory, father to our ſovereign lord, and the queen's lawful huſband; ſo was ſhe of the foreknowledge, counſel, device, perſuader, and commander of the ſaid murder to be done, maintainer and fortifier of the executors thereof, by impeding and ſtopping of the inquiſition and puniſhment due for the ſame, according to the laws of the realm, and conſequently by marriage with the ſaid James, ſometimes earl of Bothwell, univerſally eſteemed chief author of the abovenamed murder." To this the queen's commiſſioners replied, by charging that accuſation with falſhood; by aſſerting, that ſome of the accuſers were privy to, nay, the firſt inventors of the conſpiracy for the death of the late king, as was made manifeſt before ten thouſand people at the execution of ſome of the principal offenders; and laſtly, by refuſing to proceed, unleſs queen Mary was admitted to anſwer for herſelf. See Anderſon's Collect. tom. IV. part 2, p. 126, 127, 129, 130, 145, &c.

[e] Theſe letters and verſes are to be found at the end of Buchanan's Detection, and in The tragical Hiſtory of Mary queen of Scots, which is a little more than a French tranſlation of the Detection; together with the contracts and depoſitions of the witneſſes. Rapin.

[f] Melvil ſays, that Elizabeth was very well ſatisfied with the advantage ſhe thereby received, Firſt, ſhe thought ſhe had matter to ſhew, wherefore ſhe detained the queen, when ſhe was challenged by the foreign embaſſadors. Then ſhe was glad of the queen's diſhonour. She alſo ſent immediately to the queen to comfort her, praying her to look on herſelf in a better caſe, though for a while reſtrained of her liberty, than to be in Scotland, among ſo unworthy ſubjects, who had accuſed her falſely and wrongfully, as ſhe was aſſured; that ſhe would neither be judge, nor give out any ſentence thereupon, nor ſhould any part of the ſaid falſe accuſations be made known by her, or her council, to any. Melvil, p. 97.

[g] The Memoirs of the ſtate of France in the reign of Charles IX. may be conſulted upon this occaſion, printed in octavo at Middleburgh 1579, tom. I. p. 81—144.

[h] According to Buchanan, they were compelled ſingly and ſeverally to confeſs, that they knew nothing of themſelves, why Murray, or any of his, ſhould be accuſed of the king's murder, lib. 19.

She

Though, according to Melvil, Elizabeth ſaid ſhe would not ſee the earl of Murray any more, ſhe had however ſeveral private conferences with him. In theſe conferences it was, that he informed her of all that had paſſed between him and the duke of Norfolk [i], and ſhewed her letters from Mary, which had been intercepted in Scotland, wherein ſhe complained, in very harſh terms, of the treatment ſhe received ſince her coming to England. Moreover, ſhe hinted to her friends, that they ſhould not be diſcouraged at what had paſſed at York and Hampton-court, and that ſhe expected a powerful aid from a certain place which ſhe would not name. Theſe letters, added to what was diſcovered at the ſame time, that the pope was labouring to raiſe a rebellion in England, by means of Ridolfi a Florentine merchant, and to Lidington's frequent conferences with the duke of Norfolk [k], who was become very ſuſpected, obliged Elizabeth to order the queen of Scots to be removed to Tutbury-caſtle [l].

The duke of Norfolk was ſo exaſperated againſt the earl of Murray, that he had reſolved to have him murdered in his return to Scotland. But Throckmorton having reconciled them, the duke deſiſted from his deſign. Melvil affirms, Murray promiſed Elizabeth to ſend her the letters the duke ſhould write to him, and that he performed his promiſe [m].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the French court was thinking of executing their deſign of carrring away by force the prince of Condé from his houſe at Noyers. The peace granted to the Hugonots was only to amuſe them. Happily for the prince, he had notice of it time enough to eſcape to Rochelle. This ſtratagem failing, the perſecution againſt the Hugonots was renewed with greater fury than ever. The king forbid them the exerciſe of their religion, and baniſhed all their miniſters. Whereupon they ſued for aid to Elizabeth, who ſent them a hundred thouſand crowns of gold, with a good train of artillery. She ſaw plainly this was a conſequence of the councils held at Bayonne, and that if ſhe ſuffered the Hugonots to be oppreſſed, the flames would ſoon reach England. What confirmed her in this opinion was, that the duke of Alva proceeded in the ſame manner in the Low Countries, and plainly ſhewed, he intended utterly to deſtroy the proteſtant religion in theſe provinces, and make the king abſolute. The prince of Orange had brought an army from Germany to try to ſtop the execution of this deſign; but for want of money to pay it, was forced to retire among the Hugonots of France. This accident compelling many Flemiſh families to fly to England for refuge, the queen gave them leave to ſettle in ſeveral good towns, where they contributed very much to cauſe trade to flouriſh [n].

About the cloſe of the year an accident happened, which occaſioned a quarrel between the queen, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva. The Genoa merchants, and ſome others of Italy, having a great ſum of money in Spain, and reſolving to ſend it into the Low Countries [o], obtained a paſſport of the king of Spain, and put the money on board ſome veſſels of Biſcay. Theſe ſhips being attacked in their paſſage by French pyrates, did with great difficulty eſcape into Plymouth, Falmouth, and Southampton. As ſoon as the queen had notice of it, ſhe ordered the magiſtrates of thoſe places to treat the Spaniards civilly, and aſſiſt them in caſe the pyrates attempted any thing againſt them. The Spaniſh embaſſador telling her the money belonged to the king his maſter, obtained leave to have it landed. His deſign was to carry it by land to ſome port nearer the Low Countries. But, at the ſame time, cardinal de Chatillon, who was then in England [p], informed the queen that the money belonged to ſome merchants, and that the duke of Alva was to ſeize it to help him to carry on the war. This was alſo confirmed by other people. So, to deprive the duke of Alva of this ſupply, ſhe took the money by way of loan, and gave ſecurity for the payment. Some time after, the duke of Alva demanding the money, the queen replied, ſhe would punctually return it, as ſoon as it appeared by good proofs that it was the king of Spain's. Upon this refuſal, the duke ſeized the effects of the Engliſh, and ſent the owners to priſon; and the queen did the like by the Flemings. A few days after, ſhe iſſued out a proclamation upon the occaſion, which the Spaniſh embaſſador anſwered in print. But this did not ſatisfy him; he diſperſed very inſolent libels, containing grating reflections upon the queen's reputation [q]. For this he was kept under a guard for a day or two. The queen complained to the king of Spain of his embaſſador's inſolence; but could obtain no ſatisfaction [r].

[1569] This difference between the queen and Philip II. was quickly followed by a diſturbance at court. Among all Elizabeth's miniſters and counſellors, there was not one ſo heartily attached to his miſtreſs's intereſt as Cecil, who was ſecretary of ſtate. All the reſt had their private views, to which they ſtrove to adapt the queen's and the nation's intereſts. But Cecil minded only the queen's, and was in great favour with her. Therefore to him chiefly ſhe imparted her moſt ſecret thoughts, with reſpect to the government of the ſtate. Several privy counſellors were engaged in the queen of Scots party; that is, they wiſhed the crown of England was ſecured to her, in caſe Elizabeth died without iſſue. They were of opinion, it was a thing agreeable to equity, juſtice, and the laws of the land; and pretended it was the only way to prevent the troubles which might happen after the queen's deceaſe. But Elizabeth thought, that when they conſidered the public advantages, they did not ſufficiently attend to her ſafety. Mary did not pretend only to be Elizabeth's preſumptive heir: it was well known her pretenſions reached much farther, and that many were perſuaded her title was preferable to the queen's. If therefore ſhe was appointed Elizabeth's ſucceſſor, it could be only in virtue of her birthright, and not in conſequence of Henry VIII's will, where ſhe was not ſo much as named, whereas many thought Elizabeth derived her title ſolely from thence. So, in taking this courſe, the titles of the two queens would have been put in oppoſition, very much to Elizabeth's diſadvantage. Conſequently her fear was, this nomination would encreaſe the number of Mary's friends, and in the end endeavours would be uſed to ſet her on the throne before the time appointed. All who were diſpleaſed with the government thought the nation would get by the change. The catholics heartily wiſhed it, and amongſt the proteſtants themſelves, there where many to whom it was indifferent which queen was on the throne, becauſe they made no great conſcience of conforming to all the changes which might be made in religion, as was the caſe more than once. It was therefore of great moment to Elizabeth to hinder Mary from being nominated to ſucceed her. So, ſhe could not but have a great regard for thoſe whom ſhe ſaw ſincerely attached to her private intereſt. Among theſe Cecil was the chief, and it was he alſo whom Mary's friends conſidered as her moſt dangerous enemy, and the rather, as he had frequently ſhewn his inclination to the houſe of Suffolk, before the death of the ducheſs of that name. This was the real motive of a plot laid in the beginning of the year 1569, to ruin that miniſter. The duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earls of Northumberland, Weſtmoreland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and others [s], entered this ſort of conſpiracy. They accuſed Cecil of being the cauſe of the queen's detaining the Spaniſh money, and by that of her running a manifeſt riſk of a war with Spain, which could not but be very prejudicial to trade. They flattered themſelves, that upon this charge the queen would ſend the ſecretary to priſon, and then they made no queſtion they ſhould find ways enough to effect his ruin. But the queen, being too quick-ſighted not to ſee into their aim and the motive of their plot, commanded them ſilence, in ſuch a manner as deſtroyed all their hopes of ſucceſs, either then or for the future. We ſhall ſee preſently with what view they projected to deprive the queen of this miniſter

The ſudden quarrel between the queen and the king of Spain, obliging the Engliſh merchants to ſend their effects to Hamburgh, the duke of Alva prohibited all commerce with England. Then he appointed certain ſpies in all the ſea ports, to give him information of thoſe that acted contrary to the prohibition. Of this number was one Story, an Engliſh Roman catholic, who was very buſy in diſcovering the pri-

[i] She had been informed of it before, by means of the earl of Morton. Melvil, p. 97, 98.

[k] At York. Camden, p. 415.

[l] In Staffordſhire, where ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury. Camden, p. 415.

[m] Melvil ſays, that after their reconciliation, Murray diſcovered every thing to the queen, eſpecially his deſign to marry the queen of Scots, and to give his daughter to the young king of Scotland. The duke had cauſed the queen to give to Murray, who was in great want of money, two thouſand pounds, for which ſum he became ſecurity, and was afterwards forced to pay it. Melvil, p. 99.

[n] They ſettled at Norwich, Colcheſter, Sandwich, Maidſtone, and Southampton, which turned to the great advantage of England; for they were the firſt that brought into the nation the art of making bays and ſays, and other linen and woollen cloths of the like kind. Camden, p. 416.

[o] To raiſe a bank there. Ibid. p. 416.

[p] He came to England, September 13, this year. Stow, p. 662.

[q] Under the fictitious name of Amadis Oriana. Camden, p. 417.

[r] This year, a new Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible was publiſhed at London. It was done by the biſhops of Exeter, St. David's, Worceſter, Wincheſter, Norwich, Ely, and other learned men, and is commonly called the Biſhop's Bible. See Strype's Life of Archbiſhop Parker, and his Annals.—This year alſo, on December 30, died the learned Roger Aſcham, who was for ſome time tutor to queen Elizabeth, and her ſecretary for the Latin tongue. Camden, p. 416.

[s] Particularly ſir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 417.

He

vate trade ſtill driven by ſeveral perſons with the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the prohibition: but his diligence coſt him dear[t]. Some time after, being drawn on board a veſſel, which he was told had brought over Engliſh goods and heretical books, he was carried to England, where he languiſhed in priſon ſome years, and at laſt was condemned to die.

The Engliſh merchants met with no better treatment in Spain than in the Netherlands. Philip ordered all their effects to be ſeized, by way of repriſals, for the money ſtopped in England. But this did not ſatisfy him. To be more fully revenged of Elizabeth, he endeavoured to bribe the duke of Norfolk to raiſe a rebellion in England, and the earl of Ormond to do the ſame in Ireland; but theſe two lords diſcovered it to the queen. On the other hand, though there was no war proclaimed between England and Spain, the Engliſh, on pretence of the injury done to their countrymen, fell upon all the merchant-ſhips belonging to the Spaniards. They did ſo much damage to Philip's ſubjects, by theſe continual cruiſings, that the queen, fearing to be involved in a formal war, was forced to reſtrain them by proclamation.

Whilſt the Engliſh trade ſuffered in Spain and the Netherlands, it was like to be quite loſt in Muſcovy, by the avarice of the Engliſh merchants, who had angered the czar. But the queen ſpeedily ſent thither ſir Thomas Randolph, who ſo managed the czar, that he obtained divers privileges for the Ruſſia company[u]. Shortly after, the czar ſent an embaſſador to the queen, to offer a perſonal alliance. Though it was no great honour to be allied with a prince ſo notorious for his cruelties, ſhe thought proper, however, for the benefit of her ſubjects, to make a treaty with him, mutually promiſing to afford one another refuge, in caſe either ſhould be dethroned.

Whilſt Elizabeth was treating with the Ruſſian embaſſador, plots were forming in England, which might have proved fatal to her, had they not been prevented. Some of the queen of Scots chief friends, the ſame who would have deſtroyed Cecil, had projected to marry her to the duke of Norfolk. The earl of Leiceſter himſelf was in the plot; but in all appearance it was only to be let into the ſecret, and diſcover every thing to the queen. It is hardly to be doubted, that they who undertook this affair were ſet to work by the duke of Norfolk, though he let his friends proceed, without appearing in it himſelf. The occaſion or pretence of the project was this: It was ſaid, Elizabeth intending never to marry, the queen of Scotland might happen to eſpouſe a foreign prince and a papiſt, in which caſe the proteſtant religion would be liable to great danger, ſince it was not impoſſible that the young king, her ſon, ſhould die before her. It was therefore neceſſary to think betimes of marrying Mary to a proteſtant huſband, that ſhe might be reſtrained, in caſe ſhe ſhould attempt any thing againſt religion when ſhe came to the crown of England. It was ſaid further, no Engliſh lord was more worthy of this honour than the duke of Norfolk, who was a ſincere proteſtant. But, to curb the duke's ambition, in caſe he ſhould think of carrying it too far, it was reſolved, he ſhould give his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, that he might be concerned in the young prince's preſervation. Such was the project, which did not ſeem to have any thing criminal, eſpecially as it was agreed, it ſhould not be executed without the queen's approbation. But, very probably, the managers of this affair had farther views. For, if they intended only the good and welfare of the kingdom, why did they deſire to hide their deſigns from the queen, till they had ſo well taken their meaſures, that it ſhould be impoſſible for her to hinder the execution? But however, without ſtaying to examine whether it was the earl of Murray that firſt inſpired the duke of Norfolk with the thoughts of this marriage, as Camden affirms, contrary to all appearance[w], the queen of Scots was informed of the project by the biſhop of Roſs, who was very diligent in all her concerns. At the ſame time, ſhe was promiſed to be reſtored to the throne of Scotland, and declared preſumptive heir to Elizabeth, on the following terms:

That as to the ſucceſſion to the crown of England, ſhe ſhould attempt nothing to the prejudice of queen Elizabeth and her iſſue.

That ſhe ſhould conſent to a league, offenſive and defenſive, between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

That ſhe ſhould confirm the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion in Scotland.

That ſhe ſhould pardon ſuch of her ſubjects as had acted or appeared in arms againſt her.

That ſhe ſhould revoke the aſſignment of her right to the kingdom of England, which ſhe had made to the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother.

That ſhe ſhould marry the duke of Norfolk.

Mary very readily accepted the offer, with the conditions annexed, all but the league, which ſhe ſcrupled at a little, becauſe ſhe was willing, before ſhe entered into it, to conſult the French king. She denied ſhe had made any aſſignment to the duke of Anjou, and yet offered to procure his renunciation, if required, for the greater ſecurity.

It is eaſy to perceive the propoſers of theſe terms had taken great care to ſcreen themſelves from the law, ſince they ſeemed very juſt in themſelves, and advantageous to both kingdoms. But they ſuppoſed the reſtoration of Mary to the throne of Scotland, and her nomination to ſucceed to the crown of England. This was to be done firſt, and then the execution of what ſhe promiſed on her part, was left to her honour. It was in this the artifice conſiſted.

As ſoon as Mary's conſent was gained, ſeveral lords and gentlemen were ſounded, who, not perceiving the venom of the project, approved it, but with this proviſo, that nothing ſhould be done without the queen's conſent. It was alſo communicated to the kings of France and Spain, who were very well pleaſed with it, though it be evident, they would have had no reaſon to be ſo, if they had believed the conditions would be punctually performed. The proceedings of thoſe who had framed ſuch a project, without conſulting the queen, plainly ſhew their deſign was to put the affair in ſuch a ſtate, that it ſhould not be in her power to hinder the execution, when propoſed to her. The duke of Norfolk thought himſelf ſo ſecure of ſucceſs, that the earl of Northumberland having acquainted him that Leonard Dacres intended to carry away the queen of Scots[x], he deſired the earl to hinder it, being apprehenſive ſhe would be conducted into Spain.

This affair paſſing through ſo many hands, and being hardly any longer a ſecret, the duke of Norfolk juſtly feared the queen would be offended that ſhe was not informed of it, and, therefore, not to incenſe her more, he deſired the earl of Leiceſter to ſpeak of it to her. Leiceſter promiſed to do it the firſt opportunity, and yet delayed it from day to day, ſo that all knew it, except the queen, who, it is likely, feigned ignorance. However, ſhe was willing to give the duke occaſion to diſcloſe his ſecret, by telling him one day[y], "to beware upon what pillow he laid his head;" but he pretended not to underſtand what ſhe meant, chuſing rather that the earl of Leiceſter ſhould ſpeak to her firſt, becauſe he thought him his friend[z]. But it is ſaid, the earl had acted in this affair only to ruin him, becauſe he conſidered him as a dangerous rival in the queen's favour. However, the court being at Titchfield, the earl of Leiceſter feigns himſelf very ill, and the queen going to ſee him, he ſhewed ſigns of fear and trouble, which ſhe eaſily perceiving, aſked him the reaſon. Then, begging her pardon for having ſo long concealed from her a ſecret which he ought to have told her, he diſcovered all that had paſſed concerning the duke of Norfolk's marriage with the queen of Scots. After which, the queen called the duke into a gallery, and taxing him with imprudence and raſhneſs for attempting the marriage, without vouchſafing to impart his deſign to her, commanded him to deſiſt from the project. The duke owned ſuch a propoſal had been made to him, and he had conſented to it; but ſhewed himſelf ſo regardleſs of it, that he told the queen, his revenues were not

[t] He had practiſed with one Beſtall, a conjurer, againſt the queen's life, and had given the duke of Alva directions how to invade England. Camden.

[u] The czar granted them an exemption from all cuſtoms, with leave to vend their manufactures through his whole dominions, and to tranſport them into Perſia and Media by the Caſpian ſea, the merchants of other nations being not permitted to trade beyond Moſcow. And now did the Engliſh venture to tranſport their goods in boats, made of one entire tree, up the river Dwina, as far as Wologda. From thence, in ſeven days, by land, to Yeraſtaw; and then, thirty days and nights, down the river to Aſtracan, by the Wolga, where they uſed to build their ſhips. From Aſtracan, they croſſed the Caſpian ſea, and made their way through the vaſt deſerts of Hyrcania and Bactriania, to Teverin and Caſbin, cities of Perſia, in hopes at length to diſcover Cathay. But by reaſon of the war between the Turks and Perſians, and the robberies committed by the Barbarians, the Londoners were diſcouraged from purſuing this glorious enterpriſe. Camden, p. 417, 418.

[w] Melvil ſeems to ſay the duke mentioned it firſt, p. 98. But Leſley affirms, that the earl of Murray firſt ſet it on foot, or at leaſt promoted it ſtrenuouſly. By comparing Camden with Leſley's Negotiations, it plainly appears, that what the former relates about Mary, queen of Scots, is moſtly taken from the latter. See Leſley's Negotiat. p. 34, &c.

[x] She was then in confinement at Winfield, in Derbyſhire, in the cuſtody of the earl of Shrewſbury. Camden, p. 420. Where it ſeems ſhe uſed to bathe herſelf in wine. See Strpye's Ann. tom. I. p. 575.

[y] At Farnham, in Surry, where ſhe was on her progreſs. Camden, p. 420.

[z] Cecil, who was told all by Leiceſter, adviſed the duke to ſpeak to the queen himſelf. Ibid.

Camden

much leſs than thoſe of the whole kingdom of Scotland, drained by civil wars; and that when he was at his tennis-court in Norwich, he thought himſelf as good as ſome kings. In ſhort, he promiſed the queen to think no more of the marriage. Mean while, as afterwards he perceived ſhe did not look upon him with the ſame eye as before, that the earl of Leiceſter was againſt him, and the courtiers ſhunned him, he withdrew from court, without taking his leave of the queen, and came to London. The ſame day the biſhop of Roſs [a], ſuing for the enlargement of the queen of Scots, Elizabeth, in great diſguſt, told him, that his miſtreſs had nothing to do but to reſt ſatisfied, unleſs ſhe had a mind to ſee thoſe, on whom ſhe moſt relied, ſhorter by the head.

This affair being entirely divulged, the queen endeavoured by all ways to get information of ſuch particulars as might have eſcaped the earl of Leiceſter's knowledge. As ſhe knew the duke had frequent conferences with the earl of Murray, ſhe ſent ſir George Carey [b] into Scotland, to deſire him to acquaint her with what he knew of the matter. Mean while the duke being privately warned, by a meſſage from the earl of Leiceſter, that a reſolution was taken to ſend him to the Tower, retired into Norfolk. But repenting of this haſty ſtep, which might render him ſuſpected, he returns to court, after writing to the queen to beg her pardon, and to his friends to intreat them to ſpeak to the queen in his behalf. Some days after, the queen received letters from Scotland [c], informing her of ſome things which had not come to her knowledge, and which made her ſign a warrant to ſend the duke of Norfolk to the Tower. Then the biſhop of Roſs, who acted as the queen of Scots embaſſador, was examined, and Radolfi the Florentine was delivered to the cuſtody of ſir Francis Walſingham. The lord Lumley was arreſted, the earl of Pembroke was confined to his own houſe, and all the reſt who were concerned in the project of the duke of Norfolk's marriage, were baniſhed the court, except the earl of Leiceſter. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland made their ſubmiſſion to the earl of Suſſex, lord preſident of the north. All theſe lords endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by declaring they had approved the project of the duke's marriage, on the expreſs condition it ſhould not be conſummated without the queen's conſent.

Elizabeth did not think fit to publiſh all ſhe knew of this affair, wherein the prime lords of the kingdom were concerned. Beſides, ſhe had received, ſome time ſince, advice of a conſpiracy ready to break out, and conſequently it might be very dangerous to uſe too great a ſeverity at ſuch a juncture. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, both very powerful in the north, had held together ſeveral conferences, of which the queen had notice, and which cauſed her to order them to repair to court. They made ſome dilatory excuſes, but the queen ſent them a more expreſs order, to put them under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing their enterpriſe, or engaging in an open rebellion, before they had taken proper meaſures. This ſecond order produced the effect ſhe expected. The two earls knowing themſelves guilty, and not daring to truſt to the queen's mercy, took up arms, and drew ſome forces together [d].

The rebels deſign was to free the queen of Scots, though they mentioned her not in their manifeſto. They ſaid only, their intent was, "To reſtore the religion of their forefathers, remove evil counſellors from the queen, and cauſe juſtice to be done to the duke of Norfolk, and the other lords now in priſon, or under diſgrace." At the ſame time they wrote circular letters to the catholics, inviting them to come and join with them. But moſt ſent the letters they received to the queen [e], whether they were not willing to diſturb the peace of the realm, or were diſcouraged by the duke of Norfolk's impriſonment. Mean while the rebels, coming to Durham, burn all the Engliſh Bibles and Common-Prayer books, and openly ſay maſs. Then they marched to Clifford moor, where they took a muſter, and found their army amounted to four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe. Their chief deſign was to free the queen of Scots, in order to ſet her at their head; but upon the firſt news of this rebellion, ſhe was conveyed to Coventry [f], a ſtrong city in the middle of the kingdom, not to be taken without a formal ſiege, for which the rebels were by no means prepared. Beſides, in marching thither, they would have gone into a country where the inhabitants were not their friends.

Mean time, forces were levying for the queen in ſeveral parts. The earl of Suſſex had now ſeven thouſand men [g], the lord Clinton was at the head of twelve thouſand, and the earl of Cumberland, with the lord Scroop, were near Carliſle with a good body of troops, beſides the garriſon which they had thrown into that city. So the rebels, finding their number not encreaſe, thought proper to retire to the borders of the north [h], where they took Bernard caſtle, but preſently after, fearing to be ſurrounded, diſperſed themſelves. The earl of Northumberland concealed himſelf at Harclaw in Scotland [i]. The earl of Weſtmoreland eſcaped into the Netherlands, where he ſpent the reſidue of his days, living upon a ſlender penſion allowed him by the king of Spain. The rebels being thus diſperſed, ſome were hanged for an example [k]. Forty others, who were fled out of the kingdom, were convicted of high treaſon, and outlawed, and their ſentence was confirmed by the next parliament. Of this number were, Charles Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland; Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, with his counteſs; and Egremond Ratcliff, brother to the earl of Suſſex [l]. The queen pardoned the reſt, who did not fly out of the land. Some time before this rebellion, the duke of Alva ſent to the queen Ciapine Vitelli, a famous captain, to demand the money which had been ſtopped. But his commiſſion was ſo limited, that he was forced to write to the duke of Alva for a more ample power. The real deſign of this embaſſy was to have in England an experienced leader to command the rebels, and the forces the duke of Alva was to ſend over. Lamothe, governor of Dunkirk, diſguiſed like a ſailor, had already ſounded the ports, as he himſelf confeſſed afterwards. But the queen broke all theſe meaſures, by compelling the two heads of the rebels to take up arms ſooner than they had reſolved.

This rebellion was quickly followed by another, of which Leonard Dacres, a gentleman of the north [m], was the head. He had ſome buſineſs at court, which he was ſoliciting when the firſt rebellion broke out. Upon the news, he went and offered his ſervice to the queen, who accepted it, becauſe ſhe knew he had a great intereſt in the northern parts. Having received a commiſſion from the queen to raiſe forces, he ſent to the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, that the troops he ſhould raiſe by virtue of his commiſſion ſhould be at their ſervice. He even put them in hopes of foreign ſuccours, as certain embaſſadors at London had aſſured him. His chief deſign was to carry away the queen of Scots; but he was diſappointed by her being ſent to Coventry. So, finding himſelf at the head of three thouſand men, after taking ſome caſtles [n], he reſolved to expect the lord Hunſdon, who was marching towards him with the garriſon of Berwick [o]. The battle was fought near the little river Gelt. Dacres behaved very gallantly, but being vanquiſhed, fled into Flanders, where he died. The queen pardoned all his followers.

At the ſame time there were commotions in Ireland, in which it appeared the king of Spain was concerned, ſince he had diſpatched thither Juan Mendoza, an officer, to foment them. But they were eaſily allayed [p].

It is uncertain whether the duke of Norfolk was concerned in the late rebellion in England. Several circumſtances made

[a] Camden ſays, it was the Spaniſh embaſſador, p. 420.

[b] The lord Hunſdon's ſon.

[c] Brought by the abbot of Dunferming; wherein ſhe received information, that the duke had been practiſing with the earl of Murray at Hampton-court, to favour and aſſiſt his marriage, &c. See Camden, p. 321.

[d] One Nicholas Morton, a prieſt, who was the great incendiary, who had been ſent from the pope to pronounce queen Elizabeth an heretic, and therefore to have forfeited her right to her crown and kingdom. Camden, p. 422.

[e] With the bearers thereof. Ibid.

[f] And committed to the cuſtody of the earls of Shrewſbury and Huntington. Ibid.

[g] And was accompanied with Edward earl of Rutland, his lieutenant; the lords Hunſdon, Evers, and Willoughby, of Parham. Ibid.

[h] Firſt to Raby, the chief ſeat of the earl of Weſtmoreland, and then to Hexham, and Naworth caſtle. Ibid.

[i] The occaſion of his revolt was a ſuppoſed wrong done him by the queen, in granting away from him a rich copper mine, found upon his eſtate. Ibid.

[k] Threeſcore and ſix were executed at Durham, and ſeveral at York and London. Camden, p. 423.

[l] As alſo Edward Dacres, of Morton; John Nevil, of Leverſege; J. Swinborne, Thomas Markenfeld, Chriſtopher Nevil; Richard, Chriſtopher, Marmaduke, and Thomas Norton; Robert and Michael Tempeſt; George Stafford, and about forty more of noble extraction. Ibid.

[m] Second ſon to William lord Dacres, of Gilleſland. The cauſe of this diſguſt was this: his brother's ſon dying young (on May 17, this year. Stow, p. 663), a great eſtate fell to his nieces, who were contracted, by the duke of Norfolk their father in-law, to two of his ſons. He entered a ſuit againſt his nieces, and the cauſe going againſt him, he fell to plotting, and attempted to reſcue the queen of Scots, though in vain. Camden, p. 423.

[n] Greyſtock, Naworth, and other caſtles. Ibid.

[o] Which conſiſted only of fifteen hundred horſe and foot. Hollingſhead, p. 1213.

[p] They were raiſed by Edmund and Peter Boteler, brothers of the earl of Ormond, who, being ſent over, perſuaded his brothers to lay down their arms. Camden, p. 423.

againſt him. Firſt, as moſt inſurrections neceſſarily require ſome preparations, it might be thought the rebels were getting ready at the very time the duke of Norfolk and his friends were preparing every thing to obtain the queen's conſent to the projected marriage. In this expectation, he had hindered Dacres from attempting to free the queen of Scots, as he had intended. Secondly, all the motions of the rebels tended to Mary's deliverance, and moſt of her friends were diſcouraged when they heard the duke of Norfolk was in the Tower. Laſtly, the rebels themſelves ſaid, in their manifeſto, they had taken up arms to releaſe him. But, on the other hand, it is certain this lord was never called to an account, and the queen was contented with keeping him in priſon till September the next year. Hence, it ſeems, it may be inferred, there was no proof againſt him. But perhaps the queen did not think it adviſeable to let the people know the firſt lords of the realm were concerned in the conſpiracy.

I left, about the end of the laſt year, the earl of Murray in England, where he had acted ſeveral and very oppoſite parts. Upon his arrival in Scotland, he aſſembled all the lords of the king's party at Sterling [q], to communicate what he had done in England, and his conduct was approved.

The duke of Chateleraut was come from France to London, a little before the earl of Murray's departure. He forthwith demanded queen Elizabeth's aid and protection to obtain the regency of Scotland, being the young king's neareſt relation. But the queen knew her intereſt too well to fall into ſuch a ſnare, and to favour a lord, whoſe conduct had ever been very equivocal, and who, in all appearance, had not imbibed at the court of France favourable notions of the king's party. The duke, not being able to obtain his deſire, let the earl of Murray depart, and came not to Scotland till ſome time after him. He brought a patent from queen Mary, wherein it appeared, that, by a new and unheard-of right, ſhe had adopted him for her father, and, as ſuch, committed to him the regency of the kingdom. The earl of Murray, hearing the duke aſſumed the title of regent in virtue of this patent, immediately aſſembled an army to compel him to ſubmit to the government, reſolving no other authority but the king's ſhould be acknowledged in Scotland. Since the queen's defeat and flight, her party was grown ſo weak, that the duke of Chateleraut was unable to reſiſt. All his dependance was upon the good ſucceſs of the project which was then forming in favour of the duke of Norfolk, after which he did not queſtion to gain the advantage of the earl of Murray. But as it was not in his power to haſten the execution of the project in England, he was forced to confine himſelf to the endeavouring to gain time, by propoſing an agreement. He plainly perceived the way of arms could not be ſucceſsful in his preſent circumſtances. He ſet therefore his friends to talk with the regent, and it was agreed, he ſhould come to Glaſgow, acknowledge the king's authority, and renounce the queen's; for which ſome advantages he had required were granted him. Notwithſtanding the agreement, he raiſed freſh difficulties to attain his end. But the regent, not being ſatisfied with all his evaſions, began to march with his army to attack him. Then the duke, having no other refuge, was conſtrained to go to the regent with the lord Herris. A few days after, the regent, having aſſembled at Glaſgow the lords of the king's party, it was reſolved that a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed, offering to all who had hitherto refuſed to own the king's authority, to receive their ſubmiſſions, and reſtore them to the enjoyment of their lands. But the earls of Argyle and Huntley would not accept of theſe terms, being extremely diſpleaſed at the duke of Chateleraut's putting himſelf into the hands of the earl of Murray. At the ſame time, queen Mary wrote letter upon letter to her friends, exhorting them to ſtand firm, and giving them hopes of a ſpeedy and happy revolution in her affairs. She was then in expectation of the ſucceſs of the projects concerning her marriage with the duke of Norfolk.

The regent's proclamation not meeting with the expected ſucceſs, and no one appearing to accept the offered favour, he departed for Edinburgh, carrying with him the duke of Chateleraut and the lord Herris. He had delayed thus long to preſs them to make their ſubmiſſion to the king, becauſe he was deſirous it might be a general affair. But at laſt, finding the queen's friends were in no haſte to make their ſubmiſſion, he reſolved to incite them by the duke of Chateleraut's example, who was the head of the party, and ſummoned him to perform the agreement made at Glaſgow. The duke, ſeeing himſelf preſſed, ſought excuſes, ſaying, he did not mean to treat for himſelf alone, but for the queen's whole party, and therefore could do nothing without the concurrence of the other lords, and the queen's approbation. Whereupon the regent aſking him, what he intended to do if the queen approved not of the agreement of Glaſgow? he replied, that he believed himſelf bound to nothing. The circumſtances of the duke of Norfolk's plot, the ſucceſs whereof he expected every moment, made him think it not very dangerous to talk thus. However, the regent, finding himſelf thus amuſed, ſent him and the lord Herris priſoners to the caſtle.

This is Buchanan's account of the occaſion of the duke of Chateleraut's impriſonment, an account which the circumſtances of affairs renders very probable. But Camden and his followers have been pleaſed to ſay only, the regent having ſummoned at Edinburgh the lords of both parties to labour an agreement, the duke of Chateleraut and the lord Herris firſt repaired thither, and were ordered to priſon. In this manner has Camden maimed and diſfigured the Hiſtory of Scotland, to give ſome colour to his invectives againſt the earl of Murray. I am going to relate another inſtance, either of his prejudice or unfaithfulneſs. I have reſerved it till now, though it be not its proper place, becauſe it would have been impoſſible to convince the reader of my aſſertion, if he was not firſt informed of what has been ſaid concerning the affairs of the queen of Scots; I hope I ſhall be pardoned this ſort of digreſſion.

Camden, after a very brief account of the murder of king Henry Darnly in the year 1567, and an inſinuation that the earl of Murray was the real author of it, ſays, that Murray earneſtly preſſed the queen to marry the earl of Bothwell, to which ſhe conſented at laſt, after much difficulty. Then he immediately adds,

"I ſhall willingly inſert here what George, earl of Huntley, and the earl of Argyle, who were the principal lords of Scotland, proteſted ſoon after, as I have taken it from an original, ſigned with their own hands, which they ſent to queen Elizabeth."

"Foraſmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour their rebellion againſt the queen, whoſe authority they uſurp, do openly ſlander her, as guilty of the murder of her huſband; we do publicly proteſt and witneſs theſe things following. In the month of December [r], 1566, when the queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged, before us, that Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven, ſlew David Rizzo, with no other intent than to ſave Murray, who was at that very time to be proſcribed. Therefore, that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly deſired, that Morton and the reſt who were baniſhed for Rizzo's murder, might be recalled. But this they ſaid could not be done, unleſs the queen were divorced from her huſband, which they promiſed to accompliſh, would we but give our conſent. Afterwards Murray promiſed to me [Huntley] that my antient inheritance ſhould be reſtored to me, and I ſhould be an everlaſting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance the divorce. Then we applied to Bothwell for his conſent alſo. And laſtly, we came to the queen; and Lidington, in the name of us all, earneſtly entreated her to reverſe the baniſhment of Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven. The king's faults and offences againſt the queen and the realm, he aggravated with very great bitterneſs; and ſhewed how much it concerned the queen and ſtate, that the divorce ſhould be made out of hand, it being impoſſible for the king and queen to live together in Scotland with ſafety. She anſwered, ſhe had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her huſband ſhould be ſenſible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling any thing ſhould be done to her ſon's prejudice, or her own diſhonour. To this Lidington replied, We, who are of your council, will look to that. But I command you, ſays ſhe, to do nothing that may blemiſh my honour, or offend my conſcience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleaſes to provide a remedy from above: that which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt. To which Lidington ſaid, Pleaſe to leave matters to us, and you ſhall find nothing will be done but what is juſt, and what the parliament will approve of. A few days after, the king happening to be murdered in an execrable manner, we do, from the inward teſtimonies of our conſciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors of this regicide, whoever were the actors."

This proteſtation, as may be eaſily obſerved, ſquares ex-

[q] On February 12. Anderſon, tom. IV. p. 196.

[r] Or thereabouts, in the copy in Anderſon, tom. IV. p. 188. Camden has very much contracted or curtailed this proteſtation.

This

actly with Camden's deſign in his Annals of queen Elizabeth, namely, to clear the queen of Scots from the crime of murdering the king her huſband, and to accuſe the earl of Murray. But withal, it is directly contrary to the teſtimony of Melvil, an eye-witneſs, who, in his Memoirs, ſays not a ſingle word which can give occaſion to ſuſpect the earl of Marray was thought guilty of the murder. If this proteſtation therefore be true, Melvil's Memoirs muſt be only a heap of fables, which no man of ſenſe will ever believe. But to ſhew that this writing is counterfeit, it will be proper to examine it particularly, and make ſome remarks which will diſcover the forgery.

Camden begins with ſaying: "I ſhall willingly inſert here what George earl of Huntley, and the earl of Murray, who were the principal lords of Scotland, proteſted ſoon after."

This ſoon after muſt have been two whole years at leaſt, as I ſhall demonſtrate hereafter.

"As I have taken it from an original ſigned with their own hands."

Camden has not ſet theſe two lords hands to the writing, it may be, becauſe he did not know in what order they were to be placed. In a certificate however, one would think the ſignature is a material thing[s].

"Which they ſent to queen Elizabeth."

Suppoſing the truth of this proteſtation, it could not be ſent to queen Elizabeth till the latter end of the year 1568, at the very ſooneſt, when the earl of Murray went to York to accuſe the queen before the Engliſh commiſſioners. This remark diſcover's Camden's artifice, who deſignedly neglecting to date the writing, places it in his Annals the beginning of the year 1567, immediately after the king's murder, as if at that very time Murray had been accuſed of killing that prince; whereas it was not till after the queen's flight into England, that ſhe thought of caſting the crime upon him. It was not therefore out of pure negligence that Camden avoided dating the proteſtation.

"Foraſmuch as the earl of Murray and others, to colour their rebellion againſt the queen, whoſe authority they uſurp, do openly ſlander her as guilty of the murder of her huſband."

The earl of Murray cannot be ſaid to uſurp the queen's authority till after he was declared regent, or the queen to accuſe him publicly of killing the king, till the York conference, or rather till that of Hampton-court, that is, in October or November 1568. Now at that time the two factions were both formed. Murray was head of the one, and Huntley of the other. So, ſuppoſing this writing not to be forged, what opinion can a man have of the atteſtation of one ſworn enemy againſt another? As to the earl of Argyle, Buchanan affirms, he was retired a little before to his own houſe; ſo that it is not probable he ſhould join with the earl of Huntley to frame this certificate at the time it muſt be ſuppoſed to be drawn. If it was dated, we might ſpeak of it with more certainty.

"We do openly proteſt and witneſs theſe things following. In the month of December 1566."

This way of beginning argues it was now ſome time ſince the things they are going to mention were tranſacted.

"When the queen was at Craigmillar, Murray and Lidington acknowledged before us, that Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven, ſlew David Rizzo, with no other intent than to ſave Murray, who was at that very time to be proſcribed."

I have already made appear, by the teſtimony of Melvil, that the earl of Murray, far from owning that Rizzo was killed on his account, would not join with the party of the murderers, but remained conſtantly attached to the queen. Beſides, the earl of Argyle, author of this proteſtation, was then a fugitive as well as Murray, and was no leſs to be condemned than he. And yet he ſpeaks here of this affair, as if he were a ſtranger to it, though he was the moſt conſiderable of thoſe who were to be baniſhed; and though Melvil affirms, it was for his and the others ſake, who had taken up arms againſt the queen, Murray excepted, that Rizzo was murdered.

"Therefore, that they might not appear ungrateful, they greatly deſired that Morton, and the reſt who were baniſhed for Rizzo's murder, might be recalled."

What has Lidington to do here, when he was never concerned in Rizzo's affair? and wherein conſiſted his ingratitude, if the exiles were not recalled?

"But this they ſaid could not be done unleſs the queen were divorced from her huſband."

Rizzo was killed by the king's order, and in his preſence, and ſolely, according to the author of the proteſtation, to ſave the earl of Murray. The point was to get the murderers recalled, who had been baniſhed for this murder committed by the king's order, and theſe exiles cannot be recalled by the queen, the only perſon offended, unleſs ſhe is divorced from the king. Let this conſequence be well examined, and it will never be thought that the earls of Huntley and Argyle were ſo weak as to reaſon in ſo wretched a manner. In December 1566[t], that is, about the time of the prince's baptiſm, the king was looked upon as a cypher, and expoſed to all ſorts of inſults from the queen.

"Which they promiſed to accompliſh, would we but give our conſent."

At that time the earl of Murray had no credit at court. It was Bothwell that ruled all. I do not know how it ſtood then with Lidington. However, Murray and Lidington are repreſented here as the perſons that were to be the chief agents in accompliſhing the queen's divorce, and as wanting for that purpoſe only the bare conſent of the earls of Huntley and Argyle. This is by no means probable.

"Afterwards Murray promiſed to me [Huntley] that my antient inheritance ſhould be reſtored to me, and I ſhould be an everlaſting favourite with the exiles, if I would but countenance the divorce."

The author of the proteſtation has confounded the times. Murray having then no power, could not make any ſuch promiſe to the earl of Huntley. None but Bothwell was able to make and perform it. Beſides, it is not likely the queen, when ſhe recalled the earl of Huntley, who was condemned to die, ſhould ſtill detain his antient inheritance which had been confiſcated.

"Then we applied to Bothwell for his conſent alſo."

This confounds the whole hiſtory of Scotland. Murray and Lidington are made authors of the project of the queen's divorce, and the earl of Bothwell as one who is only to give his conſent; though it is certain he had then an abſolute ſway over the queen, who married him very ſoon after.

"And laſtly, we came to the queen, and Lidington, in the name of us all, earneſtly entreated her to reverſe the baniſhment of Morton, Lindſay, and Ruthven. The king's faults and offences againſt the queen and the realm, he aggravated with very great bitterneſs; and ſhewed how much it concerned the queen and ſtate, that the divorce ſhould be made out of hand, it being impoſſible for the king and queen to live together in Scotland with ſafety."

Can it be conceived, that to induce the queen to pardon men who had killed her favourite in her preſence, and by the king her huſband's expreſs order, there ſhould be occaſion to aggravate the king's faults, and demonſtrate to the queen, that ſhe muſt be divorced from him?

"She anſwered, ſhe had rather withdraw for a time into France, till her huſband ſhould be ſenſible of the errors of his youth, being unwilling any thing ſhould be done to her ſon's prejudice, or her own diſhonour."

The author of this proteſtation repreſents the queen, in December 1566, as being under oppreſſion, and ſpeaking of retiring into France, till the king ſhould be pleaſed to amend his errors. This ſuffices to ſhew that the whole is a forgery; for it is not likely the earls of Huntley and Argyle ſhould talk in this manner.

"To this Lidington replied, We, who are of your council, will look to that. But I command you, ſays ſhe, to do nothing that may blemiſh my honour, or offend my conſcience. Let the thing remain as it is, till God pleaſes to provide a remedy from above: that which you imagine will be for my good, may, I fear, turn to my hurt."

The artifice of theſe words which the queen is made to ſpeak,

[s] This proteſtation is in Mr. Anderſon's Collections, tom. IV. part 2, p. 188, &c. but it is taken from a copy, without either hands or date.—However, it is to be obſerved, that in the ſame collection there follows an anſwer of the earl of Murray's to the aforeſaid proteſtation, wherein he ſays, "In caſe any man will ſay and affirm, that ever I was preſent when any purpoſes were holden at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to any unlawful or diſhonourable end; or that ever I ſubſcribed any band there, or that any purpoſe was holden about the ſubſcribing of any band by me to my knowledge, I avow they ſpeak wickedly and untruly; which I will maintain againſt them as becomes an honeſt man, to the end of my life: only thus far the ſubſcription of bands by me is true, That indeed I ſubſcribed a band with the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell, at the beginning of October in the year 1566, which was deviſed in ſign of our reconciliation, in reſpect of the former grudges and diſpleaſures that had been among us; whereunto I was conſtrained to make promiſe before I could be admitted to the queen's preſence, or have any ſhew of her favour; and there was never any other band made or ſubſcribed, nor yet propoſed to me in any wiſe, before the murder of the late king. Anderſon, ibid. p. 194, 195.

[t] Rapin has it here and elſewhere September, which, I ſuppoſe, is a miſtake; for it is December in Camden, from whom he takes this proteſtation. King James was chriſtened December 15, 1566.

Here

conſiſts in this: The queen having commanded all theſe lords to do nothing with reſpect to her divorce, Murray and Lidington found no other way to get the exiles recalled, but by cauſing the king to be murdered. As if the king alone was an invincible obſtacle to the recalling of the baniſhed lords, who killed Rizzo by his orders, and in his preſence. I confeſs this reaſoning appears to me incomprehenſible.

"A few days after, the king happening to be murdered in an execrable manner."

What has been juſt related paſſed in December 1566, according to the proteſtation, and the king was killed in February 1567, that is, two months after. Now can it be ſuppoſed, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle could poſſibly be ſo miſtaken, as to call two months a few days?

"We do, from the inward teſtimonies of our conſciences, hold it for certain, that Murray and Lidington were the authors, contrivers, and abettors, of this regicide."

The inference the author of this paper would draw, that the earls of Murray and Lidington were the contrivers of the king's murder, from their having projected the queen's divorce, appearing to him, without doubt, liable to ſtrong objections, he ſeems to give it up in part, when he grounds it wholly upon the inward teſtimony of Huntley's and Argyle's conſciences.

"Whoever were the actors."

It was notorious that Bothwell was the contriver of the king's murder, and Camden himſelf makes no ſcruple to own it, joining, however, the earl of Murray with him. But the author of the proteſtation durſt not name him, becauſe it was giving a ſenſible wound to the queen's honour, who within a few months married the murderer.

I ſhall only add one remark, which to me ſeems deciſive to demonſtrate the forgery of this paper. Lidington was never accuſed, but in this writing only, of being concerned in king Henry's murder[u]. On the other hand, ſo far was he from being conſidered as an enemy to the queen, that he was rather very much ſuſpected by the young king's and the earl of Murray's party, and not without reaſon. What Melvil ſays of him, and of the occaſion of the York and Hampton-court conferences, is a clear evidence that he continued in the regent's party, only to have opportunities to ſerve the queen. Buchanan confirms Melvil's teſtimony, in a book, intitled, The Camelion; wherein he pretends to ſhew, that Lidington betrayed the young king's party, and in his hiſtory he drops many the like expreſſions againſt him. Now, how can it be thought, that the earls of Huntley and Argyle, heads of the queen's party, ſhould be ignorant that Lidington was privately labouring for them? If they knew it, it is by no means likely that at the very time when Lidington was at York or Hampton-court, and frequently conferring with the duke of Norfolk to hinder the earl of Murray from accuſing the queen, theſe two chiefs of the party ſhould publicly accuſe their ſecret friend of being author of the king's murder; eſpecially as there was not the leaſt ground for ſuch a charge. But very poſſibly, the author of the proteſtation was ignorant of Lidington's ſecret practices, and ſeeing him among thoſe who attended the regent at York, imagined he might ſafely join them together in the ſame accuſation.

But, however, though this proteſtation be as true as it appears to be counterfeit, it cannot ſerve for proof to ſupport what Camden advances concerning the earl of Murray, becauſe it will be ſtill true, that it came from one of his moſt mortal enemies. I return to what paſſed in Scotland during the year 1569.

Shortly after the duke of Chateleraut's arreſt, the regent convened the chief of the nobility at Perth, to communicate to them certain letters he had received, upon which it was neceſſary to conſult together. The firſt was from a friend in England[w], to give him notice of the conſpiracy in favour of the duke of Norfolk to eſpouſe the queen of Scots, telling him withal, the conſpiracy was in ſuch a ſtate, that all the forces of Great-Britain were not capable of preventing its ſucceſs; and adviſing him therefore to think in time of his own affairs.

The ſecond letter was from queen Mary, and directed to the ſtates of Scotland. It was to deſire that the validity of her marriage with the earl of Bothwell might be examined, adding, if there appeared any eſſential defect in it, ſhe would very willingly conſent it ſhould be diſſolved. As Bothwell was ſtill alive in Denmark, it was neceſſary his marriage with the queen ſhould be annulled, before ſhe could eſpouſe the duke of Norfolk. For this reaſon ſhe wanted the ſtates of Scotland to get it diſſolved, pretending only to give her conſent to, though ſhe could not proceed without it.

The third letter was from queen Elizabeth to the ſame ſtates, to demand one of theſe three things in favour of Mary. The firſt, "That ſhe ſhould be reſtored to the throne as formerly." The ſecond, "That ſhe ſhould reign jointly with the king her ſon." The third, "That ſhe might live in Scotland, with ſuch honours as ſhould not be prejudicial to the king's authority." Camden, who agrees in this with Buchanan, will have it, that theſe demands of Elizabeth are to be conſidered as the effect of her compaſſion for the queen of Scots. But where was the compaſſion, to propoſe to the ſtates three things ſo diſproportionate, and to leave the choice to them? She knew the two firſt would be rejected, and though the third ſhould be accepted, many difficulties would occur before it could be ſettled. Thus what Camden conſiders as an effect of Elizabeth's pity, was in truth only a conſequence of the project ſhe had formed to prolong the affair, under the ſpecious colour of favouring her priſoner.

The Scotch lords, aſſembled at Perth, thought Mary's letter ought not to be anſwered, becauſe ſhe addreſſed to the ſtates, as if ſhe was ſtill their queen, which they would not allow. She did what ſhe could to remove this difficulty; but all her endeavours ſerved only to confirm them the more in their reſolution. They were far from being willing to facilitate the queen's marriage with the duke of Norfolk, by cauſing Bothwell's to be nulled. Mary, who did not know they were ſo well acquainted with her ſecrets, complained very much of their ſcrupling to diſſolve a marriage, which had ſerved them for a cloak to take up arms againſt her. But her complaints were little regarded.

As to Elizabeth's demands, the lords reſolved to reject the two firſt, and accept the third, if Mary would be ſatisfied with it, and ſent their anſwer to the court of England by a young gentleman. But Elizabeth, who only ſought to gain time, wrote to them, that ſhe deſired a perſon of more conſideration to be ſent to confer with her about ſo weighty an affair. For this reaſon the lords deputed Robert Pitcairn.

Whilſt Pitcairn was on his way, the regent, perceiving the queen's faction daily grew ſtronger, by the hopes which the duke of Norfolk's project gave the whole party, thought it neceſſary to ſecure Lidington's perſon. This lord, by feigning to be attached to the king's party, ſerved the queen to the utmoſt of his power; and, as he was a man of great ſenſe and parts, did much more prejudice to the regent by outwardly embracing his ſide, than if he had openly declared for the queen. So the regent, having on ſome pretence drawn him to Sterling, ordered him to be apprehended, and ſent priſoner to Edinburgh[x]. But Kircaldie, coming unexpectedly with part of the garriſon of the caſtle, reſcued him[y], promiſing to ſee him forth-coming when it ſhould be required. This notable proceeding rendered Kircaldie very ſuſpicious to the king's whole party[z].

Mean while, the duke of Norfolk being ſent to the Tower, without effecting any thing of his projects, all Mary's deſigns, as well in Scotland as England, vaniſhed into air. Shortly after, the earls of Huntley and Argyle were reconciled to the regent, and ſubmitted to the king's authority. By that the queen's faction was in a manner extinguiſhed for ſome time. This ſhews how much queen Mary and her adherents relied on the duke of Norfolk. I ſhall cloſe this year with a brief account of what paſſed in France and the Netherlands.

The war continued in France during the whole year 1569. On the 13th of March was fought the battle of Jarnac, wherein the prince of Condé was killed. D'Andelot, the ad-

[u] Here Rapin is miſtaken. Melvil expreſly ſays, "That captain Crawford was directed to accuſe Lidington, before the privy-council of Scotland, of the late king's murder; and, being accuſed of ſo odious a crime, he was committed to ward." p. 100. The ſame is atteſted by Buchanan, l. 19. and Spotiſwood, p. 232. But Melvil obſerves, in the ſame page, that he and ſir James Balfour were wrongfully purſued, only by the malice and envy of their enemies for their offices.

[w] Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Spotiſwood, p. 230.

[x] He was accuſed of having had a hand in the late king's murder, as is obſerved above. Buchanan, lib. 19.

[y] He counterfeited a warrant, under the regent's hand, by virtue of which the laird of Grange was delivered into his hands. Buchanan, and Spotiſwood, p. 232.

[z] Melvil ſays, Kircaldie reſcued Lidington, with the conſent of the king's party, which is not very likely. Melvil was an intimate friend and great admirer of the laird of Grange. Rapin.—Melvil ſays, the regent ſent Grange word, the lords had forced him to take up Lidington againſt his will, and therefore Grange reſcued him, thinking, if he was arreſted againſt the regent's will, the regent would be glad of it. And if the regent were diſſatisfied at what he had done, it would be a certain token of his diſſimulation. Melvil's Mem. p. 101.

They

miral's brother did not long ſurvive him. Some time after, the duke of Deuxponts led an army into France to the aſſiſtance of the Hugonots, but died there in June, leaving the command of the army to count Mansfeldt, who joined the admiral. With this reinforcement the admiral laid ſiege to Poictiers, but was forced to raiſe it in September. In October, the Hugonots loſt the battle of Moncontour. This defeat obliged the admiral to ſend for a ſpeedy aid from Elizabeth, who lent him money upon the queen of Navarre's jewels, which were ſent to her in pawn. She alſo permitted a company of a hundred gentlemen-volunteers to be raiſed, to ſerve in the army of the Hugonots[a]. The campaign ended with the taking of St. Jean d'Angeli, which the king became maſter of before the end of October.

The duke of Alva ſtill continued his oppreſſions in the Netherlands. He had ſet up the inquiſition, and ordered the council of Trent to be received, as well as the new biſhops, whoſe juriſdiction had been hitherto rejected. The bloody council ſtill acted with fury. The privileges of the cities, univerſities, provinces, were delivered to the king's mercy. In a word, the duke of Alva ordered the hundredth part of the revenues to be paid to the king; after that, the twentieth part of the real, and the tenth of the perſonal eſtates, every time they were ſold. Some of the magiſtrates of the towns having the boldneſs to appeal to the king from theſe ordinances, were ſeverely puniſhed. In ſhort, theſe provinces being now conſidered by the Spaniards but as a conquered country, all were driven to deſpair[b].

The beginning of the next year, 1570, the earl of Murray, having notice that the earl of Northumberland was concealed in Scotland, found means to ſeize him, and committed him to priſon at Lochlevin. Camden ſays, he offered to deliver this lord to Elizabeth, in exchange for the queen of Scots; but this is not likely. Mary was better guarded in England than ſhe could be in Scotland, and Murray was not ignorant of Elizabeth's reaſons never to releaſe her.

A few days after, Murray was ſhot through the body by one of the family of Hamilton, who pretended it to be only in revenge of a private injury. But it ſoon appeared to be by the direction of the queen's faction[c]. On the morrow, the Scots and the Carrs, great friends of the queen[d], entered England in arms, and deſtroyed the borders with fire and ſword. As they had no private reaſon to make this incurſion, it is eaſy to perceive they were encouraged by the heads of the queen's faction, who were willing to try to give a new turn to affairs. Their ſcheme was this.

The queen's faction was ruined, and without any likelihood of being ever able to riſe again, becauſe the earl of Murray could be always ſure of aſſiſtance from England in caſe of neceſſity. Wherefore the heads of that faction[e], who had ſubmitted to the king againſt their wills, formed new projects. They conſidered the ſtrict union between England and Scotland, as a ſtrong fence againſt all their enterpriſes in favour of Mary, and therefore reſolved to break it at any rate. To ſucceed, they deemed it neceſſary, before all things, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Murray, that the kingdom might for ſome time be in a ſort of anarchy, as it happened indeed. That done, they hoped, by provoking the Engliſh on their borders, they ſhould excite them to a revenge on all the Scots without diſtinction; that this would revive the old enmity between the two nations, and ſo all Scotland would be united againſt England; and then ſuccours might be ſafely ſent for from France and Spain, and the project be reſumed of invading the borders of England, whilſt the catholics ſhould on their part act within the kingdom. The lord Seaton's embaſſy to the duke of Alva, and the pope's bull, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak, plainly ſhew this was their intent; though Camden is pleaſed to conſider the evaſion of the Engliſh borders as a mere caprice of the Scots and Carrs.

Immediately after the earl of Murray's death, Kircaldie releaſed Lidington, who uſed all his art to hinder the king's party from proceeding to the election of a new regent. He intimated, that Scotland would never be in peace, unleſs a regent was choſen who ſhould be approved by the two parties; and conſequently it was neceſſary to aſſemble the great men of both ſides, that they might agree together. In what he ſaid there was the appearance of good. But he knew it would be difficult to get all the great men together in one place, and though they ſhould meet, they would never agree upon the choice. However, this ſerved to gain time, in the expectation that queen Elizabeth, by reſolving to revenge the injury ſhe had received, would drive all the Scots to deſpair, and unite them all againſt her. He ſucceeded in the firſt part of his deſign, and by his intrigues managed it ſo, that the election of a regent was deferred. But he was not ſo happy in the other part of his project. Elizabeth and her council were too wiſe to fall into the ſnare. On the contrary, the more they found that endeavours were uſed to unite all the Scots in one party, the more they judged it neceſſary to keep them divided, nothing being ſo advantageous to Elizabeth as to foment confuſion and diſcord in that kingdom, till ſhe could take other meaſures.

To that purpoſe ſhe ſent Randolph into Scotland, to complain of the inroad made into England. But, inſtead of laying the fault upon the whole nation, as the authors of the invaſion expected, ſhe ſaid withal, by her embaſſador, ſhe was very ſenſible thoſe who governed Scotland were not concerned in the inſult on the Engliſh, and therefore ſhe was willing to diſtinguiſh the innocent from the guilty. That ſhe demanded, however, a ſuitable reparation, and if they who were at the helm could not procure it for her, ſhe offered them the aſſiſtance of her forces. That in caſe they refuſed it, ſhe would ſend an army into Scotland, not to attack the whole nation, but to puniſh ſuch only as wantonly, and without provocation, had inſulted the Engliſh. As it was then a time of anarchy, there being no regent yet, the giving the embaſſador an anſwer was put off till May, when the ſtates would be aſſembled. Randolph inſiſted not upon a ſpeedy anſwer[f]. He contented himſelf with exhorting the Scots to peace and concord, whilſt he privately laboured to cheriſh their diviſions, and hinder their union. This is what Melvil clearly ſhews in his Memoirs. Mean while Elizabeth prepared an army, which ſhe intended to ſend into Scotland, as well to revenge her ſubjects as to ſupport the king's party, and cauſe a regent to be elected who ſhould not be againſt the intereſt of England.

Though the heads of the queen's faction ſaw Elizabeth did not fall into their ſnare, they endeavoured however to provoke her, and incenſe her againſt the whole nation, by libels and ſlanders which they took care to publiſh. But all their artifices were not capable of making her alter her courſe. Mean while, her army, which was to be commanded by the earl of Suſſex, was preparing with all poſſible expedition.

In the mean time, Mary's adherents, taking courage ſince the earl of Murray's death, held frequent councils upon the ſituation of their affairs. Their aim was to gain time, in expectation of the ſuccours which Verac, the French envoy[g], put them in hopes of. They expected likewiſe an aid from the Netherlands; and as theſe ſuccours could not be ready ſo

[a] They were commanded by Henry Champernoon, with this motto on his colours, "Finem det mihi virtus." Amongſt the volunteers was Walter Raleigh, a very young man, who now firſt began to be taken notice of. Camden, p. 423.

[b] This year, in September, died Edmund Bonner, late biſhop of London, and was buried on September 8, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark. He is commonly reported to have been a baſtard; but Mr. Strype affirms, that he was aſſured in 1695, by the late baron Lechmere, that Bonner was born at Hanley, in Worceſterſhire, of one Bonner, an honeſt poor man, in a houſe called Bonner's Place to this day, a little cottage of about five pounds a year, purchaſed of biſhop Bonner by the ſaid baron's great grandfather. See Strype's Ann. tom. I. p. 574, 575.

[c] It was done by James Hamilton, nephew to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who, after the battle of Langſide, had been ſentenced to be hanged. But eſcaping, by ſurrendering his eſtate, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, he vowed revenge, which he accompliſhed at Linlithgow, on the 23d of January 1570, upon the regent, who was moſt innocent, and had reſtored him to liberty. The regent, it ſeems, was told of it, and yet would not be at the pains to ſearch the houſe. The murderer eſcaped into France, where, it is ſaid, he was offered a great reward to aſſaſſinate admiral Coligni, but refuſed to do it, ſaying, though he had, to his ſorrow, revenged his own juſt grievances, he would never commit murder for reward. Buchanan. Thuanus, lib. 46. Melvil, p. 103. Thus fell the regent, "the good regent," as Melvil calls him; who adds, "for ſo he was, and will ever deſervedly be called. He was at firſt of a gentle nature, well inclined, good, wiſe, and ſtout. In his firſt uprifing, his hap was to light upon the beſt ſort of company. He was religiouſly educated, and devoutly inclined." So that Buchanan relates, he cauſed always, after dinner and ſupper, a chapter of the Bible to be read in his houſe. "Above all his virtues, which were not a few, he ſhined in piety towards God, ordering himſelf and his family in ſuch ſort, as it did more reſemble a church than a court," ſays Spotiſwood, p. 233. Melvil, p. 103. Thuanus highly extols him for his courage, juſtice, humanity, and other virtues, in theſe words—Dum viveret, ſciſſo factionibus regno, ſiniſtris rumoribus ab æmulis laceratus, ſed poſtquam mortuus eſt, veris laudibus etiam ab inimicis laudatus, qui & præſentiam animi in periculis, felicitatem in prælis, in jure dicundo æquietatem, morum gravitatem cum liberalitate & humanitate ſumma conjunctam prædicabant, lib. 46.

[d] Walter Scot, and Thomas Carr, or Ker, of Farnieſt, entering England, the next night after the earl of Murray's murder, ravaged all places with greater cruelty than was uſed in former times, on purpoſe to engage the two kingdoms in a war. Buchanan, lib. 28. Spotiſwood, p. 234.

[e] The Hamiltonians, particularly the biſhop of St. Andrew's. Buchanan.

[f] He was put off till the 1ſt of May. Buchanan.

[g] Thuanus calls him Verac; and ſpeaks of him as one ſent by the Guiſes, and not by the king of France. The Engliſh and Scots call him Virac, and mention him as the French king's envoy. Rapin.

ſoon as they wiſhed, they endeavoured to amuſe the king's party by propoſals of agreement; but theſe conſtantly refuſed to conclude any thing before the aſſembly of the ſtates.

In this interval, the laird of Grange releaſed the duke of Chateleraut, the lord Herris, and the reſt of the priſoners, and thereby the queen's party was conſiderably ſtrengthened. It muſt however have been ſtill very weak, ſince it could act but by negotiations. Be this as it will, the heads of that party reſolved to meet at Linlithgow [h], by the name of the ſtates, ſince, there being no regent, they thought they had as much right to convene the ſtates as the other party. In this aſſembly they vainly ſought means to engage England to break with the whole Scottiſh nation. Elizabeth was too much upon her guard to be eaſily ſurpriſed. At laſt perceiving they could not ſucceed, they believed it neceſſary for their ſafety to try to become maſters of Edinburgh. But as this could not be effected by force, they deſired the magiſtrates of Edinburgh to permit them to hold their aſſembly in the city. This was readily granted; but the inhabitants kept ſo ſtrict a watch, that the project of the queen's adherents was fruſtrated. Mean time, there were ſundry negotiations between the two parties, which came to nothing.

Preſently after, upon news of the earl of Suſſex's being come to Berwick, the aſſembly of Edinburgh broke up. The heads had now ſent deputies to Elizabeth, to try to divert the impending ſtorm, and to gain time till the arrival of the French ſuccours. They even offered to make her umpire, and were ſo well ſeconded by the French embaſſadors, that ſhe readily conſented to be mediatrix between the two parties. But ſhe pretended the affair for which ſhe ſent an army into Scotland had no relation to the differences between the two parties, for it was only to chaſtiſe the violators of the peace, who were owned by neither party, without however either being able to procure her any ſatisfaction. So the earl of Suſſex received no counter-orders. When that general was come to Berwick, the duke of Chateleraut ſent Melvil to know whether he intended to join one of the parties, or endeavour their reconciliation. Melvil ſays in his Memoirs, that in his conferences with the earl of Suſſex, he found the earl had orders indeed to favour the king's party, but would not quite diſcourage the queen's [i]. He infers, that his chief aim was to continue the troubles in Scotland, which is very likely.

The Engliſh army entering Scotland in April, ravaged the lands of the Scots and Carrs, and of thoſe who were concerned in the late incurſion into England [k]. Camden ſays, in this expedition were burnt above three hundred houſes, and about fifty caſtles. Melvil adds, the earl of Suſſex aſſaulted and took the caſtles of Hume and Falſt, belonging to the lord Hume, to oblige him, who had hitherto remained in a ſort of neutrality, to declare for Mary's party, leſt the balance ſhould incline too much to the king's ſide. This conjecture is grounded upon the project formed by the queen's faction, to unite all Scotland, and upon Elizabeth's intereſt to prevent ſuch an union.

The beginning of May, the ſtates, ſummoned in the king's name, met at Edinburgh. The chief care was to depute Robert Pitcairn to Elizabeth, to beſpeak her favour, and acquaint her they were ready to chuſe a regent to her liking.

Whilſt Pitcairn was on his way, Mary's adherents beſieged the caſtle of Glaſgow, which made a braver defence than they expected. The earl of Suſſex having notice of it, detached ſir William Drury, governor of Berwick, with a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. At their approach the beſiegers retired, and diſperſed themſelves in the mountains. Mean while, Drury being joined by a body of Scotch royaliſts, ravaged the lands of the Hamiltons, and took the caſtle of that name, belonging to the duke of Chateleraut.

In the mean time, Pitcairn returning from England, reported to the ſtates, that Elizabeth thought it very ſtrange, that ſince Murray's death ſhe had not been informed of the poſture of affairs in Scotland; that her ignorance in that reſpect had kept her in ſuſpence concerning the courſe ſhe was to take: that at length, tired with continual ſolicitations, ſhe had conſented that a conference ſhould be held between the two parties, wherein ſhe was very willing to act as a mediatrix, provided they would both refrain from violent methods, and leave things as they were: that ſhe deſired therefore the ſtates to obſerve this condition, and defer the election of a regent till the ſucceſs of the conference ſhould be known. This demand very much embarraſſed the ſtates. They could remain no longer without a head, and yet durſt not diſoblige the queen of England, who alone was able to ſupport them. Wherefore they reſolved to elect an Inter-rex, who could be revoked without any conſequence, and the choice fell upon the earl of Lenox, then in England. Shortly after, they received a letter from Elizabeth, acquainting them with her conſent that they might chuſe a regent, and recommending to them the earl of Lenox, who was inſtantly choſen.

Mean while the earl of Huntley, receiving from Spain money and ammunition, took the field, and ſtored the caſtle of Brechin. Shortly after, the earl of Lenox arrived in Scotland, and when the ſtates broke up, reſolved to recover that caſtle which was of ſo great importance. He aſſembled for that purpoſe his forces at Linlithgow, and demanded artillery and ammunition of Grange, governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, who refuſed them, on pretence he would not be inſtrumental in ſhedding the blood of his countrymen. Grange was properly of the queen's party, but had other views than the reſt of her friends. His project was to ſet himſelf at the head of a third party, with which he pretended the other two ſhould join, to reſtore the queen to the crown upon certain terms. This was the cauſe of his ruin, as will hereafter appear. Sir James Melvil, author of the Memoirs ſo often quoted, was in the ſame ſentiments, as he diſcovers in ſeveral places, but probably waited for a more favourable opportunity to declare.

Grange's refuſal hindered not the regent from becoming maſter of Brechin, and compelling the earl of Huntley to fly to the mountains, where it was not eaſy to purſue him. Not long after, the queen's party obtained a truce [l], at queen Elizabeth's inſtance, who ſought only to prolong the affair; as on their part, the queen's adherents tried to gain time, to wait the effects of the duke of Alva's promiſes. Some time before, they had ſent the lord Seaton to him to deſire aid, and he had promiſed them ten thouſand men. But the diſorders which unexpectedly aroſe in the Netherlands, hindered him from performing his promiſe [m].

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Scotland, ſeveral plots were forming in England to free the captive queen. Monluc, biſhop of Valence, came to London, and very earneſtly ſolicited the queen of Scots' liberty. The Spaniſh embaſſador was no leſs urgent for the ſame. The queen was the more jealous of the zeal of France and Spain for Mary, as at the ſame time pope Pius V. cauſed a bull, dated the laſt year, to be fixed up in the night in ſeveral places in London [n], whereby he excommunicated Elizabeth, and abſolved her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. On the other hand, it was diſcovered that ſome Norfolk gentlemen had reſolved to take up arms and raiſe a rebellion in that county [o]. The conſpiracy being diſcovered, the authors were apprehended. But the queen pardoned all but three; two of whom were John Throckmorton and Felton, who poſted up the bull [p]. Shortly after, ſhe heard alſo that two of the earl of Derby's ſons [q] had plotted to free the queen of Scots. As John Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, who acted as Mary's embaſſador, was the chief promoter of all theſe plots, it was thought fit to confine him again to the biſhop of London's palace. He was but lately releaſed, having been arreſted for being deeply concerned in the earl of Northumberland's conſpiracy. Notwithſtanding the juſt ſuſpicions which all theſe machinations might raiſe in the queen, of the duke of Norfolk, who was conſidered as the head of Mary's party, he was diſcharged from the Tower [r]. But it was not till after he had expreſſed

[h] On April 9. Buchanan.

[i] He alſo declared to Melvil, that he looked upon the queen of Scotland, and the prince her ſon, as true heirs to the crown of England. Melvil, p. 105.

[k] The lord Scroope, warden of the Weſt-marches, entering all Scotland, April 18, burnt and deſtroyed as far as Dunfriſe. There was razed, overthrown, and burnt by the Engliſh, in this expedition, above three hundred towns and villages, ſays Stow, p. 666.

[l] The reader may ſee the articles of this truce in Leſley's Negotiat. p. 91, &c.

[m] However, he ſent them ten thouſand crowns. See Leſley's Negotiat. p. 108. Hamilton, rector of Dunbar, had ſome time before, privately, procured out of the Netherlands, great ſtore of arms and powder, ſeven great guns, and ſome money, for Huntley, the queen's lieutenant in Scotland. Camden, p. 426.

[n] This bull is dated February 25, 1569, and may be ſeen in Speed, p. 842, and in Camden. p. 427. It was fixed on the biſhop of London's palace-gate. Ibid.

[o] Their deſign was to ſet the duke of Norfolk at liberty. Idem, p. 428.

[p] John Felton was not one of the three Norfolk rebels; but he was executed for ſetting up the bull. He would not fly, but boldly owned the fact; for which he was arraigned, and hanged in Alderſgate-ſtreet, near the biſhop's palace. However, he got thereby the empty repute of a glorious martyrdom. Camden, p. 428. Thuanus, lib. 46.

[q] Sir Thomas and ſir Edward Stanley, the earl of Derby's younger ſons by the duke of Norfolk's daughter. Their accomplices were, Thomas Gerard, Rolſton, Hall, &c. Rolſton's ſon, one of the band of the gentlemen penſioners, diſcovered the plot. Camden, p. 429.

[r] Where the plague, which then raged in London, was got, and he was remitted to his own houſe, the Charter-houſe, where he lived under the eaſy confinement of ſir Henry Nevil. Ibid.

And

great ſorrow for his fault, and proteſted, by word of mouth and under his hand, that he would never more think of marrying the queen of Scots.

It was not difficult for Elizabeth to perceive, that the queen of Scots was the ſole cauſe of all theſe embarraſſments. If repoſe would have followed upon her releaſe, ſhe would have willingly freed her. But though Mary's adherents, and thoſe who ſolicited in her behalf, pretended they acted only from a motive of compaſſion, and exclaimed againſt the injuſtice of detaining her in priſon, Elizabeth was not ignorant that their views extended much farther. The pope, Spain, the houſe of Lorrain, the duke of Alva, the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh catholics, confined not themſelves to the freeing the unhappy queen from captivity: their aim was to ſet her on the throne of England. Conſequently it was more dangerous for Elizabeth to releaſe her than to keep her confined. But ſhe did not think proper to diſcloſe her thoughts, as on their part her enemies were extremely careful to conceal their deſigns. She continued therefore to feign, that ſhe deſired nothing more earneſtly than to find means to reſtore Mary to the throne of Scotland, provided it could be done without danger to England. To that end ſhe ſent Cecil [s] to make her ſome captious propoſal, tending only to dazzle the public. Mary, hearing the propoſals, returned a general anſwer, declining to give a particular reply to each article, without the conſent of the heads of her party in Scotland, to whom ſhe deſired they ſhould be communicated, that they might anſwer them as they ſhould think proper. The propoſals with the anſwers were to this effect:

I. The queen of Scots ſhall ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and renounce her claim to the crown of England, during the life of queen Elizabeth and her iſſue.

Anſwer. Agreed.

II. She ſhall not make nor renew alliance with any power whatever againſt England.

Anſwer. By renouncing the alliance of France, the queen will forfeit her dower, and the Scotch nation be great loſers. Wherefore the queen of England muſt make amends for theſe things ſome other way.

III. She ſhall admit no foreign troops into Scotland.

Anſwer. Agreed, with this reſtriction, unleſs ſhe is not able with her own forces to ſuppreſs the rebellions of her ſubjects.

IV. She ſhall hold no intelligence with the Engliſh or Iriſh, without the queen of England's knowledge.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the queen of England will hold none with the Scots.

V. She ſhall deliver up the Engliſh and Iriſh rebels.

Anſwer. If there are any Engliſh or Iriſh rebels in Scotland, they muſt be demanded of thoſe who have taken up arms againſt their queen.

VI. She ſhall make the Engliſh borderers amends for the loſſes ſuſtained in the late invaſion.

Anſwer. Commiſſioners on both ſides ſhall be appointed to examine the damages which were done.

VII. She ſhall proſecute, and puniſh according to law, the murderers of king Henry and of the earl of Murray.

Anſwer. Agreed.

VIII. She ſhall give her ſon for hoſtage.

Anſwer. Her ſon is not in her power.

IX. She ſhall not marry any Engliſhman without the queen of England's knowledge, nor any other without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland.

Anſwer. To be tied to theſe terms is a thing unworthy of a queen.

X. The Scots ſhall not paſs into Ireland without the queen of England's permiſſion.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the Iriſh be not ſuffered to paſs into Scotland without the queen of Scots leave.

XI. She ſhall give ſix hoſtages of the queen of England's naming.

Anſwer. Agreed, provided the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Huntley, Argyle, and Athol, be excepted.

XII. If ſhe attempt any thing againſt queen Elizabeth, ſhe ſhall forfeit the right ſhe claims to the crown of England.

Anſwer. Agreed, on condition that in the like caſe the queen of England will be liable to ſome equivalent penalty.

XIII. The caſtles of Hume and Falſt ſhall be three years in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Anſwer. This cannot be granted: on the contrary, the queen of England is required to reſtore theſe caſtles to the lord Hume.

XIV. Some places on the borders of Galloway or Cantyr ſhall be put into the hands of the Engliſh, to hinder the Scots from infeſting Ireland.

Anſwer. To deliver ſuch places to the Engliſh would be creating a perpetual war in Scotland.

All theſe articles ſhall be confirmed and ratified by the ſtates.

There is no anſwer to this article.

It would be very eaſy, in examining of theſe propoſals, to ſhew that ſome were only to create a belief of Elizabeth's acting with moderation and ſincerity; that others were but ſnares to ſurpriſe the queen of Scots; and that ſome there were, the execution whereof were impracticable. Elizabeth's deſign therefore was only to amuſe.

On the other hand, the anſwers were as little proper to procure an agreement between the two queens. They who drew the anſwers, pretended, that Mary ſhould treat Elizabeth upon equal terms, as ſhe might have done, had ſhe been on her throne at Edinburgh: but the Engliſh meant no ſuch thing. Mary was priſoner in England, and the point was to releaſe and reſtore her to her throne. She accepted the conditions to obtain theſe two great advantages; but withal ſhe is made to ſay, that ſhe expected Elizabeth ſhould be bound to the like or equivalent terms. This was as much as to ſay, that otherwiſe ſhe would not accept what was offered her. Nothing could be more grateful to Elizabeth, ſince it was a certain means to prolong the negotiation. Had Mary accepted the propoſals without any reſtrictions, ſhe would perhaps have embarraſſed Elizabeth's council. At leaſt they would have been forced to ſeek means to obſtruct the execution, and thereby the fault would manifeſtly have been on the ſide of the court of England.

Elizabeth, it is certain, had no deſire to releaſe her priſoner on any terms whatever. She was a very dangerous rival, even when in priſon, how much more, had ſhe been at liberty? From her return to Scotland, upon the death of her firſt huſband, ſhe had never ceaſed holding intelligence in England, to try to excite the Engliſh to rebellion. This is what very evidently appears in Melvil's Memoirs. Her misfortune to fall into the hands of Elizabeth did not make her diſcontinue her practices. On the other hand, the project of her marriage with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Northumberland's conſpiracy, and the correſpondence of her adherents with foreign courts, tended only to raiſe her to the throne of England, even in queen Elizabeth life-time. In ſhort, it was manifeſt the pope, the king of Spain, the princes of Lorrain, the Engliſh catholics, all the Iriſh, and part of the Scots, were labouring to accompliſh this deſign. How imprudent would it have been to releaſe her, that ſhe might the better proſecute her pretenſions? It is true, after the death of Francis II. ſhe quitted the title of queen of England, and proteſted ſhe claimed not the crown of England till after Elizabeth and her poſterity. But, that a bare proteſtation may ſerve for ſecurity, the ſincerity of the perſon proteſting muſt be firſt well eſtabliſhed. Here was quite the contrary, all Mary's proceedings having ſhewn ſhe deſiſted not from her claim. So her bare proteſtation was only her word, on which it was very dangerous to rely. Certainly Mary was unhappy only in having too zealous adherents, who, by all their proceedings, puſhed her continually towards her deſtruction: but this is no wonder. They acted not for her ſake, but for their own ends, and the intereſt of the Romiſh religion, to which ſhe ſerved for pretence. Sir James Melvil, who was not Mary's enemy, obſerves in his Memoirs, that both parties equally hurted her; the one in acting directly againſt her, the other in ſerving her with too much zeal. He adds, the queen's party groundleſly flattered themſelves with ruining their adverſaries, who were ſupported by England. The reaſon he gives is very ſtrong, namely, there was no likelihood that the queen's party would ever receive great aſſiſtance from the court of France, which dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſee the two crowns of England and Scotland upon the ſame head. He relates upon this occaſion a particular, which may be of great ſervice to diſcover the ſituation of Mary's affairs. Sir Robert Melvil, at his return from his embaſſy to England, gave queen Mary a paper, ſigned by five and twenty Engliſh earls and lords, promiſing to ſet her on the throne of England. Mary ſent the paper to the cardinal

[s] And ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, in October. The queen of Scots was then at Chatteſworth in Derbyſhire. Camden, p. 429. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 100.

Q. Elizabeth

of Lorrain, her uncle, deſiring withal the aſſiſtance neceſſary to execute that deſign. But the cardinal himſelf diſſuaded queen Catherine de Medici from thinking of ſuch an enterpriſe, demonſtrating the prejudice France would receive by the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Nay, to hinder the thing from being effected by other means, they gave notice thereof to queen Elizabeth, who always feigned ignorance of what ſhe was told by the court of France. Melvil affirms, he had this from the queen of Scots own mouth, at a time when ſhe was diſſatisfied with the cardinal. It is evident, then, that the eagerneſs of Mary's friends was prejudicial to her: but eſpecially they who continued the war in Scotland, only helped to ſecure Elizabeth's affairs, who thereby was ſheltered from the quarter ſhe had moſt to fear; whereas the Scots by their union would have been more conſiderable, and doubtleſs Elizabeth would have had more condeſcenſion for her priſoner. Upon this principle it was, that Grange and Melvil laboured to procure an agreement between the two parties, wherein they endeavoured to ſerve Mary effectually. But it was not eaſy to bring paſſionate men to ſacrifice their paſſions and intereſts to the good of the public. The council of England improving theſe diſpoſitions, never ceaſed fomenting the troubles of Scotland, under colour of appeaſing them, till it ſhould be Elizabeth's intereſt to end them. This Melvil plainly ſhews in his Memoirs; but it would be too long to allege the proofs. Thus Mary was in a wretched condition by the ill counſels which were given her, and which ſhe was ſo unwiſe as to follow with ardour. The biſhop of Roſs, her agent at London, a great zealot for his religion, but whoſe views were not very extenſive, did her infinite damage by his paſſion and pains to cheriſh the diſcontent of the Engliſh catholics. As Elizabeth had good ſpies, ſhe was not ignorant that this pretended embaſſador was concerned in all the plots laid againſt her, from whence ſhe could not but infer that he acted agreeably to his miſtreſs's inclinations and orders. As ſoon as this prelate had the articles propoſed to Mary, he ſent copies to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, to the duke of Alva, intimating to all theſe potentates, that Mary would be at length conſtrained to accept them, if ſome vigorous effort were not made in her favour. But his ſolicitations were fruitleſs. The king of Spain, being then employed in his marriage with Ann of Auſtria, his niece[t], daughter of the emperor Maximilian, left to the duke of Alva the care of aſſiſting the queen of Scots; but the duke was himſelf employed in the Netherlands. The city of Bruſſels refuſing to pay the hundredth penny, gallows were now prepared to puniſh the diſobedient, when he heard the prince of Orange was levying an army in Germany. So, inſtead of aiding the queen of Scots, he was preparing for the war which he ſaw ready to kindle in the Low Countries, and wherein probably he would have to deal with the inhabitants of theſe provinces, as well as the Germans.

As for the court of France, beſides that they never really intended to ſet the crown of England on the head of the queen of Scots, but only to create Elizabeth troubles, they began to form projects, which ſuffered them not openly to eſpouſe Mary's cauſe. Though the king had gained ſeveral victories over the Hugonots, he ſaw with grief there was no end of the affair; and that theſe people, chuſing to die ſword in hand, rather than at the ſtake or the gallows, it would be very difficult to deſtroy them by open force. He reſolved therefore, in order to attain his ends more eaſily, to amuſe them with a peace, which he granted them in Auguſt this year. From that time his ſole care was to diſſemble his ſentiments, and make them believe they had nothing more to fear from him. To convince them the better that the deſign of extirpating them was entirely relinquiſhed, Catherine de Medici propoſed a marriage between the king her ſon and Elizabeth, who replied in two words, that he was too Great and too Little. This project failing, Catherine propoſed her ſecond ſon, the duke of Anjou, as a more ſuitable match. This was therefore no favourable juncture for the queen of Scotland, ſince the court of France could undertake nothing openly in her behalf without breaking their own meaſures[u].

[1571] Secretary Cecil was created baron of Burleigh the beginning of the year 1571. No man had better deſerved than he to receive this mark of diſtinction, which was very conſiderable in the reign of a queen who conferred honours with great circumſpection.

I have ſeveral times obſerved, that Elizabeth was reſolved not to declare publicly for either of the Scotch factions, but to prolong the negotiation as much as poſſible, that ſhe might never want a pretence to detain Mary in priſon. We are going to ſee an effect of this reſolution in the courſe ſhe purſued during the year 1571. Though in June the laſt year, ſhe had agreed to a conference between the two parties, of which ſhe was to be mediatrix, ſix months were paſſed, and nothing more ſaid of it. At laſt Elizabeth, reſolving to negotiate her marriage with the duke of Anjou, did not queſtion but on that occaſion the French court would ſtrongly ſolicit her in behalf of the queen of Scots. To be provided therefore with an evaſion, ſhe cauſed at length the conference to be held in the months of February and March, that ſhe might be able to ſay to the king of France, the affair of the queen of Scots was upon terms of agreement; fully bent, however, to manage it ſo that the conference ſhould be without effect.

The earl of Morton, Pitcairn, and others[w], were ſent from Scotland to the conference, which was to be held at London, to maintain the king's cauſe. For Mary, appeared the biſhops of Roſs and Galloway, with the lord Levingſton; and the queen appointed ſeven of her privy counſellors[x] to hear the reaſons of both parties. They immediately required the earl of Morton, and his colleagues, to declare plainly the inducement of the Scots to depoſe their queen, and give the crown to the prince her ſon. The Scotch deputies delivered a large remonſtrance in writing, wherein they took for granted that the queen was privy to the king her huſband's death, and afterwards married the earl of Bothwell, the murderer; that to juſtify their conduct with regard to the queen, there were two points to be examined, the one of fact, the other of right. For the firſt, they ſtood to the proofs given by the earl of Murray at Hampton-court before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and which the queen of England had in her hands: that the earl had ſo evidently proved Mary guilty of the crime laid to her charge, that they thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame things, which beſides they could not without great reluctance. As to the point of right, which conſiſted in knowing whether the Scots had power to depoſe their ſovereigns when they became unworthy of the throne, they maintained it was an undoubted right enjoyed by the Scotch nation, ever ſince the beginning of their monarchy. They ſupported this principle with divers inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of Scotland and of other countries, as Spain and Denmark.

Elizabeth ſtill purſuing her ſcheme, not to declare herſelf, briefly anſwered to the Scots remonſtrance, which was communicated to her, that ſhe was not thoroughly convinced of the juſtice of their proceedings, and deſired them to confer with her miniſters, in order to find ſome expedient to adjuſt the affair. But they replied, it was needleſs to ſearch for expedients, ſince they had no power to agree to the diminution of the king's authority. Whereupon Elizabeth ordered a thing to be propoſed to Mary's agents, which ſhe knew they would not accept; and this was, to give her the chief lords of their party in hoſtage, with ſome places in Scotland[y]. And indeed they boldly rejected it, and made other offers which the Engliſh commiſſioners rejected in their turn. At laſt, they demanded of the Scots to give the young king of Scotland in hoſtage to the queen; to which they anſwered, they had not power to promiſe any ſuch thing. Camden ſays here, that Mary's agents made a jeſt of this evaſion, affirming, "the deputies wanted not power, ſince the ſame crime renders all the accomplices equal."

At laſt, Elizabeth admitting the Scotch deputies to an audience, agreed with them that the affair could not be determined but by the ſtates of the kingdom. Then ſhe deſired them to order it ſo, that another conference ſhould be held in Scotland during the ſeſſion of the parliament, which was to meet in May. She detained them however ſome time longer, being willing to know, before their departure, whether the queen of Scots would conſent to the conference. But ſo far was ſhe from agreeing to it, that ſhe complained very much of her deputies ſuffering her right to be called in queſtion, and revoked their powers. She ordered however the biſhop of Roſs to reſide ſtill at London, as her embaſſa-

[t] Q. Elizabeth ſent Charles Howard, with a fleet, in which were ſeveral noblemen, to convoy her from Zealand to Spain. Camden, p. 430.

[u] This year, on March 16, died William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, at Hampton-court, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, April 18. Stow, p. 669. This year alſo died Henry Clifford, the ſecond earl of Cumberland of the name; and ſir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 430. On the 1ſt of October, there was a terrible tempeſt, which did an incredible damage in ſeveral places. See an account of it in Hollingſhead, p. 1222, 1223.

[w] James Macgil. Buchanan.

[x] Namely, the earls of Leiceſter and Suſſex; Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper; the earl of Oxford, lord Chamberlain; William lord Burleigh, ſir Walter Mildmay, and ſir Francis Knolles. Spotiſwood, p. 248.

[y] The lords demanded, were the duke of Chatelerault, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lord Humes, the lord Herris, and another; and the places required were the caſtles of Dunbarton and Humes, for three years. Camden, p. 431. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 127.

John

dor. This gave Elizabeth great ſuſpicion, being ſenſible the biſhop was the chief promoter of the plots againſt her; but ſhe durſt not refuſe him, for fear of giving occaſion to ſay, ſhe did not own Mary for queen, and thereby wound her pretended impartiality. At length the Scotch deputies departed, the 8th of April, after a ſix weeks ſtay in London to no purpoſe. Wherefore it was not Elizabeth's intention that this conference ſhould produce an agreement. Though this did not evidently appear in her whole conduct, it might eaſily be ſeen in a letter of Cecil to Walſingham, then embaſſador in France, wherein he told him plainly, that the ſole aim in that conference was to gain time. Another letter to Walſingham from the earl of Leiceſter, about the ſame thing, manifeſtly diſcovers Elizabeth's policy. The earl told him, the queen agreed that Mary was unworthy to ſway the ſcepter, but could hardly believe her ſubjects had power to depoſe her. That therefore ſhe remained in ſuſpence, not being able to determine either to reſtore queen Mary or defend the cauſe of the Scots, becauſe ſhe did not think it entirely juſt. During this pretended uncertainty, Mary remained ſtill in priſon.

The truce between the two Scotch factions being expired, during the conference at London, or ſhortly after, the earl of Lenox took the town of Dunbarton by ſurpriſe, which had till then been in the hands of the queen's adherents. Verac, the French embaſſador, was taken there, and ſent to St. Andrew's, from whence he was readily ſuffered to make his eſcape. But the caſe was otherwiſe with James Hamilton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who, being alſo taken priſoner upon the ſame occaſion, and ſent to Sterling, was condemned to be hanged. He was accuſed of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king by a prieſt [z], who was brought face to face, of whom, inſtead of defending himſelf, he demanded, what thoſe prieſts deſerved who revealed the ſecrets of confeſſions? It is ſaid, Cardan, going to Scotland to cure him of a dropſy, told him, when he had reſtored him to health, that he had by the help of his medicines freed him from the preſent danger, but it was not in his power to prevent his dying on the gallows.

Elizabeth was not wholly taken up with the affairs of Scotland. There was another which gave her no leſs trouble, by reaſon of its difficulties, and the conſequences it might be attended with. Her miniſters knowing her enemies were in perpetual motion, and when one plot failed, were immediately forming another, were afraid her prudence would in the end be defeated. In Walſingham's Negotiations, there is a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, telling him, that whilſt the affair of the queen of Scots was in hand, her friends were thinking of carrying her away, of which the court had ſome dark intimations. The earl of Leiceſter wrote to the ſame embaſſador, that Mary's adherents were more bold than ever, which in all appearance proceeded from their hopes of the ſucceſs of ſome freſh attempt. The miniſters therefore believed nothing but a marriage could ſecure the queen from ſo many conſpiracies which were daily renewed. An alliance with ſome powerful prince would naturally produce a good effect, by reaſon of the ſuccours which might be thence received upon occaſion; beſides that it would ſtrike a dread into the queen's enemies. On the other hand, they imagined, if it pleaſed God to bleſs the marriage, the birth of a prince would deprive the queen of Scots of great part of her adherents. Wherefore they never ceaſed to repreſent to Elizabeth the reaſons which ought to determine her to marry. At laſt, whether ſhe yielded to theſe reaſons, or to be freed from their importunities, ſhe told them, that nothing hindered her but the difficulty of finding a ſuitable match; and indeed it was not eaſy to make a fit choice: ſhe muſt take either a proteſtant or a popiſh prince. But as two principal inducements prompted her to marry, namely, to make a ſtrong alliance, and to have a ſucceſſor; in chuſing a proteſtant, the firſt of theſe inducements would not be anſwered, becauſe there was no prince of the reformed religion whoſe alliance could be very advantageous to England. In reſolving upon a catholic, there was no choice, ſince the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother, was the only fit perſon. But this project had its difficulties. The queen gave to underſtand, that in marrying ſhe did not mean to give herſelf a maſter, or even an equal, ſince ſhe was reſolved to hold the reins of the government alone, and communicate to her ſpouſe the external honours of royalty only. In the ſecond place, ſhe did not pretend the Engliſh catholics ſhould reap any advantage from her marriage with a prince of their religion. But there was no likelihood the duke of Anjou would ſubmit to what the queen deſired, or diſſemble his religion to enjoy the bare title of king, which was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition. Mean while, the miniſters were ſo urgent with the queen to marry, that at length they obtained her conſent to treat with France upon that ſubject. But very probably ſhe gave her conſent only becauſe ſhe imagined it would be in her power to break off the negotiation whenever ſhe pleaſed, by the difficulties ſhe ſhould ſtart. She concealed her ſentiments however from her miniſters: Burleigh thought her ſincere for ſome time; the earl of Leiceſter was not entirely of that opinion, but knew not what to think. Be this as it will, the queen was told that Catherine de Medici, having plainly perceived the reaſons which moved her to reject the propoſals of a marriage with Charles IX. had intimated that the duke of Anjou would be more proper for her. It was alſo hinted to her, that the young prince was by no means a bigot, and might poſſibly be brought to communicate with the church of England. The only thing therefore was ſo to manage it that the French court ſhould make the firſt advances, after which the treaty might begin. To that end, in Auguſt 1570, Norris was recalled from his embaſſy in France, to make room for ſir Francis Walſingham, who was doubtleſs thought more proper to manage the affair, being alſo a creature of the lord Burleigh, who was extremely deſirous of the marriage.

Walſingham ſtayed all the reſt of the year, and part of the next, at Paris, without any overture being made, and yet the marriage was much talked of. He informed the court of England of it, and preſently after received inſtructions from Burleigh, importing, that if any perſon of diſtinction ſhould ſpeak to him of the marriage, he might anſwer, that upon the report, he had taken care to enquire how the queen ſtood inclined in that reſpect, and found, as the good of her people was her chief view, ſhe had reſolved to marry if ſhe could meet with a ſuitable match. Shortly after the lord Buckhurſt being ſent to Paris [a], as embaſſador extraordinary, king Charles, and his mother queen Catherine opened their minds to him upon that ſubject, and a negotiation was begun. But as this project was not executed, I ſhall content myſelf, without deſcending to particulars, to ſhew here the real cauſes of the breaking off the negotiation.

It was almoſt certain neither Elizabeth nor the court of France had any deſire to conclude the marriage, though it ſeemed to be ſeriouſly negotiated on both ſides. Elizabeth found a double advantage in this feigned negotiation. Firſt, ſhe amuſed her own miniſters, who preſſed her earneſtly to marry. Secondly, her enemies believing the marriage was really going to be concluded, would of courſe remain quiet. And indeed it was not likely they ſhould think of attacking her, when they ſaw her upon the point of being ſtrictly united with France. It was requiſite therefore, the better to amuſe thoſe who might have formed plots againſt her, to ſhew ſome earneſtneſs for the marriage, leſt, if ſhe acted with indifference in the affair, her moſt ſecret thoughts ſhould be diſcovered.

On the other ſide, the court of France propoſed the marriage only to amuſe Elizabeth, and with her all the proteſtants of Europe, but particularly the Hugonots. In all likelihood Charles IX. had now formed the barbarous plot which broke out the next year. But this was only the beginning of a greater project, which was to deſtroy all the proteſtants in general, and ſuddenly attack Elizabeth herſelf. The pope and the king of Spain were engaged in the deſign, and pretended to be alarmed at what was negotiating at Paris, to enſnare the more eaſily thoſe they intended to ſurpriſe. Wherefore, it was neceſſary for the court of France to appear very deſirous of the match, and to yield as far as poſſible, but without concluding any thing in point of religion. So the difficulties ſtarted by Elizabeth in the negotiation were extremely ſubſervient to the deſigns of the French, as they gave them room to make advances capable of deceiving the public, and cauſing it to be thought they had no ill deſign againſt the proteſtant religion. By this means they removed all ſorts of ſuſpicion, both from the court of England and the Hugonots. Indeed it was hardly poſſible to conjecture, that when the king and his mother teſtified ſuch a zeal to accompliſh the propoſed marriage, they were thinking of extirpating all the Hugonots in the kingdom. Nay, they were extremely careful to remove this ſuſpicion by their great diſſimulation towards them, pretending to lend an ear to the leaders of the Hugonots, and place entire confidence in them. But, notwithſtanding all their care to conceal their deſigns, the French court made Elizabeth very jealous during the whole negotia-

[z] John Hamilton, one of the chief actors in this murder, diſcovered the whole matter to his confeſſor, who revealed it to others. Buchanan, l. 20.

[a] He went over in February, and came back a little before Eaſter. Stow, p. 668, 669.

of Lorrain, her uncle, deſiring withal the aſſiſtance neceſſary to execute that deſign. But the cardinal himſelf diſſuaded queen Catherine de Medici from thinking of ſuch an enterpriſe, demonſtrating the prejudice France would receive by the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. Nay, to hinder the thing from being effected by other means, they gave notice thereof to queen Elizabeth, who always feigned ignorance of what ſhe was told by the court of France. Melvil affirms, he had this from the queen of Scots own mouth, at a time when ſhe was diſſatisfied with the cardinal. It is evident, then, that the eagerneſs of Mary's friends was prejudicial to her: but eſpecially they who continued the war in Scotland, only helped to ſecure Elizabeth's affairs, who thereby was ſheltered from the quarter ſhe had moſt to fear; whereas the Scots by their union would have been more conſiderable, and doubtleſs Elizabeth would have had more condeſcenſion for her priſoner. Upon this principle it was, that Grange and Melvil laboured to procure an agreement between the two parties, wherein they endeavoured to ſerve Mary effectually. But it was not eaſy to bring paſſionate men to ſacrifice their paſſions and intereſts to the good of the public. The council of England improving theſe diſpoſitions, never ceaſed fomenting the troubles of Scotland, under colour of appeaſing them, till it ſhould be Elizabeth's intereſt to end them. This Melvil plainly ſhews in his Memoirs; but it would be too long to allege the proofs. Thus Mary was in a wretched condition by the ill counſels which were given her, and which ſhe was ſo unwiſe as to follow with ardour. The biſhop of Roſs, her agent at London, a great zealot for his religion, but whoſe views were not very extenſive, did her infinite damage by his paſſion and pains to cheriſh the diſcontent of the Engliſh catholics. As Elizabeth had good ſpies, ſhe was not ignorant that this pretended embaſſador was concerned in all the plots laid againſt her, from whence ſhe could not but infer that he acted agreeably to his miſtreſs's inclinations and orders. As ſoon as this prelate had the articles propoſed to Mary, he ſent copies to the pope, to the kings of France and Spain, to the duke of Alva, intimating to all theſe potentates, that Mary would be at length conſtrained to accept them, if ſome vigorous effort were not made in her favour. But his ſolicitations were fruitleſs. The king of Spain, being then employed in his marriage with Ann of Auſtria, his niece[t], daughter of the emperor Maximilian, left to the duke of Alva the care of aſſiſting the queen of Scots; but the duke was himſelf employed in the Netherlands. The city of Bruſſels refuſing to pay the hundredth penny, gallows were now prepared to puniſh the diſobedient, when he heard the prince of Orange was levying an army in Germany. So, inſtead of aiding the queen of Scots, he was preparing for the war which he ſaw ready to kindle in the Low Countries, and wherein probably he would have to deal with the inhabitants of theſe provinces, as well as the Germans.

As for the court of France, beſides that they never really intended to ſet the crown of England on the head of the queen of Scots, but only to create Elizabeth troubles, they began to form projects, which ſuffered them not openly to eſpouſe Mary's cauſe. Though the king had gained ſeveral victories over the Hugonots, he ſaw with grief there was no end of the affair; and that theſe people, chuſing to die ſword in hand, rather than at the ſtake or the gallows, it would be very difficult to deſtroy them by open force. He reſolved therefore, in order to attain his ends more eaſily, to amuſe them with a peace, which he granted them in Auguſt this year. From that time his ſole care was to diſſemble his ſentiments, and make them believe they had nothing more to fear from him. To convince them the better that the deſign of extirpating them was entirely relinquiſhed, Catherine de Medici propoſed a marriage between the king her ſon and Elizabeth, who replied in two words, that he was too Great and too Little. This project failing, Catherine propoſed her ſecond ſon, the duke of Anjou, as a more ſuitable match. This was therefore no favourable juncture for the queen of Scotland, ſince the court of France could undertake nothing openly in her behalf without breaking their own meaſures[u].

[1571] Secretary Cecil was created baron of Burleigh the beginning of the year 1571. No man had better deſerved than he to receive this mark of diſtinction, which was very conſiderable in the reign of a queen who conferred honours with great circumſpection.

I have ſeveral times obſerved, that Elizabeth was reſolved not to declare publicly for either of the Scotch factions, but to prolong the negotiation as much as poſſible, that ſhe might never want a pretence to detain Mary in priſon. We are going to ſee an effect of this reſolution in the courſe ſhe purſued during the year 1571. Though in June the laſt year, ſhe had agreed to a conference between the two parties, of which ſhe was to be mediatrix, ſix months were paſſed, and nothing more ſaid of it. At laſt Elizabeth, reſolving to negotiate her marriage with the duke of Anjou, did not queſtion but on that occaſion the French court would ſtrongly ſolicit her in behalf of the queen of Scots. To be provided therefore with an evaſion, ſhe cauſed at length the conference to be held in the months of February and March, that ſhe might be able to ſay to the king of France, the affair of the queen of Scots was upon terms of agreement; fully bent, however, to manage it ſo that the conference ſhould be without effect.

The earl of Morton, Pitcairn, and others[w], were ſent from Scotland to the conference, which was to be held at London, to maintain the king's cauſe. For Mary, appeared the biſhops of Roſs and Galloway, with the lord Levingſton; and the queen appointed ſeven of her privy counſellors[x] to hear the reaſons of both parties. They immediately required the earl of Morton, and his colleagues, to declare plainly the inducement of the Scots to depoſe their queen, and give the crown to the prince her ſon. The Scotch deputies delivered a large remonſtrance in writing, wherein they took for granted that the queen was privy to the king her huſband's death, and afterwards married the earl of Bothwell, the murderer; that to juſtify their conduct with regard to the queen, there were two points to be examined, the one of fact, the other of right. For the firſt, they ſtood to the proofs given by the earl of Murray at Hampton-court before the Engliſh commiſſioners, and which the queen of England had in her hands: that the earl had ſo evidently proved Mary guilty of the crime laid to her charge, that they thought it needleſs to repeat the ſame things, which beſides they could not without great reluctance. As to the point of right, which conſiſted in knowing whether the Scots had power to depoſe their ſovereigns when they became unworthy of the throne, they maintained it was an undoubted right enjoyed by the Scotch nation, ever ſince the beginning of their monarchy. They ſupported this principle with divers inſtances drawn from the hiſtory of Scotland and of other countries, as Spain and Denmark.

Elizabeth ſtill purſuing her ſcheme, not to declare herſelf, briefly anſwered to the Scots remonſtrance, which was communicated to her, that ſhe was not thoroughly convinced of the juſtice of their proceedings, and deſired them to confer with her miniſters, in order to find ſome expedient to adjuſt the affair. But they replied, it was needleſs to ſearch for expedients, ſince they had no power to agree to the diminution of the king's authority. Whereupon Elizabeth ordered a thing to be propoſed to Mary's agents, which ſhe knew they would not accept; and this was, to give her the chief lords of their party in hoſtage, with ſome places in Scotland[y]. And indeed they boldly rejected it, and made other offers which the Engliſh commiſſioners rejected in their turn. At laſt, they demanded of the Scots to give the young king of Scotland in hoſtage to the queen; to which they anſwered, they had not power to promiſe any ſuch thing. Camden ſays here, that Mary's agents made a jeſt of this evaſion, affirming, "the deputies wanted not power, ſince the ſame crime renders all the accomplices equal."

At laſt, Elizabeth admitting the Scotch deputies to an audience, agreed with them that the affair could not be determined but by the ſtates of the kingdom. Then ſhe deſired them to order it ſo, that another conference ſhould be held in Scotland during the ſeſſion of the parliament, which was to meet in May. She detained them however ſome time longer, being willing to know, before their departure, whether the queen of Scots would conſent to the conference. But ſo far was ſhe from agreeing to it, that ſhe complained very much of her deputies ſuffering her right to be called in queſtion, and revoked their powers. She ordered however the biſhop of Roſs to reſide ſtill at London, as her embaſſa-

[t] Q. Elizabeth ſent Charles Howard, with a fleet, in which were ſeveral noblemen, to convoy her from Zealand to Spain. Camden, p. 430.

[u] This year, on March 16, died William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, at Hampton-court, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, April 18. Stow, p. 669. This year alſo died Henry Clifford, the ſecond earl of Cumberland of the name; and ſir Nicholas Throckmorton. Camden, p. 430. On the 1ſt of October, there was a terrible tempeſt, which did an incredible damage in ſeveral places. See an account of it in Hollingſhead, p. 1222, 1223.

[w] James Macgil. Buchanan.

[x] Namely, the earls of Leiceſter and Suſſex; Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper; the earl of Oxford, lord Chamberlain; William lord Burleigh, ſir Walter Mildmay, and ſir Francis Knolles. Spotiſwood, p. 248.

[y] The lords demanded, were the duke of Chateleraut, the earls of Huntley and Argyle, the lord Humes, the lord Herris, and another; and the places required were the caſtles of Dunbarton and Humes, for three years. Camden, p. 431. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 127.

Ha

dor. This gave Elizabeth great ſuſpicion, being ſenſible the biſhop was the chief promoter of the plots againſt her; but ſhe durſt not refuſe him, for fear of giving occaſion to ſay, ſhe did not own Mary for queen, and thereby wound her pretended impartiality. At length the Scotch deputies departed, the 8th of April, after a ſix weeks ſtay in London to no purpoſe. Wherefore it was not Elizabeth's intention that this conference ſhould produce an agreement. Though this did not evidently appear in her whole conduct, it might eaſily be ſeen in a letter of Cecil to Walſingham, then embaſſador in France, wherein he told him plainly, that the ſole aim in that conference was to gain time. Another letter to Walſingham from the earl of Leiceſter, about the ſame thing, manifeſtly diſcovers Elizabeth's policy. The earl told him, the queen agreed that Mary was unworthy to ſway the ſcepter, but could hardly believe her ſubjects had power to depoſe her. That therefore ſhe remained in ſuſpence, not being able to determine either to reſtore queen Mary or defend the cauſe of the Scots, becauſe ſhe did not think it entirely juſt. During this pretended uncertainty, Mary remained ſtill in priſon.

The truce between the two Scotch factions being expired, during the conference at London, or ſhortly after, the earl of Lenox took the town of Dunbarton by ſurpriſe, which had till then been in the hands of the queen's adherents. Verac, the French embaſſador, was taken there, and ſent to St. Andrew's, from whence he was readily ſuffered to make his eſcape. But the caſe was otherwiſe with James Hamilton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who, being alſo taken priſoner upon the ſame occaſion, and ſent to Sterling, was condemned to be hanged. He was accuſed of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king by a prieſt [z], who was brought face to face, of whom, inſtead of defending himſelf, he demanded, what thoſe prieſts deſerved who revealed the ſecrets of confeſſions? It is ſaid, Cardan, going to Scotland to cure him of a dropſy, told him, when he had reſtored him to health, that he had by the help of his medicines freed him from the preſent danger, but it was not in his power to prevent his dying on the gallows.

Elizabeth was not wholly taken up with the affairs of Scotland. There was another which gave her no leſs trouble, by reaſon of its difficulties, and the conſequences it might be attended with. Her miniſters knowing her enemies were in perpetual motion, and when one plot failed, were immediately forming another, were afraid her prudence would in the end be defeated. In Walſingham's Negotiations, there is a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, telling him, that whilſt the affair of the queen of Scots was in hand, her friends were thinking of carrying her away, of which the court had ſome dark intimations. The earl of Leiceſter wrote to the ſame embaſſador, that Mary's adherents were more bold than ever, which in all appearance proceeded from their hopes of the ſucceſs of ſome freſh attempt. The miniſters therefore believed nothing but a marriage could ſecure the queen from ſo many conſpiracies which were daily renewed. An alliance with ſome powerful prince would naturally produce a good effect, by reaſon of the ſuccours which might be thence received upon occaſion; beſides that it would ſtrike a dread into the queen's enemies. On the other hand, they imagined, if it pleaſed God to bleſs the marriage, the birth of a prince would deprive the queen of Scots of great part of her adherents. Wherefore they never ceaſed to repreſent to Elizabeth the reaſons which ought to determine her to marry. At laſt, whether ſhe yielded to theſe reaſons, or to be freed from their importunities, ſhe told them, that nothing hindered her but the difficulty of finding a ſuitable match; and indeed it was not eaſy to make a fit choice: ſhe muſt take either a proteſtant or a popiſh prince. But as two principal inducements prompted her to marry, namely, to make a ſtrong alliance, and to have a ſucceſſor; in chuſing a proteſtant, the firſt of theſe inducements would not be anſwered, becauſe there was no prince of the reformed religion whoſe alliance could be very advantageous to England. In reſolving upon a catholic, there was no choice, ſince the duke of Anjou, the king of France's brother, was the only fit perſon. But this project had its difficulties. The queen gave to underſtand, that in marrying ſhe did not mean to give herſelf a maſter, or even an equal, ſince ſhe was reſolved to hold the reins of the government alone, and communicate to her ſpouſe the external honours of royalty only. In the ſecond place, ſhe did not pretend the Engliſh catholics ſhould reap any advantage from her marriage with a prince of their religion. But there was no likelihood the duke of Anjou would ſubmit to what the queen deſired, or diſſemble his religion to enjoy the bare title of king, which was not ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition. Mean while, the miniſters were ſo urgent with the queen to marry, that at length they obtained her conſent to treat with France upon that ſubject. But very probably ſhe gave her conſent only becauſe ſhe imagined it would be in her power to break off the negotiation whenever ſhe pleaſed, by the difficulties ſhe ſhould ſtart. She concealed her ſentiments however from her miniſters: Burleigh thought her ſincere for ſome time; the earl of Leiceſter was not entirely of that opinion, but knew not what to think. Be this as it will, the queen was told that Catherine de Medici, having plainly perceived the reaſons which moved her to reject the propoſals of a marriage with Charles IX. had intimated that the duke of Anjou would be more proper for her. It was alſo hinted to her, that the young prince was by no means a bigot, and might poſſibly be brought to communicate with the church of England. The only thing therefore was ſo to manage it that the French court ſhould make the firſt advances, after which the treaty might begin. To that end, in Auguſt 1570, Norris was recalled from his embaſſy in France, to make room for ſir Francis Walſingham, who was doubtleſs thought more proper to manage the affair, being alſo a creature of the lord Burleigh, who was extremely deſirous of the marriage.

Walſingham ſtayed all the reſt of the year, and part of the next, at Paris, without any overture being made, and yet the marriage was much talked of. He informed the court of England of it, and preſently after received inſtructions from Burleigh, importing, that if any perſon of diſtinction ſhould ſpeak to him of the marriage, he might anſwer, that upon the report, he had taken care to enquire how the queen ſtood inclined in that reſpect, and found, as the good of her people was her chief view, ſhe had reſolved to marry if ſhe could meet with a ſuitable match. Shortly after the lord Buckhurſt being ſent to Paris [a], as embaſſador extraordinary, king Charles, and his mother queen Catherine opened their minds to him upon that ſubject, and a negotiation was begun. But as this project was not executed, I ſhall content myſelf, without deſcending to particulars, to ſhew here the real cauſes of the breaking off the negotiation.

It was almoſt certain neither Elizabeth nor the court of France had any deſire to conclude the marriage, though it ſeemed to be ſeriouſly negotiated on both ſides. Elizabeth found a double advantage in this feigned negotiation. Firſt, ſhe amuſed her own miniſters, who preſſed her earneſtly to marry. Secondly, her enemies believing the marriage was really going to be concluded, would of courſe remain quiet. And indeed it was not likely they ſhould think of attacking her, when they ſaw her upon the point of being ſtrictly united with France. It was requiſite therefore, the better to amuſe thoſe who might have formed plots againſt her, to ſhew ſome earneſtneſs for the marriage, leſt, if ſhe acted with indifference in the affair, her moſt ſecret thoughts ſhould be diſcovered.

On the other ſide, the court of France propoſed the marriage only to amuſe Elizabeth, and with her all the proteſtants of Europe, but particularly the Hugonots. In all likelihood Charles IX. had now formed the barbarous plot which broke out the next year. But this was only the beginning of a greater project, which was to deſtroy all the proteſtants in general, and ſuddenly attack Elizabeth herſelf. The pope and the king of Spain were engaged in the deſign, and pretended to be alarmed at what was negotiating at Paris, to enſnare the more eaſily thoſe they intended to ſurpriſe. Wherefore, it was neceſſary for the court of France to appear very deſirous of the match, and to yield as far as poſſible, but without concluding any thing in point of religion. So the difficulties ſtarted by Elizabeth in the negotiation were extremely ſubſervient to the deſigns of the French, as they gave them room to make advances capable of deceiving the public, and cauſing it to be thought they had no ill deſign againſt the proteſtant religion. By this means they removed all ſorts of ſuſpicion, both from the court of England and the Hugonots. Indeed it was hardly poſſible to conjecture, that when the king and his mother teſtified ſuch a zeal to accompliſh the propoſed marriage, they were thinking of extirpating all the Hugonots in the kingdom. Nay, they were extremely careful to remove this ſuſpicion by their great diſſimulation towards them, pretending to lend an ear to the leaders of the Hugonots, and place entire confidence in them. But, notwithſtanding all their care to conceal their deſigns, the French court made Elizabeth very jealous during the whole negotia-

[z] John Hamilton, one of the chief actors in this murder, diſcovered the whole matter to his confeſſor, who revealed it to others. Buchanan, l. 20.

[a] He went over in February, and came back a little before Eaſter. Stow, p. 668, 669.

tion, by their preſſing and repeated inſtances for the queen of Scots liberty. Elizabeth could not underſtand this way of proceeding. The king of France, as ſhe thought, having propoſed the marriage with the duke of Anjou, and a ſtrict alliance between the two crowns, ſhould have been entirely in her intereſt; whereas ſhe ſaw him concerned for Mary's, which was directly contrary. Nay ſhe diſcovered at that time, that France privately favoured Mary's projects, which could not be reconciled with the deſign of the marriage and alliance. For this reaſon ſhe frequently intimated to the king and his mother, that ſhe was offended at their conduct. But ſhe was anſwered with proteſtations of friendſhip, eſteem, and regard; and with excuſes, that Mary being queen dowager of France, leſs could not be done than to ſolicit in her behalf. Charles did not even ſcruple to own privately, that what he did was only for forms ſake, that he might not appear entirely to forſake the unfortunate queen. Perhaps it will be thought ſtrange, that Charles ſhould not carry his diſſimulation ſo far as to declare openly, he would not concern himſelf any more about Mary; but this policy would have ſpoiled all. The deſign of the league of religion was to extirpate the Hugonots at once, that being freed from the fear of any diverſion in France, the catholics might carry their arms into England. If therefore Mary's reſtoration to the throne of Scotland could have been obtained, whether by treaty or ſolicitation, or any other way, England might have been invaded with much greater eaſe, whilſt inſurrections were raiſed within the kingdom. This was the ſcheme which had been formed from the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. To invade England by ſea would neceſſarily have been very expenſive, beſides, that ſuch an undertaking was liable to greater inconveniencies, as Philip II. afterwards experienced. Scotland therefore alone could afford a paſſage, but to that end the kingdom was to be governed by perſons well affected to the catholic religion. This was the aim of all the intrigues, public and private, for the queen of Scots reſtoration. I am perſuaded that they who have intimated that compaſſion for queen Mary made her friends act for her, had no juſt idea of the inceſſant and extraordinary pains in her favour. I do not however deny, that, among thoſe who ſerved her, ſome acted from that motive; but that was not the thought of thoſe who managed affairs. In the intention of thoſe, Mary's reſtoration was only a means to execute greater projects.

It is therefore certain the court of France never ſeriouſly thought of concluding the marriage; and, in all appearance, the queen herſelf was as little inclined to it, though her miniſters did all they could to perſuade her. As ſhe had declared at firſt, by Walſingham, that ſhe would not allow the duke of Anjou the exerciſe of his religion, the court of France imagined there would be no great danger in making ſome advances with reſpect to that point, ſince they were almoſt ſure of finding in it an occaſion of rupture, as well as a continual pretence to prolong the treaty as they pleaſed. The duke of Anjou came therefore by degrees to be ſatisfied with a little chapel in ſome private corner of the palace; and the French embaſſador had orders to proteſt, that the duke could not be contented with leſs, and to demand a poſitive anſwer in ten days. Hitherto the queen had refuſed to agree that the duke ſhould have the exerciſe of his religion at all; nay, had pretended he ſhould accompany her when ſhe went to chapel, and be preſent at divine ſervice. The buſineſs then was to anſwer the duke's propoſal, which probably was to be the laſt. But, whilſt ſhe was deliberating, the French embaſſador ſhewed, to ſome perſon of diſtinction at court, letters from Paris, whereby it appeared, the court of France did not inſiſt upon that article ſo ſtrenuouſly as ſome would have inſinuated. On the other hand, the lord Burleigh was informed, by a Frenchman of note, that, if the queen ſtood her ground, the court of France would give way in the end. Moreover Walſingham wrote from Paris, that the duke of Montmorency had given his opinion in council, that it would be beſt not to mention religion at all in the treaty of marriage, which was the ſame thing as leaving this article entirely to the queen. All theſe inſinuations were ſo many ſnares laid for the queen by the court of France, to induce her to refuſe a thing which ſeemed ſo reaſonable, and that it might appear the rupture proceeded not from the duke. She ſuffered herſelf to be ſurpriſed, and in her anſwer deviſted not from her pretenſions.

Elizabeth's obſtinacy convincing the king of France he might venture to proceed one ſtep farther, he offered to leave the article of religion undetermined. But Elizabeth would not agree to it, ſaying, it would be an infallible means to ſow diſcord between her and her ſpouſe. In ſhort, the court of France went ſo far, as to be ſatisfied with the queen's promiſe in writing, that the duke of Anjou ſhould not be proſecuted according to the laws of England, if he ſecretly exerciſed his religion in a private chapel. Whereupon Elizabeth, with great difficulty, agreed at length to this:

"That if the duke of Anjou would promiſe to accompany the queen when ſhe went to chapel, and would not refuſe to hear and learn the principles of the church of England, ſhe would agree that neither himſelf nor his family ſhould be compelled againſt their conſcience to conform to the Engliſh church, till they ſhould be otherwiſe perſuaded. Moreover, that neither himſelf nor his domeſtics, the number of whom ſhould be agreed upon, ſhould be diſturbed in the uſe of any rites and ceremonies different from thoſe eſtabliſhed by law, provided they were not repugnant to the word of God, and on condition it were done in a private place, for the ſatisfying their conſciences, and ſo as the people might not take occaſion from thence to violate the eſtabliſhed laws of the land." It was with much difficulty that the French embaſſador got the terms, "repugnant to the word of God," to be changed into theſe, "repugnant to the church of God."

It is eaſy to perceive, that when Elizabeth ſeemed to relax a little on this article, ſhe added reſtrictions which required explication, and which left a door to recede, in caſe ſhe had been taken at her word. Hence therefore it may be inferred, that ſhe did inſiſt ſo much upon the article of religion, only becauſe ſhe thought it ſerviceable to break off the negotiation. Accordingly we find, in Walſingham's Memoirs, that the earl of Leiceſter and the lord Burleigh were convinced at laſt ſhe had no mind to marry.

The affair ſtanding thus, Charles IX. told the queen, by La Mothe Fenelon, his embaſſador, that he thought her anſwer very hard, and deſired her to ſend ſome truſty perſon to ſettle with him every thing relating to the marriage. Elizabeth replied, ſhe could not proceed to any other article, without knowing firſt, whether the king and the duke intended to allow what ſhe had propoſed, with reſpect to religion. So the buſineſs ſtopped there. Charles ſtill feigned to expect the truſty perſon he had demanded, and the queen pretended ſhe ſtaid for the court of France's conſent to the article concerning religion, as ſhe had ſent it. The negotiation laſted from March till September, and the rupture altered not the good underſtanding between the two courts. On the contrary, Charles thanked the queen for dealing ſo freely with him; and, without ſaying any more of the marriage, deſired to make a defenſive league with her. Elizabeth readily conſented. As ſhe had no ally, it was her intereſt to unite with France, as well to diſengage that crown from the queen of Scots intereſt, as to diſcourage the pope, the king of Spain, and the Engliſh catholics, by the alliance. But ſhe knew not that Charles's aim was only to amuſe both her and the Hugonots, whoſe deſtruction was determined, though he affected to careſs and make uſe of them to execute his pretended projects againſt Spain. However this be, Elizabeth ſent ſecretary Smith into France, to negotiate the league jointly with Walſingham.

Whilſt the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou was treating at Paris, and, both ſides affected to publiſh it, would ſoon be concluded, the queen of Scots was in a grievous condition, becauſe ſhe plainly ſaw ſhe was going to loſe France. This obliged her, without doubt, to turn towards Spain, and try to obtain from thence the aſſiſtance ſhe wanted. To that purpoſe, ſhe diſpatched Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to inform them of the ſtate of her affairs. At the ſame time ſhe wrote to the duke of Norfolk, and ſent him in cypher the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, recommending him to Ridolpho, as a truſty perſon, to whom ſhe deſired him to give letters of credit. Upon the receipt of theſe letters, the duke ordered Higford, his ſecretary, who had the key, to decypher them, and then bid him throw them into the fire. But whether Higford was already gained by the court, or deſigned to betray his maſter, he hid all theſe papers under a mat in his bed-chamber.

Ridolpho, who was the pope's private agent, did all he could to perſuade the duke of Norfolk to undertake the queen of Scots defence. He repreſented to him, there were in England many malcontents, who would be glad to ſee him at their head, and by that means he might revenge the injuries he had received, and the long impriſonment he had endured. He put him in hopes of powerful ſuccours from the pope[b] and the king of Spain[c], adding, that in this he would do no wrong to Elizabeth, ſince it was only to obtain her conſent

[b] Who had laid down, the laſt year, when the bull was publiſhed, a hundred thouſand crowns, whereof twelve thouſand had been diſtributed by Ridolpho himſelf, among the Engliſh fugitives in Flanders. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 154.

[c] Affirming, that the king of Spain would furniſh him with four thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred foot, which might be tranſported to Harwich, in Eſſex, and without the leaſt ſuſpicion, in the beginning of ſummer, when the duke of Medina-Celi was coming in the Netherlands with a fleet. Ibid. And

to marry the queen of Scots, and oblige her to tolerate the catholic religion in England. At the ſame time, the biſhop of Roſs frequently told the duke, by Barker, one of his confidents, that by the help of his friends, who were very numerous, it would be eaſy for him to ſeize the queen, become maſter of her perſon, and detain her in cuſtody till he had married the queen of Scots, and provided for the ſecurity of the catholic religion. But the duke rejected the biſhop of Roſs's project, and even refuſed to give Ridolpho the letters of credit, which he deſired for the courts of Rome and Madrid, and for the duke of Alva. But though all the duke of Norfolk's proceedings in this affair are not particularly known, it is however certain he engaged in it too far, in expectation of eſpouſing the queen of Scots. But it cannot well be conceived, how he intended to accompliſh his enterpriſe, or what he deſigned to do after marrying the queen of Scots. However, it is eaſy to conjecture that the pope and the king of Spain, who ſet Ridolpho and the biſhop of Roſs to work, would never have thought of employing the duke of Norfolk, if they had not had ſome aſſurances from him, that he would comply with their intentions.

Ridolpho, having conferred with the pope and the duke of Alva, informed one Baily, a Fleming, the queen of Scots ſervant, of what he had negotiated; and as this man was to go into England, gave him ſeveral letters for the queen of Scots, the Spaniſh embaſſador, the biſhop of Roſs, and the duke of Norfolk [d]. Baily was no ſooner landed at Dover, but he was ſeized. His packet was taken from him, and ſent to the lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque-ports. But the biſhop of Roſs, being informed of the accident, ſo artfully managed the lord Cobham, the duke of Norfolk's ſecret friend, that the letters were changed, and others put in their place, containing nothing criminal or of moment, which were delivered to the council. However, Baily was put to the rack, and confeſſed the true letters were in the biſhop of Roſs's hands. But the biſhop had taken care to ſend all the papers which might hurt him, beyond ſea, with his ſecretary. So nothing was found in his houſe, and yet he was arreſted and committed to the cuſtody of the biſhop of Ely [e].

Shortly after, the court made a new diſcovery, which proved fatal to the duke of Norfolk. The French embaſſador, intending to diſtribute ſome money in Scotland among the queen's friends [f], applied to the duke of Norfolk, who cauſed him to be put into the hands of Higford and Barker, to deliver it to one Brown, of Shrewſbury, who was to convey it to Lowther and Baniſter, and theſe were ordered to ſend it to the lord Herris. Brown, who was not in the ſecret, receiving the money, well packed up, and finding by the weight it was gold, whereas he had been told it was ſilver, carried it to the ſecretary of ſtate. The packet being opened, there was found a letter in cypher from La Mothe Fenelon to Verac, the French ambaſſador in Scotland. Whereupon Higford, the duke of Norfolk's ſecretary, being arreſted, preſently confeſſed, that the money was returned by the French embaſſador. He diſcovered likewiſe where he had hid the queen of Scots papers, which the duke, his maſter, had ordered him to decypher and tranſcribe. This was ſufficient to cauſe the duke of Norfolk to be apprehended, and ſent to the Tower, the 7th of September. There was found upon him a long memorial in cypher, dated the 7th of February this year, wherein the queen of Scotland told him, ſhe was adviſed to retire to Spain rather than France, by reaſon of the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth, which was much talked of. She added, when ſhe ſhould be in Spain, ſhe would feign a deſire to marry Don John, of Auſtria; but that the duke ſhould not be alarmed at it, becauſe ſhe reſerved herſelf for him. Finally, after ſpeaking of Elizabeth, in very injurious terms, ſhe deſired the duke to diſpatch Ridolpho to Rome with inſtructions [g].

The duke of Norfolk, being examined, confeſſed, that about a year ſince he received four letters in cyper from the queen of Scots, and had anſwered them; but ſaid, it was only to thank her for her good will, and to perſuade her to rely entirely on the queen. He ſaid farther, that the biſhop of Roſs having preſſed him to write to the duke of Alva by Ridolpho, he had refuſed it, neither would he give him any inſtructions about the affair for which he went to Rome. He confeſſed alſo, he had helped to convey to Verac a letter from the French embaſſador reſiding at London. As to the papers he had received from the queen of Scots by Ridolpho, he ſaid, they were burnt, as he really believed. Then his houſe was ſearched, and the cypher, which the queen of Scots and he uſed, was found with the papers hid by the ſecretary. Some of the accomplices, who were apprehended, confeſſed all they knew, without being put to the rack.

Whilſt proofs were collecting againſt the duke of Norfolk, in order to form his proceſs, the council debated on what was to be done with the biſhop of Roſs. He aſſumed the character of the queen of Scots embaſſador, and probably had been acknowledged for ſuch, Elizabeth not having thought proper to deny Mary the title of queen, or openly to own ſhe was a priſoner. So, the caſe being uncommon, ſome learned civilians were conſulted upon three queries [h]. Firſt, whether an embaſſador, convicted of conſpiring againſt the prince to whom he is ſent, ought to enjoy the privileges of an embaſſador? The civilians replied, ſuch an embaſſador, by the law of nations, forfeits his privileges. Secondly, whether a prince depoſed can give his miniſter or agent the title of embaſſador? The anſwer was, the right of ſending embaſſadors belonged only to ſovereigns, and a prince, lawfully depoſed, cannot confer that title. It muſt be obſerved, Elizabeth had not owned that Mary was lawfully depoſed. Thirdly, whether a prince, who comes into another prince's dominions, and is there kept priſoner, can have an agent? And whether that agent may be reputed an embaſſador, though it be notified to him that he ſhall be no longer acknowledged for ſuch? It was anſwered, if ſuch a prince has not forfeited his royalty, he may have an agent; but whether that agent may be reputed an embaſſador, depended upon the authority of his commiſſion. And a prince may forbid an embaſſador his dominions, if he does not keep himſelf within the bounds of his office: but, however, the privileges of embaſſadors are not to be violated [i].

Theſe queries being thus anſwered, the biſhop of Roſs was brought before the council [k], and charged with attempting to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. He refuſed at firſt to anſwer, inſiſting on the privileges of an embaſſador. But at length, ſeeing this defence was little regarded, and witneſſes began to be produced againſt him, he ſaid, that by an inviolable cuſtom, grown into a law, the Engliſh and Scots could not be witneſſes one againſt another. Whereupon it was examined, whether this cuſtom was to take place any where but on the borders, eſpecially in a caſe where the ſafety of the queen and kingdom was concerned. In ſhort, the biſhop was ſent to the Tower, and ſome time after examined [l] upon three and twenty articles, to each of which he anſwered in particular: but Camden has not thought fit to give us either the examination or the anſwers. He ſays only in general, that the biſhop excuſed the queen, his miſtreſs, for that, being a priſoner, and in the flower of her age, it was no wonder ſhe ſhould uſe her endeavours to eſcape: that the project of her marriage was formed by the advice of ſeveral Engliſh lords, ſome of whom were privy counſellors: that indeed the duke of Norfolk had promiſed to think no more of the affair; but his promiſe was not capable of breaking a prior engagement [m]: laſtly, he endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct; for that, being an embaſſador, he was obliged to ſerve the queen, his miſtreſs, to the utmoſt of his power: adding, that he propoſed the deſign of ſeizing the queen to the duke of Norfolk, only to try him; and he refuſed to name the great men who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in the attempt. But he confeſſed that, by the orders of the queen, his miſtreſs, he had conſulted the earl of Arundel, Lumley, Throckmorton, and the lord viſ-

[d] And the lord Lumley. Camden, p. 434.

[e] And conveyed a while after to the iſle of Ely. Sir Thomas Stanley, and ſir Thomas Gerard, and Rolſton, were ſent to the Tower. And Henry Howard, who had aſpired to the archbiſhopric of York, was, upon ſuſpicion, committed to the cuſtody of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Ibid.

[f] Two thouſand crowns. Camden ſays, the money was ſent by queen Mary to the French embaſſador, to be by him conveyed to her party in Scotland, p. 434.

[g] This memorial, according to Camden, was not found about the duke, but being ſent to him by queen Mary, with the copy of her letters to Rome and Madrid, he ordered it to be burnt with the reſt of the papers. But Higford, upon his being taken up, diſcovered to the council where it was hid, with the letters. It was a draught of queen Mary's deſigns, which the duke of Norfolk, imagining Higford had burnt, denied at firſt every thing that Higford had confeſſed; but when the council produced Higford's and others confeſſions, together with the draughts and letters, to the duke's face, he was amazed, thinking they had been burnt. The earls of Arundel and Southampton, the lords Lumley and Cobham, Thomas Brooke, Henry Percy, Lowder, Powell, Goodyer, Baniſter, &c. were taken up alſo, who all confeſſed what they knew. Camden, p. 434, 435.

[h] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, the judges were conſulted; but it was not their buſineſs. The civilians were, Daniel Lewis, Valentine Dale, William Drury, William Aubrey, and Henry Jones. Camden.

[i] The anſwer to the firſt part of the query being omitted by Rapin, is ſupplied from Camden, and placed between crotchets.

[k] He was brought before the earl of Bedford, Clinton lord admiral, the lord Burleigh, ſir Francis Knolles, and ſir Thomas Smith; with the queen's attorney and ſolicitor, at the lord mayor's houſe. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 189.

[l] By the lord Burleigh, ſir Francis Knolles, and ſir Thomas Smith. Leſley's Negotiat. p. 197.

[m] If Bothwell lived ten years in Denmark, as Camden ſays in another place, it is not to be conceived how queen Mary could promiſe, with an oath, to marry the duke of Norfolk in 1570, ſeeing Bothwell was then alive. Rapin.

This

count Montague, about the queen of England's demand, that the king of Scotland ſhould be put into her hands. This is all Camden ſays of the biſhop of Roſs's defence. But it is not unlikely, the fear of death, with which he was threatened, made him diſcover ſome things which Camden has not been pleaſed to publiſh, as will appear in the ſequel.

The duke of Norfolk's impriſonment making a great noiſe in France and elſewhere, Elizabeth cauſed the reaſons to be imparted to Charles IX. by Killegrew, whom ſhe ſent to Paris to eaſe Walſingham who was ſick. The new embaſſador told the queen-mother, that it was now two years ſince the queen of Scots, without acquainting his miſtreſs with it, had deſigned to marry the duke of Norfolk, and therefore he was ſent to the Tower, without however being deprived of the enjoyment of his eſtate: that afterwards, the duke ſwore to think of that marriage no more, and the queen of Scots, both by letters and agents, promiſed the like: that nevertheleſs they had ſtill continued their intrigues, as it was eaſy to prove by their own letters; and under colour of freeing the queen of Scots, had projected to ſet her on the throne of England, by raiſing a rebellion in the kingdom, and calling in foreign troops, which evidently appeared by their letters and the confeſſion of their accomplices: that the queen of Scots had expreſly ordered her agents to conceal her deſigns from the court of France, becauſe ſhe was entirely devoted to Spain, having even reſolved to convey her ſon thither, and marry Don John of Auſtria.

In the preſent ſituation of the French court, Elizabeth's complaints againſt the queen of Scots were not much regarded. But the parliament of England[n] took the queen's intereſt extremely to heart, and to prevent the dangers to which ſhe was expoſed by theſe plots, paſſed a very remarkable act. It was provided, "that if any man ſhould attempt the perſonal hurt of the queen, or the depriving her of any part of ſovereignty; raiſe war, or ſtir up others to war againſt her; if any one ſhould dare to give out, that another perſon has a juſter title than ſhe to the crown; or ſhould ſay ſhe is an heretic, ſchiſmatic, or infidel; or ſhould uſurp her right and title during her life; or ſhould affirm the parliament has not power to ſettle and limit the ſucceſſion to the crown; every ſuch perſon ſhould be guilty of high treaſon[o]." It was alſo enacted, "That whoſoever, by bulls or other mandates of the pope, ſhould reconcile any man to the church of Rome, and thoſe who ſhould be ſo reconciled, ſhould be guilty of treaſon: that whoſoever ſhould relieve ſuch reconcilers, or ſhould bring into England any Agnus Dei's, Grains, or other things conſecrated by the pope, ſhould incur the penalty of a præmunire, loſs of goods, and perpetual impriſonment." It was provided alſo, "That all the fugitives ſhould, within ſueh a time, under forfeiture of their eſtates, return and ſubmit themſelves to the government, and that all the fraudulent conveyances of their lands ſhould be void." It was likewiſe moved, That if for the future the queen of Scots ſhould be concerned in any conſpiracy, ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt by law, as the wife of an Engliſh peer. But the queen hindered this bill from paſſing, being ſatisfied with letting her priſoner ſee to what ſhe would be expoſed, if ſhe continued her practices[p].

Before we ſee what followed upon the late diſcoveries, it will be neceſſary to run over what paſſed in Scotland, after the earl of Morton's return. The beginning of May, the queen's party became maſter of Edinburgh, by the aſſiſtance of the laird of Grange, who favoured them, though he pretended to keep the caſtle for the king. This done, the heads of that party convened the ſtates belonging to that faction; and at the ſame time, the earl of Lenox aſſembled the ſtates of the king's party in the ſuburbs of the ſame city. Theſe two aſſemblies did nothing but mutually condemn each other, and as if they had given one another the word, they reſolved each apart to meet again in Auguſt, the king's lords at Sterling, and the queen's at Edinburgh. Theſe reſolutions being executed at the time appointed, the lords at Edinburgh formed the project of carrying away by force the lords of the contrary party, who were at Sterling, without any pretenſion. Melvil ſays, his friend Grange was the author, contriver, and manager, of this enterpriſe. He would have headed them himſelf; but his friends would not ſuffer him to be expoſed to the danger. This is the ſame Grange whom Melvil repreſents as a neutral perſon, and aiming only at the good of his country. The project was executed with ſo much conduct and ſucceſs, that the regent and the earl of Morton were preſently made priſoners. In all appearance, few of the king's lords would have eſcaped, had not the victorious ſoldiers fallen to plundering. But whilſt they were diſperſed about the town, the earl of Mar ſallied out of the caſtle with the garriſon, and compelled them to retire. In the diſorder, the earl of Morton fortunately eſcaped, but the regent was carried away, and murdered on the road in cold blood, by one hired to do it, in ſpite of David Spence, the officer who guarded him. A few days after, John Erſkin, earl of Mar, was choſen regent, to the great mortification of the earl of Morton, who aſpired to that dignity, and was ſupported by the Engliſh embaſſador.

To underſtand the ſituation of the affairs of Scotland, it is neceſſary to conſider, that though there ſeemed to be but two parties in the kingdom, namely, the king's and the queen's, there were however five, becauſe there were ſo many different opinions in both, which occaſioned that all of the ſame party did not tend to the ſame end. Some were wholly attached to the queen, and their chief view was to reſtore the catholic religion. Others earneſtly adhered to the king's party and the proteſtant religion. The new regent, like his predeceſſor, was deſirous to unite the two factions, and laboured to bring all to the obedience of the king, which he hoped to accompliſh, by granting to the queen's adherents all the favours they could reaſonably expect. Grange and his friends had formed the ſame deſign of uniting the two parties, but in ſuch a manner as that the kingdom ſhould be governed in the queen's name. In fine, the earl of Morton, who was penſioner to the court of England, was at the head of a fifth party, who, though outwardly for the king, ſought only to croſs thoſe that endeavoured to unite the two factions. This was properly Elizabeth's party, or at leaſt the party ſhe favoured moſt, though ſhe affected a neutrality. Her embaſſador Randolph, a man of a great genius, and very fit for his office, was the inſtrument ſhe made uſe of to ſtrengthen it. Nothing could be more prejudicial to England than the union of the two parties, which was endeavouring at any rate. It was to be feared, that after the union, queen Mary's friends would grow too powerful in the parliament, and procure reſolutions deſtructive of the intereſts of Elizabeth and England. Thus diſcord among the Scots was yet for Elizabeth's advantage, till affairs ſhould take another face. But as the earl of Mar, the new regent, was not to be managed as he wiſhed, ſhe laid her meaſures before hand, to procure the earl of Morton a party, capable of being oppoſed to the regent, if occaſion required. Such was the ſtate of the affairs of Scotland in the year 1571. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in France.

All this year the court of France uſed the higheſt diſſimulation to draw the Hugonots into their ſnares. There were no favours at court but for them. The king pretended to fear his brother the duke of Anjou, and to be diſpleaſed with the Guiſes, who, as he ſaid, kept him in a ſhameful captivity. Beſides this, he made uſe of two very effectual means to deceive the admiral. The firſt was, to feign a real intention to wage war with Spain, and to truſt him with the management of it. The ſecond was, to conclude the marriage of his ſiſter the princeſs Margaret with the king of Navarre. After that, the admiral and the Hugonots no longer queſtioned the king's good-will towards them, eſpecially, as they ſaw him very intent upon the marriage of the duke of Anjou with the queen of England, and as compliant as poſſible with reſpect to religion.

At the ſame time, the prince of Orange was ſtriving to put the Netherlands in motion, having reſolved to make ſome at-

[n] This parliament met at Weſtminſter April 2, and was diſſolved May 29. The clergy granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings to be paid in three years; and the lords and commons two fifteenths and tenths, and a ſubſidy of two ſhillings and eight-pence in the pound. D'ewes. Stow, p. 669.

[o] The act goes on: "And if any one during the queen's life, ſhould by book written or printed, maintain that any perſon is or ought to be the queen's heir and ſucceſſor, except the natural iſſue of her body," &c. Some looked upon this as too ſevere, thinking the naming of an heir would tend to the eſtabliſhing the quiet of the nation. But it ſeems, abundance of jeſts were paſſed upon the clauſe, "except the natural iſſue of her body," ſince in law, thoſe children are called natural which are begotten out of wedlock. So that Camden ſays, being then a young man, he himſelf often heard people ſay, that the word natural was inſerted into the act by Leiceſter, with a deſign, one time or other, to impoſe ſome baſtard ſon of his upon the Engliſh for the queen's natural iſſue. Camden, p. 436.

[p] The other acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. That fraudulent deeds made to avoid the debts of others ſhall be void. 2. That for fraudulent conveyances or deeds made by ſpiritual perſons, to defeat their ſucceſſors of remedy for dilapidations, ſhall be void. 3. That no eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhall be admitted to any benefice with cure, except he be twenty-three years of age at leaſt; and ſhall firſt ſubſcribe the articles of religion in preſence of the ordinary; and within two months after induction, read the ſame in his pariſh church, in the time of common-prayer; and declare his unfeigned aſſent thereunto; and all this upon pain of deprivation. That no perſon ſhall retain a benefice with cure, being under the age of twenty-one years, or not being a deacon at leaſt. That none ſhall be admitted to preach or adminiſter the ſacraments under the age of twenty-four years; nor without a teſtimonial of his honeſt life; nor unleſs he is able to render to the ordinary an account of his faith, in Latin.

The

tempt, whilſt the king of Spain's arms were employed againſt the infidels. The kings of Sweden and Denmark refuſing to aſſiſt him, he applied to Elizabeth, who durſt not give him aſſiſtance, though ſhe was not ignorant of the correſpondence held by the duke of Alva in Scotland and England with Mary's adherents. She even forbid the ſhips of Holland and Zeland, which acted againſt Spain, to enter her ports. In this extremity the prince of Orange ſent his brother, count Lewis, to king Charles IX. who loaded him with careſſes, and even imparted to him the falſe ſecret of his pretended deſign to make war upon Philip. But all this was only to deceive him. In the mean time, the count de la Mark, with four and twenty ſhips, did the Spaniards all the damage he could. This was all the prince of Orange could effect during this year [q].

[1572] The 16th of January, the duke of Norfolk was brought to his trial before the peers of the realm [r]. His accuſation ran: 1. That he had attempted to deprive the queen of her crown and life, and ſeize the throne himſelf by the help of foreigners. 2. That, unknown to the queen, he had treated of a marriage with the queen of Scots, though he knew ſhe had uſurped the title and arms of England. 3. That he had lent her a great ſum of money. 4. That he had ſupplied with money the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, who were baniſhed the kingdom, and declared enemies of their country. 5. That he had written to the pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Alva, deſiring aid to free the queen of Scots, and reſtore the popiſh religion in England. 6. Laſtly, That he had ſent ſupplies to the lord Herris, and other the queen's enemies in Scotland.

It may be ſaid, in general, the duke made a very weak defence to moſt of theſe articles. But it was not eaſy for him to deny what his own letters, and the confeſſions of his ſervants and accomplices, proved againſt him. Beſides, an intercepted letter from the biſhop of Roſs in priſon, to the queen of Scots, clearly ſhewed the duke had formed pernicious deſigns againſt the government. Camden did not think fit to relate the contents of the biſhop's letter. It is probable, however, it was very much to the purpoſe, ſince the duke deſired to ſee whether it was the biſhop's own hand. When he was convinced of it by his own eyes, he made the ſame defence as the biſhop had done, namely, that the teſtimony of a Scot againſt an Engliſhman was not valid. In this they both pretended, without ground, to take advantage of a cuſtom introduced on the borders of the two kingdoms, where, in caſes of depredation, the evidence of one nation againſt the other was not admitted, becauſe they were parties. But this cuſtom was not become ſo general as to be of ſervice to the duke in his cauſe. The ſtrength of his defence was, that his deſign to marry the queen of Scots could not be reckoned high treaſon, neither could it be thence inferred that he intended to ſeize the throne. The queen's attorney replied, that all the circumſtances of the affair, and all the duke's proceedings, evidently ſhewed he aimed at ſomething more than barely to marry a depoſed and impriſoned queen; for, by the meaſures he would have taken with the foreign powers, it plainly appeared that, in eſpouſing the queen of Scots, he deſigned to aſſert her claim to the crown of England. At laſt, after a long examination, he was condemned by his peers as guilty of high treaſon: but the ſentence was not executed till June.

In the mean while the queen made Walter d'Everux earl of Eſſex. He was deſcended by the great grandmother's ſide from the noble family of Bouchier, which had long borne that title. At the ſame time the lord Clinton, high admiral, was created earl of Lincoln, and four new barons were ſummoned to the next parliament [s].

The parliament, hearing plots were formed to free the duke of Norfolk, paſſed an act, whereby it was made death to attempt to deliver a priſoner condemned for high treaſon. By the ſame act, it was perpetual impriſonment and forfeiture of eſtate, if the priſoner was only accuſed of high treaſon, though not condemned [t].

At length, the queen, after having been long in ſuſpence, ſigned a warrant for the execution of the duke of Norfolk, the 2d of June. He confeſſed part of his faults, excuſed himſelf as to the reſt, and, in general, owned he was juſtly condemned: but he declared he never had any thoughts of reſtoring the popiſh religion in England, and that he died a proteſtant [u]. He was ſon to the earl of Surrey, beheaded in the latter part of Henry VIIIth's reign, for quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor with his own, without the king's licence. All of that family had firmly adhered to the catholic religion, except this duke, who embraced the proteſtant in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign. Since he declared that he died in the reformed religion, I do not ſee how his ſincerity can juſtly be queſtioned. But who can tell how far his ambition might have carried him, if he had found his projects more practicable? At leaſt, it cannot be denied that they who put him in motion, thought they had reaſon to rely on him. After all, if any one doubted that the end of this conſpiracy was to reſtore the popiſh religion in England, he might be ſatisfied by the teſtimony of Hieronymo Catena, in the life of Pius V. Inſtead of clearing the pope, the author makes him glory in having been the promoter of this deſign, and in having ſent Ridolpho into England to excite the Engliſh to rebel againſt Elizabeth.

Ten days after the duke of Norfolk's death, Elizabeth ſent two privy counſellors to the queen of Scots [w], not to accuſe her criminally, as Camden affirms [x], but to inform her of what ſhe had been charged with in the trial of the duke of Norfolk and his accomplices, and to tell her the queen would be extremely glad ſhe could juſtify herſelf. This was chiefly to let her know that her practices were diſcovered, and therefore ſhe had been more cloſely confined and reduced to a ſmaller number of domeſtics. Elizabeth was alſo well pleaſed to let her ſee ſhe had good ſpies, and knew that it was not barely to obtain her liberty that ſo many powers uſed their intereſt for her, but rather to ſet her on the throne of England. Wherefore the two privy counſellors repreſented to her, 1. That ſhe had aſſumed the title of queen of England, and afterwards refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, whereby ſhe had engaged to renounce it. 2. That ſhe would have married the duke of Norfolk without the queen's knowledge; and there was no reaſon to believe it was with deſign to dethrone her, ſince ſhe would have uſed foreign troops to ſet the duke free. 3. That ſhe was deeply concerned in the northern rebellion. 4. That ſhe had relieved the rebels in Scotland and Flanders. 5. That ſhe had ſent Ridolpho to the pope and the king of Spain, to ſolicit them to invade England. 6. That ſhe had received letters from the pope, wherein he aſſured her of his protection. 7. That ſhe had procured the pope's bull to abſolve the queen's ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. 8. Laſtly, That ſhe had ſuffered her agents in foreign parts to ſtile her publicly Queen of England. All theſe facts were but too true; however, as it was not eaſy to convict her that ſhe had acted with the intention aſcribed to her, ſhe therefore boldly made her defence to this effect:

That if ſhe had taken the title of Queen of England, it was by command of the king of France, her huſband, and ſhe had quitted it after his death; nay, ſhe had declared, and ſtill did declare, ſhe would not claim it ſo long as Elizabeth or her children lived: that in deſiring to marry the duke of Norfolk, ſhe had no deſign to hurt Elizabeth, but rather was of opinion the marriage would be advantageous to England: That if ſhe had not announced the marriage, it was becauſe ſhe was contracted to the duke [y]: That ſhe thought herſelf obliged by conjugal love to warn him of the danger, and perſuade him to make his eſcape: That ſhe was acceſſary to no rebellion; but, on the contrary, was always ready to diſcover whatever came to her knowledge, if Elizabeth would have vouchſafed to ſee and hear her: That ſhe had never relieved the Engliſh rebels, but only recommended the counteſs of Northumberland to the duke of Alva: That hearing Ridolpho was in the pope's favour, ſhe made uſe of him in concerns no way relating to England: That ſhe had employed no perſon to free her, but had willingly hearkened

[q] The Engliſh having, ſince the year 1552, carried on a gainful trade for gold with the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea, wherein they had often been diſturbed by the Portugueſe, who laid claim to that country, as the firſt diſcoverers of it; at laſt, all differences between the two nations were adjuſted, by a treaty concluded this year. Camden, p. 437.—The Exchange having been ſome time finiſhed, namely, ever ſince November 1567, queen Elizabeth came, January 23, this year, to ſee it, and by ſound of trumpet, her herald named it, The Royal Exchange. Stow, p. 668. Camden, p. 431. On September 22 died the learned John Jewell, biſhop of Saliſbury. Stow, p. 670. This year alſo died William Parr, marquis of Northampton. Camden, p. 437.

[r] Geoge Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, was conſtituted lord high ſteward of England for that day; and with him ſat twenty-five peers. Camden.

[s] Namely, John Powlet, of Baſing, the marquis of Wincheſter's ſon; Henry Compton, Henry Cheney, and Henry Norris. Camden, p. 440.

[t] Before arraignment, forfeiture of eſtate during life, and impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure. If arraigned, death; if condemned, the penalty of high treaſon was to be incurred. This was only during the queen's life.

[u] He was attended on the ſcaffold by Alexander Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, and was buried in the Tower chapel. Camden, p. 449. State Trials, vol. I.

[w] The perſons ſent to expoſtulate with the queen of Scots, were William lord de la Waré, ſir Ralph Sadler, doctor Wilſon, and Thomas Bromley. Camden, p. 442. Rapin, by miſtake, ſays there were but two.

[x] Camden's words are, "to expoſtulate with her by way of accuſation."

[y] Since Bothwell was alive, how could ſhe be contracted to the duke of Norfolk. Rapin.

to ſuch as offered their ſervice for that purpoſe, and with that view had given her cypher to Rolſton and Hall: That the letters ſhe had received from the pope, contained only matters of piety and conſolation: That ſhe was not the procurer of the bull, and had only ſeen a copy of it, which when ſhe had read, ſhe threw into the fire: That if any in foreign parts ſtiled her Queen of England, ſhe could not help it: That ſhe had never deſired aid of the pope, or the king of Spain, to invade England, but implored their aſſiſtance to reſtore her to her kingdom: Laſtly, That in caſe ſhe was to be tried, ſhe deſired it might be before the parliament, as a princeſs of the blood-royal of England.

Theſe anſwers ſhew that Mary did not deny the facts, but only the intention aſcribed to her. But on the other hand, though this intention could not be fully proved, her bare denial was not ſufficient to ſhew ſhe never had it, or to efface the ſuſpicions entertained of her. However, as there was no deſign to bring her to a trial, the affair reſted there; but Elizabeth was ſtill perſuaded, that the end of Mary's and her friend's intrigues was to dethrone her.

The negotiation of the defenſive league between France and England was ſtill continued at Paris, with great diſſimulation on Charles's ſide. He inſiſted upon difficulties which ought not to have cauſed any delay, ſince his ſole aim was to make uſe of this league to ſurpriſe the Hugonots; but this ſerved the better to conceal his deſigns. He pretended to be much afraid of the power of Spain, and therefore was obliged to join with England. The difficulties of the league conſiſted in two things: Firſt, Elizabeth required that both parties ſhould mutually promiſe to aſſiſt one another, in caſe either ſhould be attacked, though on account of religion. But Charles ſaid, he could not admit of that clauſe, for fear of offending his ſubjects, and all the catholic powers. He was willing however to agree, that the article ſhould be expreſſed in more general terms, which ſhould have the ſame meaning, namely, that the two parties ſhould mutually defend one another, if either was attacked upon any account whatſoever. The Engliſh embaſſadors objected that England feared no attack, but only on account of religion, whereas France had numberleſs quarrels with other ſtates, and therefore the condition would not be equal. To remove this difficulty, Charles offered to write to Elizabeth a letter with his own hand, wherein he would declare, that he underſtood the cauſe of religion to be included in the general clauſe. But the Engliſh not being ſatisfied with this ſecurity, required at leaſt a private article under the great ſeals of France and England. Whereupon Charles exclaimed againſt the injury done him, in believing him capable of breaking his word, and ſaid, he preferred his honour to his life. Walſingham, one of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries, was ſo biaſſed in favour of Charles, that he thought him a perfect honeſt man. He even wrote to lord Burleigh, that he did not doubt that the ſecurity was ſufficient. In ſhort, after many debates, Elizabeth was contented with the letter offered by Charles.

The ſecond difficulty conſiſted, in that the king of France would poſitively include the queen of Scots in the treaty, to which Elizabeth would not conſent. She thought it very ſtrange that the king of France ſhould ſo heartily eſpouſe the queen of Scots' intereſts at ſuch a juncture. Mary was uſing her utmoſt endeavours to dethrone her. The deſign of the league between France and England was for a mutual defence againſt the attacks of their enemies, and at the ſame time France earneſtly laboured to have the queen of Scots releaſed, that is, to enable her to execute her deſigns. Elizabeth could not underſtand this proceeding, and it gave her great ſuſpicion. However, as ſhe believed the league neceſſary for her ſafety, ſhe overlooked many things which gave her cauſe to miſtruſt the king of France's ſincerity. There was no way found to ſurmount this difficulty, but by inſerting in the treaty a doubtful clauſe, to this effect: "That both parties ſhall maintain the preſent laws of Scotland." Elizabeth meant the preſent and actual government of that kingdom, under the king's authority; and Charles underſtood the preceding government, under the queen's authority, conſidering the preſent as unlawful. But withal, he intimated, that he deſired thoſe terms which were capable of a double meaning, to be uſed only to avoid the blame of abandoning the queen of Scots. Elizabeth imagined it a great advantage that Mary was not mentioned in the treaty. Theſe two difficulties being removed, the league was ſigned at Blois, April 11. The ſubſtance whereof was as follows:

Charles and Elizabeth ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another againſt all perſons who ſhall attack them under any pretence whatſoever.

The league ſhall remain in full force till a year after the death of either party.

The party requeſted ſhall be bound to ſend to the party requiring, an aid of ſix thouſand foot, or of five hundred lances, making up, with others, fifteen hundred horſe, at his choice, with eight ſhips of war, manned with twelve hundred ſoldiers; the whole at the expence of the party requiring.

There ſhall be no innovations made in Scotland, but both princes ſhall endeavour to preſerve the peace of that kingdom, according to the preſent laws, without ſuffering the arrival of any foreign troops.

Some time after, Elizabeth ſent the earl of Lincoln into France [z], to ſee the treaty ſworn; and the Marſhal de Montmorency came to London upon the ſame account. Elizabeth ſwore to the league the 17th of June, and honoured the marſhal with the order of the garter. Whilſt Montmorency was at the court of England, he never ceaſed ſtrongly to ſolicit for the queen of Scots' liberty, to whom this eagerneſs did more hurt than good. On the other hand, the queen ordered the earl of Lincoln to ſhew the king of France the intercepted letter from the queen of Scots to the duke of Alva, wherein it appeared that ſhe put herſelf entirely under the king of Spain's protection. Montmorency would likewiſe have reſumed the affair of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, but did not much inſiſt upon it. Probably he had no orders to preſs it very ſtrenuouſly, conſidering what happened in France immediately after his return; I mean the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's, wherein admiral Chatillon, and all the Hugonots were butchered [a], who had been drawn to court, under colour of the nuptials of the king of Navarre with the princeſs Margaret, king Charles's ſiſter. It is needleſs to expatiate on this horrible maſſacre, ſo univerſally known. It ſuffices to obſerve, in a word, it demonſtrated to perſons of the leaſt penetration, that the court of France was then the moſt perfidious in the world.

This maſſacre threw all the proteſtants in Europe into the utmoſt conſternation, eſpecially when they knew it was openly approved of at Rome [b]. The proteſtant princes of Germany began to prepare for the defence, believing it was only the beginning of a combination to deſtroy their religion throughout all Chriſtendom, and the Switzers reſolved in a diet to lend France no more troops. But the court of England reflected on it particularly, not queſtioning it was an effect of the league of Bayonne, and that the ſtorm would quickly fall upon England. Walſingham, who had expreſſed ſo great an eſteem for Charles IX. wrote letter after letter, to give warning, that he was no longer to be truſted, though he ſhould repeat his proteſtations of friendſhip to the queen, and his aſſurances punctually to obſerve the late treaty [c].

It was not without reaſon that Charles ſtill deſired to keep fair with Elizabeth. Though he had maſſacred an infinite number of his Hugonot ſubjects, he ſaw the reſt ready to take up arms to ſcreen themſelves from his barbarity. The city of Rochelle, which was as their bulwark, had refuſed to open her gates to the king's forces. Some were already in arms in Languedoc and other provinces, and probably Charles was going to enter into a new war where he would have to deal with deſperate people. Apprehenſive as he was that Elizabeth would aid the Hugonots with all her forces, there was no diſſimulation but what he practiſed to divert her from it. When ſhe told him by her embaſſador, that after the late maſſacre, ſhe could no longer place any confidence in him, he endeavoured to excuſe himſelf in the beſt manner he could. One while he ſaid, it was done without his knowledge; another while, that he was forced to it, in order to prevent a conſpiracy formed by the admiral againſt him, the queen his mother, and his brothers. However, at the very time he ſhewed the greateſt deſire to live in a good underſtanding with Elizabeth, he was taking private meaſures to raiſe her diſturbances both in England and Scotland. After the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's, the pope ſent a legate into France. The duke of Savoy, a great friend to Spain,

[z] He ſet out, May 26, with a great train of nobility; among whom were the lords Dacres, Rich, Talbot, Sandes, &c. Camden, p. 444. Stow, p. 672.

[a] About three thouſand. See P. Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 730. Others ſay, ten thouſand. See Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 158.

[b] There were medals ſtruck in memory of this horrible fact, having on one ſide the king ſitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with this motto, Virtus in Rebelles: and on the reverſe, the arms of France crowned between two columns, and Pietas excitavit Juſticiam 24 Auguſti 1572. See a print of this medal in P. Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 786.

[c] In one of his letters to ſir Thomas Smith, he informs him, that all the Hugonots lands, which would amount to many millions, were to be ſold, and employed in the conqueſt of countries; and if ſo, England was in no ſmall danger. See Digges's Compl. Ambaſ. p. 245.

There

was come to Paris, and Charles's pretended dread of Philip's deſign was entirely vaniſhed. Nay, there was a ſtrict union between the two kings. On the other ſide, Walſingham gave frequent notice, that the duke of Guiſe had private conferences with the Scots, and the queen-mother frequently ſent for the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's embaſſador, to her houſe at unſeaſonable hours. Theſe things were plain indications to Elizabeth and her council, that the friendſhip of France was not to be relied on, though it had been earneſtly ſought.

Affairs being in this ſituation, it was not eaſy for the queen to determine what courſe ſhe ſhould take. She ſuſpected ſome plot was formed againſt her, but was not ſure[d]. On one hand, ſhe was afraid France and Spain were in league againſt her; but ſhe could not conceive how it was poſſible for them to agree, their intereſts being directly contrary. She conſidered, however, that Charles IX. was governed by the Lorrain princes, who had different views from his, and who regarded their own private intereſt more than the welfare of France. Beſides, an exceſſive religious zeal might cauſe him to overlook his true intereſt. In this ſtate of uncertainty, ſhe thought it moſt adviſeable to ſtand upon her guard, and make preparations as if ſhe was to be ſpeedily invaded; and to equal the king of France in diſſimulation, letting him know however it would not be eaſy to deceive her. So each, playing the hypocrite, never were there ſo ſtrong and ſo frequent proteſtations of friendſhip between Charles and Elizabeth, as in the firſt months after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew's. Both ſaid, they deſired above all things to keep the league inviolably, though Charles had no occaſion for Elizabeth's aid, and Elizabeth could no longer depend upon the amity of ſuch an ally. It was hardly poſſible for them to love one another. Charles looked upon Elizabeth as the protectreſs of the religion he was endeavouring to extirpate, and Elizabeth could conſider him but as a prince, without honour or honeſty, and as a ſworn enemy to the religion ſhe profeſſed. Notwithſtanding all this, Charles offered to renew the league with a freſh oath, and propoſed a marriage between Elizabeth and his younger brother the duke of Alençon. In ſhort, to give Elizabeth a ſenſible mark of his pretended friendſhip, he deſired her to ſtand godmother to a princeſs his queen was delivered of in October. Elizabeth anſwered to the firſt propoſal, that the treaty of Blois not having been violated on her part, ſhe did not ſee any neceſſity to renew it, or ſwear to it again. As to the marriage of the duke of Alençon, ſhe expreſſed herſelf in ſuch a manner, that ſhe left it undetermined, whether ſhe would accept or refuſe it. As to the king's requeſting her to be godmother to the princeſs, his daughter, ſhe replied, Though her own ſubjects and ſeveral foreign princes diſſuaded her from being ſpiritually allied to a ſworn enemy to the proteſtant religion, ſhe was willing however to give him a proof of her deſire to preſerve their mutual alliance, as far as lay in her power. Thus it was all diſſimulation on both ſides. But I do not know whether Elizabeth can be juſtified for not having refuſed this laſt article, in order to ſhew at leaſt her deteſtation of the deed Charles had lately committed. However, all the reſt of the year was ſpent in reciprocal proteſtations of a ſincere friendſhip, but withal in a mutual diſtruſt. Charles was afraid Elizabeth would aſſiſt the Hugonots, and thereby all his meaſures be broken. Elizabeth had a mind, before ſhe came to any reſolution, to ſee a little farther into the deſigns of her enemies, and to that purpoſe it was neceſſary for her to keep, at leaſt outwardly, ſome correſpondence with king Charles. Mean while, the Hugonots knew not what to think of her. They ſaw themſelves upon the brink of deſtruction, conſidering the great forces with which the king was preparing to attack them; and at the ſame time they ſaw Elizabeth, who was their ſole refuge, ſtand godmother to the child of their perſecutor and executioner. But the intereſt of the Hugonots was not the thing ſhe had chiefly in view. Her zeal for the proteſtant religion was always ſubordinate to her private intereſt.

The earl of Northumberland, who, after his being ſeized in Scotland, had been delivered to the queen, was beheaded in this juncture, wherein the queen thought ſhe could not take too many precautions to provide for her ſafety[e].

I muſt now mention the affairs of Scotland, to which the queen had always an eye. The diſcovery of the duke of Norfolk's plot had much weakened Mary's party. Some had forſaken it, and others were ready to do the like. If they ſtill adhered to it, it was only to obtain advantageous terms for quitting it. Grange, governor of Edinburgh caſtle, Lidington, the lord Hume, Robert Melvil, and ſome others, who were in the caſtle, ſtill affected a ſort of neutrality, and a great zeal for the good of their country. But they made this good to conſiſt in a certain union of the two factions, which ſhould not be prejudicial to the captive queen. That is, they would have the king's authority to be annulled; and if it could not be agreed, that the ſtate ſhould be governed in the queen's name, as indeed it was very difficult to gain that point, at leaſt that the adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be put into the hands of a certain number of regents choſen by the two parties, without any mention of queen or king. By this means they would have preſerved the queen's rights entire, and broken the meaſures of the contrary party. Probably, James Melvil, author of the Memoirs, was in the ſame ſentiments, though he deſires to be looked upon as neuter, and as ſuch was employed on both ſides, to ſerve for mediator. The men of this party durſt not, however, fully diſcover their minds; but flattered themſelves, that, being maſters of Edinburgh caſtle, with the help of very few ſuccours, they ſhould be able to ſupport their pretenſions. They ſpent the whole winter of the year 1572 in ſeveral negotiations in France and the Netherlands, to obtain the ſuccours they wanted. They were made to hope for aſſiſtance from both places; but it was only empty promiſes without any effect. The court of France durſt not pull off the maſk for fear of obſtructing the grand deſign, which was executed within a few months. For that reaſon, they conſented at length that the queen of Scots ſhould not be mentioned in the treaty of Blois. They were contented to agree with the Engliſh embaſſadors, that the two crowns ſhould ſend plenipotentiaries into Scotland, to adjuſt the differences between the Scots, or compel them to lay down their arms. And indeed Charles IX. nominated du Crocq, who had been often ſent into Scotland, to endeavour this agreement, ordering him to paſs through England, and ſtrongly ſolicit Elizabeth to ſend the queen of Scots into France. He gave him moreover certain inſtructions, which he was to impart by word of mouth to the captive queen. Elizabeth thought this proceeding very extraordinary, juſt as the treaty of league was going to be concluded. So, ſuſpecting ſome myſtery in this conduct, ſhe plainly refuſed du Crocq leave to ſee Mary, and even to purſue his journey to Scotland till the league was ſigned.

A few days after, ſhe made a diſcovery which much increaſed her ſuſpicions. The lord Seaton, a Scotchman, who called himſelf Mary's embaſſador to the duke of Alva, had taken a journey to Paris, and there held ſeveral conferences with the king and the queen-mother. Then he returned to Bruſſels, and ſhortly after departed for Scotland. But the ſtormy weather compelling him to land at Harwich, he diſguiſed himſelf like a ſailor, and, before it was known who he was, croſſed England, and came to Edinburgh, where he frequently conferred with Grange, and the other lords in the caſtle. But as he had not been able to carry away his papers, they were found in the ſhip, whereby it was diſcovered he had orders to encourage the lords in the caſtle of Edinburgh to hold out, and to give them hopes of a ſpeedy aſſiſtance. It was alſo known, he was commiſſioned ſome time before by the Scots of the queen's party, to tell the duke of Alva, that with a little aid it would be eaſy to carry away the young king, and ſend him into Spain. In ſhort, Elizabeth heard that Grange and his companions, who had begun to treat of an accommodation with the earl of Mar, would hear no more of it, ſince they had ſeen the lord Seaton. All this, added to du Crocq's inſtances for the queen of Scots liberty, and for leave to ſpeak with her, made Elizabeth and her council judge this envoy was not ſent into Scotland to appeaſe, but rather to foment the troubles. This was the more credible, as he had ſaid himſelf, that his inſtructions reached no farther than to exhort the Scots to peace. It would therefore have been imprudent to ſuffer him to confer with Mary, or to purſue his journey into Scotland.

I obſerved before, that the court of England was no leſs forward than that of France to perpetuate the troubles of

[d] There was for ſome conſiderable time a large French fleet ſtationed between Rochel and Bourdeaux, which cauſed her no ſmall uneaſineſs. See Digges's Ambaſ. p. 259—265.

[e] Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, was for a ſum of money delivered to the lord Hunſdon, governor of Berwick, by Mortop, who had been extremely beholden to the earl during his exile in England. He was beheaded at York on Auguſt 22. Stow, p. 673. This year died alſo two great men in an advanced age, William Powlet, lord treaſurer of England (in which he was ſucceeded by Cecil lord Burleigh), marquis of Wincheſter, earl of Wiltſhire, and baron of St. John, of Baſing: He died March 10, in the 97th year of his age, and lived to ſee an hundred and three perſons deſcended from him. The other was ſir William Petre, ſecretary to Henry VIII. Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth: He was a great benefactor to Exeter college in Oxford, wherein he was educated; and left in lands to the value of one hundred pounds a year: He died January 13. This year alſo, on November 24, died Edward Stanley, earl of Derby, lord Strinley and Strange, of Knocking. Camden, p. 445. Stow, p. 671, 673.

Melvil

Scotland; and this was true, during the regency of the earl of Lenox, becauſe the queen's party was then very ſtrong, and it was to be feared the two factions would be united, to the great detriment of England. But after the duke of Norfolk's death the caſe was altered. The queen's party being conſiderably weakened, the council of England thought it time to end the troubles of Scotland, by giving ſome content to thoſe in the caſtle of Edinburgh, in order to induce them to ſubmit to the king, and deliver up the place. To that end, the earl of Mar, with Elizabeth's conſent, had begun with thoſe of the caſtle a negotiation, interrupted by the arrival of the lord Seaton.

The league between France and England being concluded ſhortly after, the earl of Mar thought it a favourable opportunity to reſume the negotiation with thoſe of the caſtle, and to that purpoſe offered them by James Melvil very advantageous terms. Melvil inſinuates, that the regent's inducement to this accommodation was only to free Scotland from the yoke of the Engliſh. He adds farther, that Grange ſcrupling to demand any terms for reſtoring peace to the kingdom, left it to the regent's diſcretion, who privately ſwore to the peace, in the preſence of two or three perſons only. But Walſingham's Memoirs ſhew that Melvil was not well informed, ſince this agreement was made with Elizabeth's approbation, and even ſome articles were ſigned, whereof ſecretary Smith ſent a copy to Walſingham at Paris.

The project was defeated by the death of the earl of Mar. He went to Edinburgh with deſign to have the private treaty approved, and the earl of Morton was the chief perſon to be prevailed with to ſign it. To that end, he made him a viſit at Dalkeith, where he was honourably received, and treated magnificently. But before the banquet was over [f], he felt himſelf ſeized with a violent illneſs, which hardly ſuffered him to ride to Edinburgh, where he died [g]. Many ſuſpected he was poiſoned. However, on the 24th of November, the earl of Morton was choſen regent by the intereſt of Elizabeth's friends in Scotland.

Nothing could be more advantageous to Elizabeth, than to ſee the regency of Scotland in the hands of a man who depended upon her, and whom ſhe could manage almoſt as ſhe pleaſed. But on the other ſide, the court of France, where the Guiſes then ruled, finding that by the earl of Morton's promotion, they were going entirely to loſe Scotland, reſolved to do their utmoſt to ruin the new regent, and ſupport thoſe who ſtill held the caſtle of Edinburgh. Indeed, that was their only way to have ſtill any influence upon the kingdom. The duke of Guiſe, who managed every thing, plainly ſaw, if the earl of Morton was left unmoleſted, he would not fail, with the help of the Engliſh, to cruſh the queen's party entirely, and ſhut out the French from Scotland for ever. He reſolved therefore to ſend Verac thither, with money to ſupply the occaſions of thoſe in the caſtle, under colour of labouring to appeaſe the troubles. But Verac not being ready ſoon enough, the money was put into the hands of Grange's brother, who had been ſent into France to ſolicit aid. At the ſame time, great pains were taken to gain the earls of Argyle and Athol; and the duke of Chateleraut was told, if Grange could hold out till Whitſuntide, he would be ſtrongly aſſiſted by the pope, Spain, and France. This was what Walſingham, who had good ſpies at Paris, had frequently wrote to the court of England. It was therefore no longer Elizabeth's intereſt to continue diſcord among the Scots. On the contrary, it was neceſſary the queen's faction ſhould be deſtroyed, before the meaſures which were taking in France and Flanders could have their effect. We ſhall ſee preſently that ſhe neglected not her intereſt.

During all this year, the queen of Scots and her adherents relied much upon the duke of Alva's aſſiſtance, and yet they had nothing to hope from thence. From the beginning of the year to the time of the maſſacre of Paris, the duke had been ſo employed, that it was not poſſible for him to think ſeriouſly of the queen of Scots concerns, though he did not want a good will to annoy Elizabeth. The count de la Mark, whom the queen had driven from her ports for not breaking with Spain, had taken the Briel in Holland, and by that unexpected blow revived the courage of thoſe who wiſhed to be freed from the dominion of the Spaniards. Shortly after, the whole province of Holland threw off their yoke, and Fluſhing, with ſome other towns in Zealand, followed that example. The duke of Medina-Celi, ſent afterwards from Spain with a fleet, was defeated by the confederates, and moſt of his ſhips taken. In a word, whilſt the duke of Alva was employed in reducing the revolted towns in Holland, the news of the city of Mons being ſurpriſed by count Lewis of Naſſau, obliged him to quit Holland, in order to attempt the recovery of that place. Mean while the prince of Orange entered the Netherlands at the head of an army raiſed in Germany [h]. On the other hand, Charles IX. ſent the count of Naſſau five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, commanded by Genlis, which were defeated by the duke of Alva, to whom the king himſelf had ſent notice of the march of this aid, deſigned only to amuſe the Hugonots. The tragedy which was acted in France ſhortly after, having opened the prince of Orange's eyes, he was forced to diſband his army, finding the king of France, who promiſed to help to maintain it, would not keep his word. In the mean time, the duke of Alva was taken up with the ſiege of Mons, which ſurrendered not till the 19th of September. After the ſiege, his troops, under the command of Frederico de Toledo his ſon, were employed in taking Zutphen, Naerden, and other places. Hence it appears, that during the courſe of this year, the duke of Alva was not able to ſend an army into Scotland, though Mary's friends were ſtill in hopes of it. Mary's expectation of aſſiſtance from Spain was very prejudicial to her, becauſe when her practices were diſcovered, Elizabeth was more intent upon ending the troubles of Scotland. Beſides, the king of France grew a little cool, when he found queen Mary threw herſelf into the arms of the Spaniard [i].

[1573] Though Charles IX. and Elizabeth were very jealous of each other, they kept however a ſtrict correſpondence, capable of deceiving thoſe who knew not the intereſts of the two courts. Nothing paſſed on both ſides but proteſtations and aſſurances of obſerving inviolably the treaty of Blois. The beginning of the year 1573, Elizabeth ſent William Somerſet earl of Worceſter to Paris, to ſtand in her ſtead to the princeſs, Charles's daughter [k], who was named Elizabeth. She had ordered her embaſſador not to be perſuaded to be preſent at the maſs in the ceremony of the baptiſm; and in caſe it was inſiſted upon, to deſire the queen of Navarre to ſtand in his room.

A little before, queen Catherine had ſent to Elizabeth the earl of Rais, her confident, to propoſe once more the marriage of the duke of Alençon her third ſon. But this was not the ſole motive of his coming. The earl had orders to obſerve what paſſed in England, where the earl of Montgomery and ſome other French refugees were equipping a fleet to relieve Rochelle, which, after a long blockade, was at length beſieged in form. The duke of Anjou commanded at the ſiege, having with him the duke of Alençon his brother, and all the catholic nobles of France. Elizabeth anſwered, concerning the propoſal of the marriage, that ſhe was very willing to begin a treaty about it, provided the article of religion was firſt ſettled, elſe it was in vain to ſay any more of it.

About the ſame time, Montgomery ſailing to the relief of Rochelle, the French embaſſador complained that he was ſuffered to depart, and that the Engliſh merchants had ſupplied the beſieged with proviſions. Anſwer was made, that the perſons who were ſailed out of the ports of England were not owned, and carried counterfeit flags, and if they could be taken ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. As for the merchants, they were men who followed their gain wherever they hoped to find it; and not being able to ſend their commodities to any other port of France, ſince the people were left to butcher whom they pleaſed, it was no wonder they ſhould ſend them to Rochelle, where they could vend them with ſafety. Probably the court of England had connived at Montgomery's armament, which however had no effect, and at ſending proviſions to the Rochellers. This was all the aſſiſtance ſhe gave the Hugonots in their wretched condition. She had reſolved to avoid a breach with the French, whether ſhe hoped to gain them to her intereſts, or make the world believe there

[f] Melvil ſays it was ſhortly after, p. 118.

[g] He rode to Sterling. Ibid.

[h] He received alſo ſuccours from England; for Thomas Morgan carried over three hundred men to Fluſhing; and afterwards procured nine companies more, which were commanded by ſir Humphrey Gilbert. Camden, p. 443.

[i] This year queen Elizabeth had the ſmall-pox. After her recovery, ſhe ordered Portſmouth to be ſtrengthened with new fortifications, her navy to be encreaſed, muſters to be obſerved in every county, &c. Camden, p. 445.—July 13, William lord Howard, baron of Effingham, was made privy-ſeal; Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Suſſex, lord chamberlain; ſir Thomas Smith, principal ſecretary of ſtate; and Chriſtopher Hatton, Eſq. captain of the guard. Stow, p. 673.—This year, on May 8, a new parliament was held at Weſtminſter, and was prorogued June 30. The acts made now, were theſe: 1. An act, making the coining or counterfeiting of foreign coin, miſpriſon of treaſon. 2. That juſtices of peace, at the quarter-ſeſſions, ſhall rate every pariſh within the ſhire to which they belong, for the relief of the priſoners in the common gaol.

[k] He carried with him a font of gold weighing 326 ounces. Stow, p. 675. He came back to England February 27. Hollingſh. p. 1257.

The

was a greater union between her and king Charles than there was in reality. This was doubtleſs to render her enemies both at home and abroad leſs eager to form plots againſt her.

We are going at length to ſee an end put to the troubles of Scotland. The earl of Morton the new regent, having good intelligence of what paſſed at the court of France, and knowing it was reſolved to aſſiſt powerfully the queen's faction after the taking of Rochelle, believed he ought to improve this interval to prevent their deſigns. He propoſed therefore to Grange, by James Melvil, to renew the negotiation begun before the earl of Mar's death. Grange and his companions made ſome ſcruple at firſt, becauſe they expected the French ſuccours promiſed them by the lord Seaton. However, not to give occaſion to ſay they were entirely againſt a peace, and to try to gain time till Whitſuntide, Grange replied, he was willing to accept the ſame terms as had been offered by the earl of Mar, provided the queen's whole party were included in the treaty. The regent, who was better informed than Grange imagined, eaſily judged this anſwer tended only to prolong the agreement, by the difficulties of contenting every one. He refuſed therefore to treat with the whole party, and offered to give Grange and his companions all the ſatisfaction they could reaſonably expect; but his offer was rejected. Whereupon he turned to the duke of Chateleraut, and the earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were not ſo ſcrupulous as thoſe of the caſtle of Edinburgh. They treated for themſelves and dependents, that is, for almoſt all the reſt of the queen's party, without regarding the concerns of Grange and his aſſociates. They perceived they could no longer rely on the aſſiſtance of France, which was too remote, and withal very uncertain, conſidering the civil war which afflicted that kingdom. The treaty which they made with the regent, aſſiſted by Drury and Killegrew, the Engliſh embaſſadors, was to this effect:

That they ſhould ſubmit to the king, and conform to the eſtabliſhed religion. That if any perſon ſhould violate this article, he ſhould be declared a traitor.

That the ſentences pronounced againſt the Hamiltons and Gordons ſhould be repealed, excepting ſuch however as concerned the murders of the earls of Murray and Lenox, which ſhould be left to the queen of England's deciſion.

That the queen of England ſhould bind herſelf by ſome public inſtrument, that the Hamiltons and Gordons ſhould not be proſecuted for the murder of the earls of Murray and Lenox, without her expreſs conſent.

The eſtates of the kingdom meeting ſhortly after, confirmed this agreement by their authority.

As ſoon as Grange heard of the agreement which was negotiating between the regent and the heads of the queen's party, he endeavoured to obſtruct it, by offering to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh in ſix months. But as the regent was better informed than Grange imagined, it was eaſy for him to perceive this offer tended only to gain time till the French ſuccours ſhould arrive[l]. At laſt, when Grange knew the heads of the queen's party were upon the point of ſigning their treaty, he offered to deliver the caſtle immediately, provided he might put it into the hands of the earl of Rothes. But the regent did not think fit to place in that fortreſs a governor of Grange's chuſing. Beſides, all the proceedings of thoſe of the caſtle, and the evaſions they uſed to avoid ſurrendering the place, plainly ſhewed they were not heartily inclined to an accommodation. So, without farther ceremony, he declared them traitors, and prepared in good earneſt to beſiege them. Melvil ſays upon this occaſion, that he knows not what rage poſſeſſed the regent, to deſire to have by way of ſiege a place which was offered to be ſurrendered voluntarily and inſtantly[m]. It is indeed little probable the earl of Morton ſhould deſire to expoſe himſelf to the difficulties of ſuch a ſiege, if he could otherwiſe have had the place. But what Melvil aſcribes to the regent's rage, may with much more likelihood be imputed to the cavils of thoſe of the caſtle, who ſtrove to prolong the time till the promiſed ſuccours ſhould arrive. In Walſingham's Negotiations there are ſeveral letters from the queen, the lord Burleigh, ſecretary Smith, blaming Grange and his companions for their fooliſh preſumption and invincible obſtinacy, in attempting alone to continue the troubles in Scotland. Melvil, Grange's intimate friend, gives quite another turn to this affair, and lays the whole blame upon the regent[n].

However, the earl of Morton having but few troops, and wanting artillery and ammunition, by reaſon the public magazine was in the caſtle of Edinburgh, applied to queen Elizabeth. I have already ſhewn of what conſequence it was to England, that the troubles of Scotland ſhould be ended before France could interpoſe. For this reaſon, Elizabeth immediately made a treaty with the regent, which, among others, contained the following articles:

Elizabeth ſhall ſend to the regent, men, ordnance, and ammunition, for the beſieging the caſtle of Edinburgh jointly with the Scots.

No capitulation ſhall be granted to the beſieged, without the mutual conſent of the regent and the Engliſh general.

If the caſtle be taken by the Engliſh, it ſhall be delivered to the king of Scotland.

The priſoners, after the taking of the caſtle, ſhall be detained to be proceeded againſt according to law, the queen of England being firſt acquainted therewith.

Purſuant to this treaty, Elizabeth ordered ſir William Drury, marſhal of Berwick, to march into Scotland with fifteen hundred men, and a train of artillery, which was a manifeſt breach of the treaty of Blois; which ran, "That no foreign troops ſhould be ſuffered to enter Scotland." But as ſhe had diſcovered by the lord Seaton's papers, that France intended to violate the ſame article, ſhe believed doubtleſs, it would be ſimplicity to ſuffer herſelf to be prevented. However, the caſtle was inveſted, and the beſieged defended themſelves a whole month like men in deſpair. But at laſt their water failing, they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, if we may believe the Engliſh and Scots of the king's party. Melvil affirms on the contrary, that they capitulated, but the capitulation was not kept. Thus much is certain, the laird of Grange, James Kirkcaldie his brother, and ſome others, were condemned to be hanged, and the ſentence was executed accordingly[o]. Lidington died in priſon, having himſelf, according to ſome, haſtened his death by poiſon. The lord Hume and ſir Robert Melvil were releaſed[p]. Thus ended the civil wars in Scotland, and thus Elizabeth's enemies loſt all hopes of invading her from that quarter. From what has been hitherto ſaid, it may be eaſily perceived of what conſequence the tranſactions in Scotland were to Elizabeth. Accordingly ſhe was ever very intent upon the affairs of that kingdom, where ſhe ſucceſsfully managed her intereſts with the moſt refined policy.

At the time the heads of queen Mary's party were about to ſign their treaty, Verac, who was ſent into Scotland to encourage the party to ſtand their ground, was forced by a ſtorm into Scarborough. The preſident of the northern marches having notice of it, ordered him to be conveyed to London, without hearkening to the reaſons he alleged againſt it, taken from his character. It was known afterwards, that the moment he was ſeized he burnt all his papers. The French embaſſador made great noiſe that Verac was hindred from going to Scotland. But he was told, the queen had no advice of the ſending of this embaſſador, and if ſhe had known it,

[l] The following project was formed between the court of France and queen Mary's party: That the marquis de Maine ſhould land at Air, with one thouſand ſhot, and, after joining the queen's party, repair to Edinburgh, whoſe caſtle Lidington and Grange had promiſed to deliver to the French, and in conſideration thereof were to receive a penſion, or ſome other livelihood, in France; after which they were to fortify themſelves in Loughbreton, Brochty, Dundee, and Aymouth. And then the duke of Guiſe was to come over with forces to deliver the queen of Scots; and at the ſame time, her friends in England, who were very numerous, were to riſe in arms, and deliver her in ſpite of queen Elizabeth. See Digges's Compl. Ambaſ. p. 314.

[m] To which he adds, "ſeeing he might have obtained his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his devotion, ſaving that few number without the caſtle, who would likewiſe have agreed upon any reaſonable condition." p. 120.

[n] Melvil ſays, that having told the regent, Grange, for his honour's ſake, was reſolved to agree for the whole party, the regent anſwered, he would not agree with all, becauſe then their faction would be as ſtrong as ever; and beſides, as the troubles had occaſioned great wrongs and extortions, he choſe rather that the crimes ſhould be laid upon the Hamiltons, &c. becauſe their eſtates were greater than thoſe of Grange and the reſt in the caſtle, and conſequently more land would eſcheat to him as the reward of his labours. Melvil telling Grange the regent's reſolution, he inſiſted upon agreeing with all; and Morton hearing of it, pretended to like him the better for ſtanding upon his reputation and honour, and ſeemed as if he had been reſolved to agree with thoſe in the caſtle. He thanked Melvil for the trouble he had been at, deſiring him to go home, and in the mean time he would propoſe the matter to the reſt of the noblemen of his ſide, who, he doubted not, would be very well ſatisfied with his proceedings, and then he would ſend for him again, and put the form of the agreement in writing. But he took immediately another courſe, and ſent and offered an accommodation to the Hamiltons, &c. who accepted of it as above. Melvil, p. 118—120.

[o] Melvil gives Grange an extraordinary character. He ſays he heard Henry II. of France, ſay, (pointing to him) "yonder is one of the moſt valiant men of our age." The great conſtable of France would never

would have taken care he ſhould have been treated with the reſpect due to his character. That he had been conducted to London, by the general order which the preſident of the north had, to deal thus by all foreigners who ſhould land in thoſe parts, unleſs they were known to be merchants.

The embaſſador was not very well pleaſed with the anſwer; but he had ſtill leſs reaſon to be ſo with that he received ſhortly after to his urgent requeſt, for leave to ſpeak with the queen of Scots in private. This requeſt had been often repeated to no purpoſe. At laſt, the queen, tired with his importunities, told him plainly, ſhe was not ignorant of the practices of the king of France, and the queen-mother, in favour of Mary, and how they ſtood affected to England: That, however, ſhe had always inviolably obſerved the late treaty [q], and would ſtill obſerve it, chuſing rather the rupture ſhould come from France than from her: That, in caſe of a breach, ſhe did not queſtion, ſhe ſhould be able to defend herſelf, being well aſſured of the affection of her ſubjects: That ſhe could hardly reſtrain ſome, who offered to relieve Rochelle at their own expence, and maintain ſix months in Gaſcogne an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe.

Upon the embaſſador's demanding leave for Verac to purſue his journey to Scotland, the queen agreed to it, after ſome affected delays. But, whilſt ſhe was putting obſtacles in his way, ſhe cauſed a letter to be ſent from the earl of Morton, telling her, that Verac's coming to Scotland would be very diſpleaſing to him, as well as to the duke of Chateleraut and the earl of Huntley, with whom he was in perfect friendſhip: That therefore he believed, the envoy would do well to ſave himſelf the trouble of the journey. Whilſt they were debating at London about this affair, the caſtle of Edinburgh ſurrendered, and ſo Verac's journey became entirely needleſs. Queen Catherine de Medici, politic as ſhe was, could not help making a falſe ſtep in diſcovering to Walſingham, that the French court's deſign was to foment the troubles of Scotland. Upon the embaſſador's warm complaints of the intrigues of France with reſpect to Scotland, ſhe proteſted, the king, her ſon, and herſelf, knew not what he meant, and 'that their intention was only to perſuade the Scots to agree, and acknowledge queen Mary for their ſovereign.' That is the very thing, replied the embaſſador, the queen my miſtreſs complains of, ſince it is a direct breach of the treaty of Blois. The queen perceiving ſhe had ſaid too much, turned the diſcourſe, and complained of Verac's being detained in England; to which Walſingham made the ſame anſwer as had been given to La Mothe at London.

Scotland being in peace, under the authority of the young king and of a regent devoted to England, Elizabeth was freed from a great uneaſineſs. The recalling the duke of Alva from the government of the Low-Countries, was a farther increaſe of her happineſs. The commander of Requeſens, who ſucceeded the duke of Alva, finding he had full employment, refuſed to meddle with the affairs of England and Scotland, and ſo Elizabeth had nothing to fear from that ſide. Her enemies having no longer admittance into Scotland, and England being ſafe from all attacks but by ſea, ſhe lived ſome years in great tranquillity. Beſides, France was not in condition to make any conſiderable attempt upon her, as well for want of naval forces, as becauſe of the civil wars which laid waſte the kingdom.

Mean while, Elizabeth, being deſirous alſo to ſecure herſelf from all domeſtic attempts, commanded the biſhop of Roſs, author and promoter of all the plots againſt her, to depart England. He thought himſelf happy in coming off ſo eaſily, and withdrawing into France, continued his ſecret practices, though to little purpoſe. He writ there a hiſtory of Scotland, from the beginning to the year 1561. What he ſays of the earl of Murray towards the end of his hiſtory, ſpeaking of the firſt troubles of Scotland, and which Camden has taken care to copy, plainly ſhews, what might have been expected from him, had he continued it to the end of the war.

Though Elizabeth had ſaid, in her anſwer to the propoſal concerning her marriage with the duke of Alençon, that the article of religion was firſt to be ſettled, Catherine de Medici did not fail however to ſollicit her upon that ſubject. She ſaid, the court of France would yield in that point, but did not ſay how far. Moreover, ſhe cauſed the duke of Alençon who was then at the ſiege of Rochelle, to ſend her letters, expreſſing his eager deſire to have the marriage ſucceed. At laſt, ſhe was ſollicited ſo much to permit the duke to come and ſee her, that ſhe conſented, provided he would not take it ill in caſe he was obliged to return without any thing done. But the ſiege of Rochelle holding longer than was imagined, hindered the duke from paying his viſit.

This ſiege, which had laſted ſo long, was at length raiſed on the 25th of June, after the city had withſtood thirty thouſand cannon balls, nine great aſſaults, beſides twenty leſſer ones, and the effects of ſixty mines. The duke of Anjou loſt above twelve thouſand men. The news of his being choſen king of Poland, and of the Poliſh embaſſadors being on their way to offer him the crown, afforded him a pretence to relinquiſh his enterpriſe, which perhaps would not have ended to his honor; and the raiſing the ſiege brought with it peace to the Hugonots, who were hardly able to ſupport themſelves. Charles IX. was afraid of the duke his brother, and the queen-mother loved him tenderly. This bred between the king and the queen his mother a diſſention, which it is likely proved fatal to the king. He thought it long till his brother was gone to Poland, and the queen ſtill found ſome freſh excuſe to hinder his departure. At laſt, Charles grew ſo ſuſpicious of all theſe delays, that he could not forbear threatening the queen his mother, who was forced at length to ſuffer her beloved ſon to depart, and the king was pleaſed to accompany him part of the way. But he could not go ſo far as he had reſolved, by reaſon of a diſtemper wherewith he was ſeized, and of which he never recovered. Elizabeth hearing the king of Poland was gone, and Charles taken ill, did not think proper to receive the duke of Alençon's viſit, before ſhe had a fuller knowledge of the affairs of the royal family of France. She writ to him therefore to deſire him to defer his journey, and gave him for reaſon, that the Engliſh would not look with a good eye upon a prince coming from the ſiege of Rochelle, and wearing a ſword dyed with the blood of their brethren.

This year Walter d'Evereux earl of Eſſex had leave to go into Ireland, to conquer the country of Clandeboy, at his own expence. But his enterpriſe was not crowned with ſucceſs, becauſe he was privately hindered by the earl of Leiceſter his enemy [r].

Queen Elizabeth's letter to the duke of Alençon not being capable of diſcouraging him, he made freſh inſtances for leave to come into England, to which the queen at length yielding, ſent him a ſafe conduct. But in the mean time, the queen his mother ſuſpecting him of a deſign to ſupplant the king of Poland his brother, in caſe the king happened to die, ordered it ſo that the king ſet a guard over him as well as the king of Navarre, who was accuſed of ſuggeſting this deſign to him. However, the queen-mother perceiving the king near his end, thought fit to take this precaution, to ſecure the crown to the king of Poland, who was abſent. And indeed Charles IX. died the 30th of May, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. The manner of his death was ſo uncommon, that it gave occaſion not only to the proteſtants, but the catholics themſelves, to conſider it as an effect of the divine vengeance for the horrible maſſacre committed by his orders. The blood guſhed out of all the paſſages of his body, and even ſpouted through his pores. The queen-mother took her meaſures ſo well, that cauſing the dying king to confer on her the regency of the kingdom, ſhe kept all quiet till the arrival of the king of Poland, who ſucceeded his brother by the name of Henry III. He arrived in France the 5th of September, but came not to Paris till about the middle of February the next year.

Nothing memorable paſſed in England during the year

ſpeak to him uncovered. Camden ſays, an hundred of the family of the Kirkcaldies, offered to be vaſſals for ever to the regent, to pay a yearly penſion of three thouſand marks, and two thouſand pounds Scottiſh in hand, if he would ſpare his life. He was (ſays Melvil) gentle and meek, like a lamb in the houſe, but like a lion in the field. King James, when he came of age, took up his bones, and buried them honourably, reſtoring his heirs, p. 122, 123.

[p] The lord Hume died ſhortly after in Edinburgh-caſtle, where he was confined. Melvil, p. 122.

[q] Probably ſhe had ſome evaſion to excuſe the ſending of her troops into Scotland. Rapin.

[r] In the beginning of the year 1573, viz. January 12, died William lord Howard of Effingham, lord privy-ſeal, ſon of Thomas Howard, the martial duke of Norfolk, by his ſecond wife, Agnes Tilney. He was made lord high admiral by queen Mary, and afterwards lord chamberlain; in which poſt he ſerved queen Elizabeth, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, who a while after was made lord chamberlain, and alſo high admiral.—Not long after, on March 17, died alſo Reginald Grey earl of Kent, whom the queen the year before raiſed from a private man to the dignity of earl of Kent, after the title had lain dormant fifty years. His brother Henry ſucceeded him in his honour. John Caius, a famous phyſician, born at Norwich, and bred up at Padua and Cambridge, died about this time, and lies buried in Gonvil and Caius college, to which he was a great benefactor, with this inſcription on his tomb, FUI CAIUS. The commerce between England and the Netherlands, which had been prohibited ever ſince 1568, was renewed in January this year, and the articles agreed upon at Briſtol concerning it, were ratified by the king of Spain. This year alſo queen Elizabeth renewed and confirmed the charters of the city of London. Camden, p. 446, 449. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 701, 719.

This

1574[s]. The only thing Camden has remarked in his Annals, is the marriage of Charles earl of Lenox, uncle to the king of Scotland, with Elizabeth Cavendiſh the Counteſs of Shrewſbury's daughter. As this marriage was made unknown to the queen, ſhe impriſoned the mothers of the new-married couple.

In the Netherlands, the confederates took Middleburgh in Zealand. But on the other hand, Lewis count of Naſſau, who was leading an army to his brother the prince of Orange, loſt a battle upon Moker-heath, near Nimeguen, and was himſelf ſlain, with his brother Henry and Chriſtopher count Palatine[t]. This ſame year, the Spaniſh troops mutinying, ſurpriſed and plundered Antwerp, where they made an immenſe booty. The governor of the Low Countries, to avoid greater miſchiefs, was forced to pardon them.

[1575] As ſoon as Henry III. arrived in France, it was reſolved in his council to wage war with the Hugonots, though they had given no occaſion, and preſently after hoſtilities were renewed againſt them. Mean while, as Henry was afraid the queen of England would aſſiſt thoſe whom he deſigned to extirpate, his firſt care was to renew with her the league of Blois, after moving the queſtion to her, Whether the mutual defence againſt all men, mentioned in that league, did include the cauſe of religion? Elizabeth anſwered, it did, as ſhe could prove by a letter from the late king which ſhe had by her. Adding, if he were attacked on account of religion, and required her aid in virtue of the treaty, ſhe ſhould be always ready to give it. Indeed ſhe ran no great riſk in making that offer, being fully perſuaded the French king would not uſe Engliſh troops againſt the Hugonots. Beſides, by the terms of the league, ſhe was not bound to ſend him any troops, ſince inſtead of being attacked he was himſelf the aggreſſor. However, Elizabeth's anſwer to Henry might have given the Hugonots ill notions of her, if ſhe had not privately ſupplied the prince of Condé with money to pay the army prince Caſimir count Palatine was levying for them in Switzerland and Germany.

England was pretty quiet during the year 1575. There happened only an accident on the borders of Scotland, where ſir John Forſter, warden of the Middle March[u], and Carmichel, warden of Liddeſdale in Scotland, holding a conference, each at the head of a troop of his own nation, quarrelled and fought. The Engliſh were worſted, ſir George Heron, warden of Tindale, loſt his life, and Forſter being taken priſoner[w], was conducted to the earl of Morton, who treated him very civilly, but detained him ſome time, for fear if he were preſently diſmiſſed, he would in his heat attempt a revenge. At laſt, having releaſed him, he made him promiſe to appear in Scotland at a ſet day. Elizabeth thought the regent of Scotland's proceeding very ſtrange, and at firſt took the affair very heinouſly; but Morton found means to appeaſe her, by making all the ſubmiſſions ſhe was pleaſed to require. This year died the duke of Chateleraut[x].

[1576] This year affords as little matter for the Hiſtory of England as the foregoing. We only find that the earl of Eſſex died in Ireland[y], and the earl of Leiceſter privately married his widow, unknown to the queen, though he was ſuſpected of having cauſed the huſband to be poiſoned. He was always in the queen's good graces, who was ſo biaſſed in his favour, that no man durſt tell her his thoughts of him. It was one of queen Elizabeth's greateſt failings to place her eſteem upon a perſon who ſo little deſerved it[z].

As it is neceſſary for the ſequel of the hiſtory to know what paſſed in the countries near England, I muſt make a ſhort digreſſion, not ſo much to inform the reader of things which are well known, as to refreſh his memory.

Lewis de Zuniga, commander of Requeſens, and governor of the Low-Countries, died this year. After his death, the council of ſtate adminiſtered alone the affairs of the Netherlands till a new governor ſhould arrive. The council conſiſted of natives and Spaniards. Shortly after, the Spaniſh troops happened to mutiny, and reſolved to plunder Bruſſels. The magiſtrates, alarmed at the danger, applied to the council of ſtate, who declared the mutineers rebels, though ſeveral of the counſellors favoured the ſeditions. And indeed, preſently after the little town of Aloſt was ſacked, and the council of ſtate took no care to puniſh the authors of that outrage, or prevent the like misfortune which threatened the other towns. For that reaſon ſome lords of Brabant drew together at Bruſſels ſome of the citizens, and inveſting the place where the council of ſtate held their ſeſſions, expelled ſuch of the members as were ſuſpected to countenance the mutineers, and put in their room perſons better affected to the good of their country. The new council of ſtate, thus compoſed, joined the confederates, who were now in arms in defence of their liberties, and they entered together into a league to free themſelves from the Spaniſh forces. Then Hieronymo de Roda, a Spaniard, one of thoſe who were expelled the council, headed the rebels, and ſent for the Spaniſh troops which were in Holland, with whom the Germans joined. This body, grown very conſiderable, plundered Maeſtricht and Antwerp, without any poſſibility of preventing them.

The prince of Orange, who was in Holland, ſeeing the affairs of the Netherlands reduced to this point, offered the council of ſtate his troops, his perſon, and the aſſiſtance of the provinces of Holland and Zealand, which began to make a ſeparate ſtate under his government. Upon this offer, the council of ſtate reſolved to enter into treaty with Holland and Zealand. The conferences were held at Ghent, where with an unanimous conſent, Luxemburgh excepted, was formed the union of the provinces of the Low-Countries, called the Union or Pacification of Ghent, for the defence of their laws and liberties. Notwithſtanding this, they were ſtill willing to own the king of Spain's authority, provided he would govern according to the antient laws. This union being thus formed, the fortreſſes raiſed by the duke of Alva to keep the Netherlands in ſubjection, were demoliſhed every-where. Some time after, the aſſociation was ſworn by the clergy and nobility, ſolemnly approved by the council of ſtate, and publiſhed at Bruſſels. By that, Philip II. loſt almoſt all his authority in the Low-Countries, having only the bare title of ſovereign, unleſs he would confine himſelf to the rights enjoyed by his predeceſſors, which was very far from his thoughts.

France was not more quiet than the Low-Countries. The duke of Alençon had aſſembled an army againſt the king in favour of the Hugonots. On the other hand, the prince of Condé, with the forces levied by prince Caſimir in Germany, entered France and joined the duke of Alençon. Thus the Hugonots, whom the court had determined to extirpate, were in a condition to ſell their lives dear, having at their head the king's brother, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, with an army of thirty thouſand men. But the queen-mother had the addreſs to break all their meaſures. She ſent them offers of peace, and, during the negotiation, found means to ſow jealouſy among them, and win from them the duke of Alençon and prince Caſimir. In ſhort, ſhe cauſed them to agree to a peace, which, for all its ſeeming advantages, proved fatal to them, as it diſunited their forces. The treaty was concluded the 9th of May, and enrolled ſix months after by the parliament of Paris. The Hugonots had never obtained ſo advantageous a peace ſince the beginning of the troubles. In October the duke of Alençon came to court, where the queen his mother diſengaged him entirely from the ſide of the

[s] This year, in order to avoid exceſs in apparel, which had ſpread itſelf all over England, the queen, by proclamation, commanded that every one ſhould within fourteen days wear clothes of ſuch a faſhion, which ſhe herſelf began to wear in her own court. Sumptuous buildings crept in alſo about this time; and as Camden obſerves, to the great ornament of the kingdom, but to as great decay of hoſpitality, p. 452.—On April 3, the queen granted a commiſſion to the lord Burleigh high treaſurer of England, and to ſir Walter Mildmay chancellor and under treaſurer of the Exchequer, to manumiſe and enfranchiſe bondmen and bondwomen, or, as they are now called, copyholders, regardant and appertaining to the royal manors and poſſeſſions, within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerſet, and Glouceſter. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 731.

[t] Whereupon the prince of Orange began to think of applying to the French, but Elizabeth ſent Daniel Rogers to diſſuade him from it; which not being able to do, the queen ſent Henry Cobham to the king of Spain, to inform him of the prince of Orange's deſigns. Camden, p. 453.

[u] And governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 454.

[w] With Francis Ruſſel, ſon of the earl of Bedford, and ſon-in-law to Forſter, Cuthbert Collingwood, James Ogle, Henry Fenwick, &c. Camden, p. 454.

[x] James Hamilton, duke of Chateleraut and earl of Arran, was great grandſon to James II. of Scotland by his daughter. He was appointed tutor to Mary queen of Scots, and governor and preſumptive heir of the kingdom during her minority. Upon his delivering her to the French, he was made duke of Chateleraut in France. Camden, p. 454.—This year alſo, on May 17, died the learned Matthew Parker, archbiſhop of Canterbury. Strype. Stow, p. 679.

[y] Being conſtrained to give over his enterpriſe in Ireland, he returned into England, having much waſted his eſtate, where openly threatening Leiceſter, whom he ſuſpected to have done him ill offices, he was by his cunning court-tricks ſent back into Ireland, with the inſignificant title of earl marſhal of Ireland; where grief and ſorrow throwing him into a bloody-flux, he died Sept. 22, 1576, in the 36th year of his age. Upon which, Leiceſter putting away Douglas Sheffield (whether his wife or miſtreſs is not known), he made love to Eſſex's widow, daughter to ſir Francis Knolles, to whom he was afterwards doubly married: firſt privately, and then publicly, for ſir Francis's ſatisfaction, who doubted of the private marriage. Camden, p. 455, 457.

[z] This year the parliament met, by prorogation, at Weſtminſter, on February 8, and was prorogued again to March 15. The lords and commons granted two fifteenths and tenths, and a ſubſidy; and the clergy gave a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statut. The acts now made, were, 1. That all perſons which by any means whatſoever impair, diminiſh, or falſify the coins of the realm, ſhall be guilty of treaſon. 2. An additional act to thoſe already made for the repairing of highways, &c. See Statut. 18 Eliz.

This

Hugonots. Then it was that he aſſumed the title of duke of Anjou, borne by the king his brother before he aſcended the throne.

The peace was no ſooner ſigned, than, according to the ſincerity ſome time ſince profeſſed by the court of France, they took new meaſures to ruin the Hugonots. Treaties and oaths went then for nothing, and were conſidered only as lawful ſnares to ſurpriſe heretics. The cardinal of Eſte the pope's legate, and Don John of Auſtria, who was going to take poſſeſſion of the government of the Low-Countries, came to the court of France, and had ſeveral conferences upon the occaſion with the king, the queen-mother, and the duke of Guiſe. Guiſe was looked upon as the head of the catholic party, and for that reaſon the legate took with him meaſures, of which the king was not fully informed. The moſt proper means in their opinion, to attain their end, was to unite ſeveral aſſociations, made in divers provinces by the zealous catholics, and form one general aſſociation againſt the enemies of the antient religion. This is what was called the Holy Union, or ſimply, the League. Humieres was the firſt that ſigned it in Picardy, from whence it ſpread afterwards over the kingdom. The pope was the chief promoter of it, the king of Spain gloried in being called its protector, and the duke of Guiſe, who aimed at being declared the head, ſupported it to the utmoſt of his power. The queen-mother willingly came into it, not from a religious zeal, but becauſe the Hugonots had threatened to call her to an account for her adminiſtration during her regency. In fine, the king himſelf, ſeduced by ill counſels and his own ſupineneſs, was carried away with the torrent, and ſuffered the miſchief to increaſe, which was one day to prove his ruin.

When the late peace was negotiated, the Hugonots earneſtly ſollicited a general meeting of the ſtates, imagining, beſides a great many deputies of their religion, they ſhould have for them the duke of Alençon's party, and many others who were not pleaſed with the government. But when the deputies came to be elected, the duke of Alençon had now changed ſides. Beſides, the court by intrigues and money found means to procure a great number of deputies to be choſen who were againſt the Hugonots. So the ſtates meeting at Blois, inſtead of moving any thing in favour of the reformed religion, were going to demand of the king the confirmation of the league, and requeſt him to appoint the duke of Guiſe for head. But the king, who was now grown extremely jealous of the duke of Guiſe, reſolved to prevent it. To that end, he declared himſelf head of the league, and ſigning it firſt with his own hand, cauſed the great men of his court to ſubſcribe it, and ſent it into the provinces that every one might do the ſame. Shortly after, the ſtates having ſent to pray him that he would not allow any religion in the kingdom but the catholic, he anſwered, it was his intention; and if he was under a neceſſity of promiſing the contrary, even with an oath, he would keep his word only till he had forces ſufficient to enable him to break it. Thus the Hugonots were forced to defend themſelves to the laſt drop of their blood, without the leaſt hopes of ſeeing an end to their calamities by a treaty, ſince the king himſelf declared he would never make any with them, but only to deceive them [a].

[1577] Don John of Auſtria came into the Low-Countries the beginning of the year 1577, full of vaſt projects. He was a prince of a great genius, and of an ambition ſuitable to his birth. The condition of a ſubject was a burthen of which he would have been glad to be eaſed. All his views tended to ſovereignty. His firſt project was to make himſelf king of Tunis; that failing, he thought of marrying the queen of Scots, and becoming ſovereign of all Great Britain. Camden affirms, he had this from the mouth of Antonio Perez, who told him moreover, that the project was imparted to pope Gregory XIII. who approved it, but was concealed from king Philip. This was probably the ſubject of Don John's conferences at Paris with the duke of Guiſe. So Don John, when he arrived in the Low-Countries, had two grand deſigns in his head: Firſt, to ſubdue the Netherlands entirely: Secondly, to become maſter of England and Scotland. Elizabeth was not ignorant of the firſt, but the ſecond was ſtill a ſecret to her.

The pacification of Ghent was communicated to the Spaniſh court, and Philip giving way to the times, thought proper to confirm it by an edict. So when Don John of Auſtria came to the Netherlands, he was forced to ſign it before he was owned for governor. This was followed by an aſſembly held at Marche en Famine, where it was reſolved to publiſh a perpetual edict (as they called it) for driving the Spaniſh troops out of the Low-Countries, purſuant to the pacification of Ghent. Philip approving alſo this edict, the Spaniards were ſent into Italy, all the places remaining in the hands of the ſtates. Hitherto Don John had beed forced to diſſemble; but ſome time after, he took off the maſk, and ſurpriſed the caſtle of Namur. At the ſame time he ſollicited the German troops, who were waiting in that country for their arrears, to ſurrender the places where they were garriſoned; but he was prevented by the ſtates, who found means to gain thoſe troops before him. The ſtates imputed the rupture to Don John's ambition, aad carried their complaints to the king, to whom Don John alſo writ, that the cabals of the prince of Orange had conſtrained him to provide for his own ſafety. Be this as it will, the ſtates of Brabant called the prince of Orange to their relief, and gave him the ſuperintendency of their country by conferring on him the title of Ruart [b]. This proceeding raiſed the jealouſy of the duke of Arſcot, and ſome other Brabant lords, who, to ruin the prince of Orange's credit, propoſed to the United Provinces the electing a governor-general, under colour they ſhould all have the ſame head. The prince of Orange perceived he was aimed at, but not to give occaſion to a fatal diviſion of the forces of the confederates, oppoſed not the election. The choice fell upon the archduke Matthias, brother to the emperor Rodolphus II. and the prince of Orange was declared his lieutenant. In the archduke's patent however were inſerted certain conditions, which, giving him the title and honour of governor, left the whole authority to the ſtates. This done, Matthias ſtealing away, as it was pretended, from his brother the emperor's court, came into the Low-Countries, where he was put in poſſeſſion of his poſt. Then the ſtates proclaimed war with Don John, who had taken care to be prepared, by ſending for troops from Italy, which were now on their way.

Then, and not before, Elizabeth perceived ſhe muſt have an eye to what paſſed in the Netherlands, becauſe at the ſame time the prince of Orange informed her of Don John's deſign to marry the queen of Scots, and the ſtates ſent ambaſſador's [c] to deſire her aſſiſtance. So, finding the deſigns of the governor of the Low-Countries reached farther than ſhe imagined, ſhe immediately lent the ſtates a hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which they deſired of her [d]. Camden ſpeaks here of a treaty whereby the queen engaged to aſſiſt the ſtates with a thouſand horſe well mounted, and five thouſand foot, on condition the general or commander, being an Engliſhman, ſhould be admitted into the council of ſtate, and nothing determined without his conſent. But Grotius does not mention this treaty in his Annals of the Low-Countries. He ſays only, from that time Elizabeth concerned herſelf ſo far with the affairs of the United Provinces, that ſhe did not ſuffer the ſtates to come to any important reſolution without giving her notice [e]. Indeed it was very much her intereſt to order it ſo, that the war now beginning in the Low-Countries ſhould be continued in ſuch a manner, as to diſable Don John of Auſtria to execute his projects upon England. Theſe projects were not the inventions of the prince of Orange, to engage Elizabeth in the defence of the Netherlands. Famianus Strada poſitively mentions them in his hiſtory. He even ſays, Gregory XIII. ſent a nuncio to Don John with the ſum of fifty thouſand crowns, to be employed in the expedition projected againſt England, but that he was forced to uſe it in his war with the ſtates. Mean while, at the very time Elizabeth lent money to Philip II.'s enemies, ſhe wrote to him [f], that ſhe by no means intended to break the antient alliance between England and the houſe of Burgundy: that, on the contrary, ſhe ſupplied the confederates with money, only to ſecure theſe

[a] This year, on June 11, died ſir Anthony Cook, of Gyddy-hall in Eſſex, one of the tutors to king Edward VI. One of his daughters married William lord Burleigh, and another ſir Nicholas Bacon lord keeper. Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 467.—This year, on June 15, Martin Frobiſher ſailed from England, with two ſmall barks and one pinnace, with deſign to go upon the diſcovery of a paſſage to Cathay and China by the north parts of America. On the 20th of July, he diſcovered a high land, which he called Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and afterwards thoſe ſtreights which bear his name. He proceeded ſixty leagues farther, and went on ſhore, where he caught one of the natives, whom he brought to England, when he returned thither in Auguſt. He made a ſecond voyage to the ſame place the next year; and a third in 1568. Stow, p. 680, 681, 685.

[b] An office anſwering to that of dictator among the Romans. Strada, l. 9.

[c] The marquis of Hauree, and Adolph Metkirk. Camden, p. 466.

[d] For eight months. She told the embaſſadors, that if they could borrow the ſum of money any where, ſhe and the city of London would become ſecurity for it, on condition that certain towns in the Netherlands, which ſhe ſhould name, would become bound to repay the money within a year. She had ſent them 20,000l. laſt year, and exhorted them at the ſame time not to change their religion nor their prince, and not to receive the French into the Netherlands. Ibid. p. 456, 458.

[e] Queen Elizabeth concluded, on January 7, this year, a league offenſive and defenſive with the ſtates, which in effect contained no more than this. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 784.

[f] By Thomas Wilks, whom ſhe diſpatched to him. Camden, p. 466.

This

provinces to him, and hinder them from desperately throwing themselves into the arms of France. It is likely Philip was not very well pleased with these reasons, but feigned to be so, not to induce Elizabeth to do more.

At this time the affairs of France were in a sad situation. The transactions of the states at Blois could not but raise a civil war in the kingdom. The Hugonots finding a resolution was taken to extirpate them, made a counter-league, whereof the king of Navarre was declared general, and the prince of Condé appointed for his lieutenant. The former edict of pacification being revoked, as had been resolved by the states, hostilities were renewed on both sides, but with great disadvantage to the Hugonots, who were very weak. However, as the war gave the duke of Guise too much credit, of whose power the king was extremely jealous, Henry thought it his interest to grant a peace to the Hugonots. From thence forward he plunged himself into pleasures, and lived at so expensive a rate, that he forfeited the love and esteem of his subjects. The prince of Lorrain knew how to improve the advantages which the king's conduct procured him, as will hereafter appear [g].

[1578] Whilst Elizabeth assisted the confederates of the Low-Countries, under colour of hindering them from submitting to France, Philip returned the favour, by endeavouring to raise a rebellion in Ireland. The project was formed some time before on account of pope Gregory XIII. who wanted to procure for his son Jacomo Boncompagno the crown of that kingdom. Thomas Stukely, an English fugitive, was the first author of it, and Philip II. undertook to supply whatever was necessary to accomplish it. In the year 1570, Stukely went to Pius V. and persuaded him, it would be very easy to burn the English fleet, and then conquer Ireland; and to that purpose he desired the command of some ships and three thousand Italians. The project, which could not then be executed, was resumed under the pontificate of Gregory XIII. who was allured with the hopes of procuring the crown of Ireland for his bastard son. As Stukely knew that, besides the navy-royal, Elizabeth could, upon occasion, equip a good number of other ships, he proposed the freighting of as many English vessels as possible, by the Flemings, French, Spaniards, Italians, and the sending them some long voyage. After that, he was to attack the royal navy, which was then very weak, and try to burn the ships in the several harbours where they lay. Which done, he intended to make a descent in Ireland, where he did not question the native Irish would join him; and after the expulsion of the English, he was to cause the pope's son to be proclaimed king. It is not very likely Philip II. depended upon the success of this enterprise; but he hoped, no doubt, to cause a diversion, which should hinder Elizabeth from assisting the rebels of the Low-Countries, or at least convince her she ought to pay him more regard. However, the pope having conferred on Stukely several honourable titles [h] taken from the kingdom of Ireland, as if he had been in possession, gave him some ships and eight hundred Italian soldiers, paid by the king of Spain. Stukely sailed from Civita Vecchia, and safely arrived at Lisbon, with intent to pursue his voyage and undertaking. But Don Sebastian, king of Portugal, being then going into Africa to war upon the Moors, persuaded him to accompany him in his expedition, and obtained Philip's leave. Shortly after, they both perished in the battle of Alcazar, and Philip relinquished the project of conquering Ireland for that of securing the crown of Portugal, after the death of the old cardinal Henry, who succeeded Don Sebastian.

The war commencing in the Netherlands, several companies of volunteers were formed in England, who went to serve the states with the queen's consent, or at least connivance [i]. On the other hand, part of the Spanish troops, disbanded at the arrival of Don John of Austria, were now returned to the Low-Countries, and moreover, Alexander Farnese, son of Octavio, had brought Don John a considerable body of Italians. With these forces, Don John gained at Gemblours a signal victory over the army of the states, which was followed with the taking of several places. Some time after, Philip II. offered a peace to the states; but as it was upon terms very different from the pacification of Ghent, and as he did not talk of recalling Don John of Austria, his offer was rejected.

The affairs of the states were however in an ill situation. The jealousies among the great men, and the diversity of religions, bred very dangerous troubles in the rising commonwealth. The duke Anjou and prince Casimir equally offered their assistance to the states, who knew not which way to turn. But at this very time a fortunate and unexpected accident happened. The city of Amsterdam, which hitherto had been for the king, resolved to join the confederates, and by that considerably strengthened their party. On the other hand, what passed soon after in the same city, very much increased the suspicion and distrust of the catholics. They who had been banished on account of religion, being recalled, found means to expel the magistrates, and put the government of the city into the hands of the reformed. The same thing was done at Haerlem, Utrecht, and other places; and this gave the catholics reason to suspect that, under colour of maintaining the cause of liberty, there was a design to abolish the antient religion, contrary to the pacification of Ghent. And therefore to prevent the execution of this project, the catholics proposed to give the government of the state to the duke of Anjou, a prince attached to his religion, and over whom they hoped the prince of Orange would not have the same influence as over Matthias. The prince of Orange not thinking proper to oppose the motion, for fear of confirming the suspicions of the catholics, the duke of Anjou was declared by the states, Protector of the Belgick liberties.

Mean while, the reformed fearing the duke of Anjou's arrival would produce some change prejudicial to their religion, presented a petition to the states, desiring to be admitted to the exercises of the public offices, as well as the catholics. This request was granted, on condition the catholics should enjoy the same privilege in Holland and Zealand; but these two provinces, without directly opposing this resolution, found means however to evade the condition annexed. Thence arose great divisions among the confederates. The catholics would yield nothing in the provinces where they were masters, since Holland and Zealand did not perform what was ordained, and the reformed would seize by force what was granted them by the states.

Whilst these differences sensibly lessened the union of the confederate provinces, it happened that the inhabitants of Ghent expelled the city all the Romish priests, and without obeying the archduke and the prince of Orange, who commanded them to recal them, prepared for their defence, in case they should be compelled to submit. On the other hand, the people of Artois and Hainault refused to suffer the reformed in their territories, and even pretended that the Gantois ought to be reduced to their duty by force. But the prince of Orange stoutly opposed all violent methods, by reason of the manifest danger of turning the arms of the confederates against themselves, at a time when Don John of Austria was preparing to do his utmost to destroy them. And indeed, shortly after, he attempted to force the army of the states, which was strongly intrenched, but was bravely repulsed. This attempt failing, contrary to his expectation, he made fresh offers of peace, to amuse the states till the arrival of a considerable body of troops which were coming to him. For the same reason, the states readily entered into treaty to gain time, because they expected prince Casimir with an army, and the duke of Anjou, who was now on the borders of Hainault with eight thousand men. Don John's succours coming first, he broke off the negotiation, and renewed the hostilities, being at the head of thirty thousand foot and sixteen thousand horse. Prince Casimir arriving also presently after, the army of the states was sixty thousand strong, whilst the duke of Anjou took in Hainault the little town of Binck. Casimir's army was chiefly paid by the queen, whose interest it was to hinder Don John from growing too powerful in the Netherlands, though feigning to be ignorant of his designs, she found other pretences to justify her assisting the states [k].

The divisions betwixt Ghent and the provinces of Artois and Hainault rendered the great armament of the states ineffectual. Some of their troops complaining they were not duly paid, suddenly quitted the army and took Menin. Shortly after, colonel Montigny followed their example with his whole regiment, and headed all the deserters. After that, he joined the troops of Artois, and made inroads into the province of Flanders. Then the Gantois, seeing their neighbours so powerful, and able to give them law, called prince

[g] This year died the learned sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state. Camden, p. 460.

[h] The pope made him marquis of Lemster, earl of Wexford and Caterlough, viscount Morough, and baron of Ross. This Stukely was a profuse braging man, who, after spending his estate, fled into Ireland, where being disappointed of the hopes he had of being steward of Wexford, he vented many scurrilous things against the queen, and then made his escape from Ireland into Italy to Pius V. Camden, p. 462.

[i] The chief were John North, the lord North's eldest son; John Norris, the lord Norris's second son; Henry Cavendish, and Thomas Morgan, colonels. Norris, general of the English, in the first battle fought stoutly, having three horses killed under him. Camden, p. 460.

[k] About this time, count Swartzenberg from the emperor, Pompon de Bellievre from the king of France, and the lord Cobham and sir Francis Walsingham from queen Elizabeth, repaired to the United Provinces, to find out some way for making a peace; but nothing could be agreed on. Ibid. p. 460.

Caſimir to their relief, and promiſed to pay his troops. The prince accepted their offer, and, coming to Ghent, the duke of Anjou refuſed to join the army of the ſtates, unleſs prince Caſimir would return with his Germans; and as he could not prevail, he retired to France, leaving his troops free to join thoſe of Montigny. Thus theſe two princes, who came into the Low-Countries on purpoſe to aid the confederate provinces, ſerved only to ruin their affairs, by fomenting diſcord among the inhabitants. Some time after, Caſimir paſſed into England [l], probably to vindicate his conduct to Elizabeth, who had ſupplied him with money to raiſe and maintain his army.

Don John of Auſtria had not time to improve the troubles raiſed in the Netherlands, being prevented by death the 1ſt of October. There had been a conſpiracy againſt him, for which two Engliſhmen, Ratcliffe [m] and Grey, were executed. But he could not eſcape the poiſon which the king his brother cauſed to be given him, if we may believe ſome writers. After his death, Alexander Farneſe prince of Parma took upon him the command of the army, till farther orders from the court of Spain. His principal care was to cheriſh the diſſention between the Flemings and the inhabitants of Hainault and Artois, in which he ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Whilſt the duke of Anjou was in the Low-Countries, he ſent into England a gentleman called Bacqueville, to renew the treaty of his marriage with the queen. The king of France alſo ſent thither Rambouillet upon the ſame account, being very deſirous to be freed from a brother, who made him very uneaſy by his levity, which ſuffered him to be directed by people who had not always his intereſt in view. The queen received theſe envoys ſo very graciouſly, that all the world imagined ſhe really intended to marry. It is difficult to know whether, being then five and forty years old, ſhe ſeriouſly thought of eſpouſing the duke of Anjou who was but twenty, or, taking a ſort of pride in being wooed, only meant to amuſe him. For my part, I believe it to be an effect of her policy, that her enemies, upon the rumour of her going to marry the duke of Anjou, might be leſs eager to purſue their deſigns againſt her. I mean the private deſigns upon her life, ſince there was then no likelihood of her being openly attacked, nor conſequently any urgent reaſon to determine her to marry. She had nothing to fear from Scotland. France was not then in condition to make any conſiderable attempt upon England. The king of Spain was wholly intent upon procuring the crown of Portugal. In a word, the ſituation of the affairs of the Netherlands permitted not Don John of Auſtria to execute his vaſt projects. Thus, in all appearance, the queen upon this occaſion acted ſolely out of policy. But before I relate the event of the negotiation, it will be neceſſary to give a general knowledge of what paſſed in Scotland during the year 1578.

The earl of Morton ſtill governed that kingdom as regent, but in ſuch a manner, that he daily created to himſelf freſh enemies. If Melvil is to be credited, he was proud and covetous. He ſought pretences againſt the rich to rob them of their eſtates, and could ſuffer about him ſuch only as were always ready to flatter him. Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt it was to preſerve peace in Scotland, under the government of a man on whom ſhe could depend, was afraid that at length the regent's ill-conduct would deprive her of that advantage. Wherefore ſhe diſpatched Randolph into Scotland, under colour of congratulating the king, who was then between eleven and twelve years old, upon the progreſs he was making in his ſtudies. But the embaſſador's chief buſineſs was to inſtil into the earl of Morton a little more moderation, and perſuade him to live in a good underſtanding with the earls of Argyle and Athol, and ſome other lords, who being diſſatisfied might in the end raiſe troubles in the kingdom. The regent took this advice in good part, but not knowing how to improve it, was himſelf the ſole cauſe of his ruin.

The king had for governor Alexander Areſkine, ſon or brother of the late earl of Mar, and four preceptors, of whom George Buchanan was one. The earl of Morton having imprudently diſobliged theſe men, they found means to ſet the young king againſt him. This was not very difficult, conſidering the king's age, the continual acceſs they had to him, and the frequent occaſions the regent gave them to take notice of his ill-management. When they had prepared the king almoſt to their wiſh, they ſent for the earls of Argyle and Athol, who had now privately taken meaſures to execute their purpoſe. Theſe two lords very eaſily perſuaded the king to lay aſide this troubleſome regent, and take himſelf the reins of the government [n], promiſing to aſſiſt him in it. This was done ſo ſuddenly, that the earl of Morton, who ſuſpected nothing, was not able to prevent it. The ſtates of the kingdom meeting at the ſame time, confirmed by their authority what the king had done, and appointed a council of twelve lords, among whom was the earl of Morton. But inſtead of taking his place in the council, he feigned to be weary of the court, and retired to his own houſe, where he ſeemed wholly employed in cultivating his gardens.

The young king having taken the government into his hands, ſent immediate notice of it to queen Elizabeth, demanding withal the lands of the late earl of Lenox his grandfather, and the renewal of the alliance between England and Scotland. It was not the way of Elizabeth and her council to be governed by motives of generoſity, but rather to uſe artifice, in order to reap from every occurrence all the benefit poſſible. Nothing could be more juſt than the king of Scotland's demand. The counteſs of Lenox his grandmother, who lately died in England [o], had enjoyed, ſo long as ſhe lived, the eſtate aſſigned her by Henry VIII. her uncle, when ſhe married the earl of Lenox. He gave alſo certain lands to the earl her huſband, to ſupport the honour of being married to a princeſs of the blood-royal. Who could therefore be their more lawful heir, than the king of Scotland their grandſon? And yet the council of England pretended, the inheritance might be claimed by Arabella Stewart, daughter of Charles Stewart, younger brother to the late earl of Lenox, under colour that ſhe was born in the kingdom; though in England, the princes of the royal family are not to be conſidered as foreigners, in what place ſoever they are born. Not that the queen intended to debar the king of Scotland entirely of his inheritance, but had a mind to hold him in ſubmiſſion, by an intimation that the ſame reaſon might be uſed to deprive him of his right to ſucceed to the crown of England, and that he wanted her to ſurmount the difficulties which might occur. For this reaſon, ſhe ordered the rents of the lands to be ſequeſtered by the lord Burleigh, maſter of the wards. As to the renewing of the alliance between the two crowns, ſhe appointed commiſſioners to treat of that affair with the Scottiſh embaſſadors. The commiſſioners required the embaſſadors to make propoſitions anſwerable to the gratitude due from the king their maſter to the queen, for placing and ſupporting him on the throne, at the expence of her treaſure, and the blood of her ſubjects. The embaſſadors replied, they had only power to renew the alliance between the two crowns, with an additional article for the defence of the proteſtant religion [p], received in Scotland ſince the laſt treaty. The Engliſh, deſiring to make the alliance to be conſidered as very advantageous to the king of Scotland, propoſed, that in return for the favours the king had received, and daily did receive for their queen, and for the advantages the league was to procure to Scotland, he ſhould promiſe not to make any alliance with other princes or ſtates, nor to marry without the queeen of England's conſent. But the embaſſadors abſolutely rejected the propoſition.

Mean while, the earl of Morton, who had correſpondents in Sterling, where the king reſided, appearing one night at the gate of the town with a company of armed men, it was opened to him, and he entered without oppoſition. Then he went directly to the king's palace, of whoſe perſon he became maſter, and expelling his enemies, reſumed the poſt he had been obliged to relinquiſh. The earl of Athol, who had been made chancellor, died ſhortly after, not without ſuſpicion of being poiſoned. We muſt now return to the affairs of England [q].

[1579] Prince Caſimir left not the court of England till about the middle of February. He had been honoured and careſſed in an extraordinary manner, the queen having ſhewn, it would be grateful to her to render his ſtay in England as agreeable as poſſible. Before his departure ſhe conferred on him the

[l] He was in England from January 22 to February 14. Stow, p. 685.

[m] Egremond Ratcliffe, ſon to Henry earl of Suſſex by his ſecond wife, who had been a violent man in the northern rebellion, and now ſerved under Don John, was accuſed by the Engliſh fugitives, that he was ſecretly ſent to aſſaſſinate Don John, upon which he was taken up and put to death, with Grey his accomplice. The Spaniards give out, that at his death he confeſſed he was let out of the town on purpoſe to commit this murder. But the Engliſh, who were preſent, deny he made any ſuch confeſſion. Camden, p. 460, 461. Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 494.

[n] Though he was not yet twelve years old.

[o] Margaret Douglas counteſs of Lenox, niece to Henry VIII. by his eldeſt ſiſter, widow of Matthew Stewart earl of Lenox, and grandmother to James I. king of Great Britain, having ſurvived eight children, died this year, on March 10, in her grand climacteric, and was buried at Weſtminſter, with a ſtately funeral, at the queen's charges. Camden, p. 461. Sandford, p. 525, 526.

[p] Againſt the pope and his confederates. Camden, p. 470.

[q] This year died the lady Mary Grey, one of the daughters of Henry duke of Suffolk, ſiſter to the lady Jane Grey, and widow of Martin Keys. Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 548.

She

Order of St. George, and put on the garter herſelf about his leg[r]. It was not without reaſon ſhe uſed him thus civilly. He had ſtill a conſiderable body of troops ready to aſſiſt the proteſtants, and it was no ſmall advantage to her, that ſhe could rely on him by ſupplying him with money. In the preſent ſituation of her affairs, nothing deſerved her care more than to hinder the ruin of the proteſtants in France and the Netherlands, ſince on their preſervation depended her ſafety. Caſimir was her inſtrument to continue, in the Low-Countries, troubles which made her ſleep in peace. When he arrived in the Netherlands, he found his horſe had accepted the duke of Parma's paſſport for their ſafe return into Germany, becauſe, wanting their pay, they would neither ſerve any longer, nor ſtay in the country.

At the ſame time, the queen was employed in an affair which required her whole attention: I mean, the negotiation of her marriage with the duke of Anjou. Beſides Rambouillet and Bacqueville, who had been in England ſome time upon that account, the king of France had alſo ſent Simie[s], a man of parts, and very fit for the purpoſe. Elizabeth had a large ſhare of wit and ſenſe, and was perfectly acquainted with her own intereſts; but was not free from all the paſſions of her ſex. Simié ſoon diſcovering her temper, did not loſe his time in ſolliciting the duke of Anjou's ſuit by reaſons of ſtate and policy: ſhe knew more of that matter than himſelf. But he ſo artfully choſe the moſt proper way to win her heart, that he gained her ear more than the duke of Anjou would have done himſelf. All were ſurpriſed at the great change they ſaw in her, and at the progreſs the duke of Anjou had made by the help of Simié. Nay, it was believed he had uſed love-potions, and other unlawful arts, ſuch was his addreſs to render himſelf agreeable, if after all he was not himſelf deceived by the queen. Above all things, he took great care to ruin the earl of Leiceſter, not having the ſame reaſons as the Engliſh courtiers to manage that favourite. It was he who revealed to the queen Leiceſter's clandeſtine marriage with the earl of Eſſex's widow, and the diſcovery put her into ſuch a paſſion, that ſhe was going to ſend him to the Tower[t]. Leiceſter was vexed to ſee himſelf thus braved by a foreigner. It is even ſaid, he bribed one of the guards to aſſaſſinate him. It is at leaſt certain, the queen fearing the French envoys might receive ſome affront, took them under her eſpecial protection, and commanded by proclamation, that no man ſhould offer them any injury. It happened ſhortly after, that as the queen was in her barge on the Thames, near Greenwich, with the three French envoys[u], a piſtol was diſcharged out of a boat, and one of her bargemen wounded. The man that fired the piſtol was taken immediately, and threatened with the rack; but he cleared himſelf ſo ingenuouſly, that the queen was perſuaded of his innocence. She took occaſion from her pardoning this man, to diſplay the affection ſhe had for her ſubjects, ſaying, "She could believe nothing of her people, which a parent could not believe of his own children."

Shortly after, the duke of Anjou came incognito into England with only two ſervants. He went to court without being known, and after ſome private diſcourſe with the queen, returned into France. Two months after, the queen ordered ſome of her moſt truſty privy-counſellors[w], to examine together the advantages and miſchiefs which might ariſe from her marriage with the duke of Anjou, and report them to her[x].

Whilſt Elizabeth was intent upon gaining the king of France's friendſhip, the duke of Guiſe was framing a plot capable of creating her one day much trouble. As England could be conveniently invaded only from Scotland, Guiſe, who had not relinquiſhed the project formed by the late duke his father and the cardinal his uncle, was deviſing means to accompliſh it, by ſetting Elizabeth and the king of Scotland at variance. He made uſe for that purpoſe of Eſme Stewart, baron d'Aubigny, who came to Scotland under colour of paying his reſpects to the king as his near relation. He was ſon of John Stewart, younger brother of Matthew earl of Lenox, the young king's grandfather. This lord, who was ſettled in France, where his family held the barony of Aubigny in Berry, being come to the king, ſo artfully inſinuated himſelf into his good graces, that in a little time he became his favourite. There was alſo about the ſame time another young man, ſprung from a branch of the Stewart family, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Oghiltry, who was very much beloved by the king. Theſe two favourites joined together to ruin the earl of Morton, as well for the ſake of their own intereſt, as becauſe it was neceſſary, in order to execute the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, to be rid of a lord, who was too much attached to the intereſt of England. To compaſs their ends, they perſuaded the king to take a progreſs into ſome of his counties, well knowing the regent had buſineſs which would not ſuffer him to attend him. The earl of Morton not miſtruſting theſe young men, who ſeemed only to mind trifles, oppoſed not the king's deſign. During the progreſs, the two favourites inſtilled into the king an utter averſion to the regent, and an exceſſive deſire to be freed from him. We ſhall ſee preſently the effects of this averſion; but it will be proper firſt to mention what had paſſed in the Netherlands[y].

The army of the ſtates being much weakened by the retreat of the German troops, the prince of Parma beſieged Maeſtricht, whilſt plenipotentiaries on both ſides were treating a peace at Cologne. But this negotiation ſerved only to divide the confederates the more. From that time ſeveral lords forſook them. Montigny came to the prince of Parma's army with the forces under his command. Artois and Hainault made a ſeparate treaty, and ſome other provinces returned to the obedience of the king of Spain. The prince of Orange ſeeing this defection, uſed his endeavours to unite ſtill more ſtrictly the provinces which perſiſted in the reſolution to throw off Philip's yoke. He ſucceeded at length, and cauſed the famous union of Utrecht to be ſigned, between Holland, Zealand, Friſeland, and Utrecht; the articles whereof are to be ſeen in the hiſtories of thoſe countries. Ghent and Ypres afterwards came into the union, and the prince of Orange was made governor of Flanders. Mean while, the prince of Parma took Maeſtricht, after which he diſbanded moſt of the Spaniſh and Italian troops, according to his promiſe. This ſincerity procured him Mechlin, Liſle, and Valenciennes.

The city of London increaſing exceſſively, to the detriment of the reſt of the towns, the queen thought it neceſſary to remedy this inconvenience. She publiſhed therefore, in the beginning of the year 1580, a proclamation, prohibiting any new buildings within three miles of the gates of the city, upon pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of the materials[z]. It were to be wiſhed for England, that this prohibition had been punctually executed even to this day, ſince the city is ſo enlarged, that it is grown a monſtrous head to a body of a moderate ſize, to which it bears no proportion.

But there was a ſtill more preſſing evil, which it was no leſs neceſſary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the Engliſh ſeminaries in foreign countries from ſending prieſts into England to preach ſedition and rebellion, under colour of adminiſtring the ſacraments to the catholics. The prieſts expelled England in the beginning of this reign, had ſet up a college at Douay in 1568, by means of William Allen an Oxford man, afterwards cardinal. Whilſt the duke of Alva was governor of the Netherlands, in this college were formed all the plots I have mentioned in favour of the queen of Scots. But Don Lewis de Requeſens having baniſhed from the Low-Countries all the Engliſh fugitives, the members of Douay-college retired, ſome to Rome, and ſome to Rheims, where they erected ſeminaries, under the protection of the pope and the cardinal of Lorrain archbiſhop of Rheims. It was theſe two ſeminaries which ſupplied the catholics in England with prieſts. Whilſt the court imagined theſe men only adminiſtred the ſacraments in private to thoſe of their religion, no notice ſeemed to be taken of it. But it was diſcovered at length, that they were diligent in ſpreading pernicious principles, which might be attended with ill conſequences. They maintained, that the pope had by divine right full power to dethrone kings, and Elizabeth being excommunicated and depoſed by Pius V.'s bull, her ſubjects were freed from their alle-

[r] She alſo ſettled a yearly penſion on him. Camden, p. 471.

[s] He is called by the French writers, the baron de Simier. See P. Daniel, tom. IX. p. 118. Thuanus gives him this character, "Johannes Simieus, homo blandimentis, & aſſentatiunculis innutritus aulicilis," lib. 66.

[t] If Suſſex, though his deadlieſt adverſary, had not generouſly diſſuaded her, being of opinion, that no man ought to be troubled for lawful marriage. However, Camden affirms, that Leiceſter was ordered not to ſtir out of Greenwich-caſtle. Camden, p. 471.

[u] Camden ſays, only Simié, with the earl of Lincoln, and Hatton her vice chamberlain, were in the boat with her. Ibid.

[w] The lord Burleigh, the earls of Suſſex and Leiceſter, Hatton and Walſingham. Ibid. p. 471.

[x] See the articles propoſed by the duke for his marriage, in Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 561.

[y] This year, on February 20, died ſir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great ſeal, and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. He was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Bromley, lord chancellor.—This ſame year, on November 21, died alſo ſir Thomas Greſham knight, founder of the Royal Exchange, and of Greſham-college in London, and was buried it Helen's Biſhopſgate-ſtreet. Stow, p. 685, 686.—This year alſo, Amurath Cham, emperor of the Turks, upon treaty betwixt William Harbourn an Engliſhman, and Muſtapha Beg a Turkiſh baſſa, granted, that the Engliſh merchants might freely trade throughout the Turkiſh dominions, in like manner as the French, Venetians, and other neighbouring nations did. Whereupon the Engliſh merchants, by the queen's privilege, aſſociated themſelves into a company, called the Turkey Company. Camden, p. 474.

[z] And ordered, that no more than one family ſhould dwell in a houſe. Ibid. p. 476.

Namely

giance. Four of these dangerous emissaries were condemned and executed, for daring to maintain publicly that the queen was lawfully deposed [a].

This did not hinder the two seminaries from continually sending into England incendiaries, with whom were joined Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian, jesuits, who were the first of that order employed to preach the forementioned dangerous tenets. They had obtained of the pope a bull, dated the 14th of April 1580, declaring that pope Pius's bull did for ever bind Elizabeth and the heretics, but not the catholics, till a favourable opportunity should offer to put it in execution. These two jesuits had professed the protestant religion, and even bore offices in the university of Oxford [b]. After that, withdrawing out of the kingdom, they returned from time to time, appearing one while like clergymen, another while like soldiers, or in some other disguise; and frequented the houses of the catholics, under pretence of instructing and comforting them, but in reality to inspire them with sedition and rebellion. Nay, they had the confidence to challenge the protestant clergy to dispute in print [c]. All this coming to the queen's knowledge, a proclamation was issued out, commanding all those who had any children, wards, kinsmen, beyond sea, to give in their names to the ordinary in ten days, and call them home within a month [d], with a prohibition to supply them with money after that time. By the same proclamation, all persons were forbid to entertain or harbour any jesuits or priests sent forth from the seminaries of Rome or Rheims, on pain of being punished as rebels and seditious persons.

Shortly after, printed books were dispersed, intimating, that the pope and the king of Spain had conspired to conquer England and restore the catholic religion, and exhorting the English papists to encourage the design. Whereupon the queen issued out another proclamation, declaring, she was not ignorant of the practices of her enemies, but by the blessing of God and the help of her faithful subjects, she was able to withstand their attacks, both at home and abroad: That moreover, as the plots which were contriving were not only against her person, but also against the whole kingdom, she did not intend to be cruel to the good by sparing the bad; and therefore such as would not for the future keep within the bounds of their duty, were to expect no favour [e].

The menaces from the pope and the king of Spain were not entirely fruitless, since it appeared this very year that there was a plot formed against Ireland. Arthur Grey, lord-deputy of that island, had intelligence that seven hundred Spaniards and Italians, sent by the pope and Philip II. were landed without opposition [f], under the command of San Joseppo an Italian, and had raised a fortification, which they called the Fort del Oro. The earl of Ormond, who was not far from those quarters, posting thither with some troops, took a few prisoners, who declared they had brought arms for five or six thousand men, who were to join them, in order to drive the English out of the island. The earl not having sufficient forces to besiege the fort, contented himself with investing it, till the lord-deputy, who was on the march, should join him. A little after, the fort was besieged in form, and compelled to surrender the fifth day at discretion. This success was sullied by the cruelty of the English, who, under pretence of the great difficulty of guarding so many prisoners, put the Spaniards to the sword, and hanged all the Irish.

This year was memorable for the return of Francis Drake from his voyage round the world. He had navigated in America, upon the north and south seas, and amassed a prodigious quantity of gold and silver taken from the Spaniards. At his return, which was in November, the queen knighted him, and was pleased to dine in the ship which had made so great a voyage. After that, she ordered it to be drawn up in a little creek near Deptford, and certain inscriptions to be set up in memory of the thing [g].

Bernardine de Mendoza, the Spanish embassador, made great complaints against Drake. He required, that he should be punished for his robberies, and for daring to sail in the seas which were under the dominion of the king of Spain, and all the money, plundered upon the Spaniards, restored. He was told, that the Indian ocean was common to all the nations of Europe; and that the English by no means allowed of the propriety assumed by the king of Spain, nor of the pope's pretended donation, who had no right to dispose of countries and seas which belonged not to him: That Drake should be always ready to answer in law whenever he should be attacked; and to hinder him from converting the gold and silver to his own use, the queen had ordered all the goods he had brought home to be sequestred, with design to satisfy the king of Spain, if he could prove they belonged to him or his subjects, though the charges she had been at in defending Ireland against the attacks of the Spaniards amounted to a much greater sum. The queen however repaid afterwards part of the treasure [h].

Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, died this year. He was the last of that illustrious family which had flourished in England above three hundred years [i]. One of his daughters married Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, and thence it was that the title of earl of Arundel came to the Howard family.

The religious war was renewed in France in the month of January, and ended in November by a sixth treaty of peace.

This year Philip II. seized the throne of Portugal, vacant by the death of king Henry. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, natural son to Don Lewis, brother of the late king, would have disputed the crown with the king of Spain, but the forces of the two competitors being very unequal, Don Antonio's endeavours were fruitless.

The affairs of Scotland began to give Elizabeth some uneasiness, because she knew king James's two favourites were using their utmost endeavours to turn him against England. The first point of their project was to finish the earl of Morton's ruin, whom they had already destroyed in the king's favour. The second, to engage the king to marry a French princess. The third, to persuade him, after his marriage, to declare the duke of Guise his lieutenant-general. The advices the queen received upon this occasion wanted not proof, since she had long known the design to invade her from Scotland, and since what was contriving at king James's court was very proper to accomplish that project. She saw moreover, that the two favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the house of Lorrain, gained more and more the love and confidence of the king, who delighted to load them with favours. Aubigny had been made earl and then duke of Lenox [k], and James Stewart was honoured with the title of earl of Arran. Upon the intelligence she had received, she believed it necessary to begin with opening the young king's eyes in relation to the plots of his favourites, or put him under a necessity to shew that he approved them, which could not but breed great discontent among the people of Scotland. To that purpose, she sent sir Robert Bowes, treasurer of Berwick, into Scotland, to accuse the duke of Lenox, before the king and council, of holding with the court of France, and particularly with the duke of Guise, intelligence destructive of Scotland and England. The council of Scotland, governed by the duke of Lenox, thought not proper to admit the accusation; but the king sent into England the lord Hume, to clear his favourite to the queen, who refused him audience. Nothing could be more grateful to the favourites than the misunderstanding which began to be formed between their master and the queen of England. Not to give him time to cool one day, as the earl of Morton was present in the council, the earl of Arran accused him of being concerned in the late king's murder. Upon which he was immediately arrested,

[a] Namely, Hanse, Nelson, Maine, and Sherwood. Stow, p. 682. Camden, p. 476.

[b] Robert Parsons was born in Somersetshire, and brought up at Baliol-college. Edmund Campian was a Londoner, fellow of St. John's-college, and proctor of the university in 1568. Ibid. p. 477.

[c] Campian likewise published his Decem Rationes, in defence of the Romish communion. His book was answered by Dr. Whitaker. Ibid. p. 477.

[d] Within four months. Camden, p. 476. There was another proclamation against jesuits and seminary priests, April 24, 1582, which may be seen in Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 83, &c.

[e] There came also about this time sectaries out of Holland, who called themselves of the Family of Love, and maintained, That those only were elected and should be saved who were admitted into their family; and all the rest were reprobates, and should be damned: and the like absurd tenets. Camden, p. 477.

[f] Admiral Winter had waited a good while for their coming, and returned to England about Michaelmas; but, upon news of their landing, he went back to Ireland. Ibid. p. 475.

[g] He sailed from Plymouth the 13th of December 1577, and returned to the same port November 3, 1580. When the ship was hauled up, the same day some Winchester scholars set up some verses on the main-mast, in praise of Drake, which I suppose were the inscriptions mentioned by Rapin. Two of the verses were as follow:

Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas, Drace, Columnis,
Et magno dicas, Hercule major ero. Camden, p. 477. 480.

[h] This year, on January 16, the parliament met by prorogation at Westminster, and was prorogued again March 18. The temporality granted the queen a subsidy and two fifteenths; and the clergy a subsidy of 6s. 8d. to be paid in three years. See Statut.

[i] From the time of Richard Alan, who (being descended from the Albeneys, antient earls of Arundel and Sussex), in the reign of Edward I. received the title of earl without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the castle and lordship of Arundel. Camden, p. 481.

[k] He was also made chamberlain of Scotland, and captain of Dumbarton-castle. Ibid. p. 472.

These

London: Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

Goldar sculp.t

S.r Francis Drake.

Publish'd as the Act directs Aug.t 9. 1706.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

ſent to priſon in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and afterwards removed to Dunbarton.

[1581] Elizabeth hearing of the earl of Morton's diſgrace, and finding his attachment to England was the ſole cauſe of it, diſpatched Randolph immediately to ſollicit in his behalf. But the favourites intention being rather to exaſperate than appeaſe, his interceſſion was in vain. Randolph ſeeing the king ſo beſet that it was not poſſible to prevail, demanded an audience of the ſtates, then aſſembled. He repreſented, how neceſſary a good underſtanding with England was to them; what the queen his miſtreſs had done for Scotland ſince the king's birth; how great an affection ſhe had ever expreſſed for him; and with what pains and charge ſhe had always protected his faithful ſubjects: That, notwithſtanding all this, the duke of Lenox was endeavouring to ſow diſcord between the two kingdoms, and had ſo far ſucceeded, that the king now looked upon the queen of England his good kinſwoman as an enemy. The ſtates heard his harangue, and returned a general anſwer, which demonſtrated their being directed by the court. So, finding he could obtain nothing either from the king or the ſtates, he began to practiſe upon the great men, to perſuade them to riſe in arms, whilſt Elizabeth ſhould ſend forces towards the borders[1]. As all this could not be done without the knowledge of the king and his favourites, the goverment of Sterling was taken from the earl of Mar, who was ſuſpected of being too good a friend of the Engliſh, and the king publiſhed an order to all his ſubjects fit to bear arms, to hold themſelves ready to march at a moment's warning. But as Elizabeth meant only to terrify the king of Scotland, and not to wage war with him for the ſake of the earl of Morton, ſhe ordered her troops to retire. Probably Elizabeth's endeavours to ſave the priſoner's life rather haſtened his death, ſince preſently after he was condemned and beheaded. He confeſſed the earl of Bothwell imparted to him his deſign to kill the king, but denied he had any hand in the murder. He ſaid alſo, he had intended to carry the king into England, that being educated among the Engliſh, he might find the leſs difficulty to obtain the crown of that kingdom after the queen's death. Randolph, ſeeing Elizabeth had no deſign to ſupport the great men of Scotland whom he had gained, retired without taking leave.

The earl of Morton being dead, the two favourites became more and more maſters of the king and the government of the kingdom, without regarding the people's murmurs, who could not without indignation ſee themſelves at the mercy of two raw and unexperienced young men. The duke of Lenox had ſome good qualities, but had no knowledge of the affairs of Scotland, and beſides, was a catholic, and deemed the duke of Guiſe's creature. This gave occaſion to fear he had formed projects deſtructive of the religion and liberty of Scotland. The earl of Arran wa an atheiſt, and one of the moſt wicked of men, if Melvil's teſtimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the duke of Lenox's friend, but laboured to ruin him, by giving him counſels capable of making him forfeit the love and eſteem of the nobles and people. On the other hand, he privately hinted to the clergy, that the reformed religion was in great danger, if timely care was not taken to oppoſe the duke of Lenox's deſigns. By theſe ſecret practices he ſo managed, that the duke became odious to the whole kingdom.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, the court of France earneſtly preſſed the duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth. At laſt, the queen having agreed with Simié upon the chief articles, Henry III. ſent into England an honourable embaſſy, conſiſting of Francis of Bourbon prince of Dauphiné, Arthur Caſſe marſhal of France, preſident Briſſon, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction. Theſe embaſſadors were received with great pomp and magnificence; and the queen appointed to treat with them the lord Burleigh high-treaſurer; Edward Clinton earl of Lincoln, lord admiral of England; Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex, Francis Ruſſel earl of Bedford, Robert Dudley earl of Leiceſter, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, and ſir Francis Walſingham, who was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of ſir Thomas Smith, lately deceaſed. As every thing was almoſt ſettled, the following articles, which were to be digeſted in form of treaty, after being approved by the king of France and the duke his brother, were drawn by conſent:

The marriage ſhall be conſummated within ſix weeks after the ratifying of the treaty.

The duke of Anjou and his domeſtics who are not Engliſh ſhall have the free exerciſe of their religion, in ſome certain place to be appointed within his court.

The duke of Anjou ſhall alter nothing in the religion now received and eſtabliſhed in England.

After the conſummation of the marriage, he ſhall enjoy the title of king of England, but the adminiſtration of affairs ſhall remain in the hands of the queen alone.

Whereas the duke has demanded that he may be crowned king of England preſently after the marriage, and enjoy that honour, in caſe he ſhall come to be guardian of the children he may have by the queen, it is agreed, the queen ſhall lay the affair before the parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her power.

Letters patents, &c. ſhall run in the name of the king and queen, as in the time of Philip and Mary.

The queen ſhall aſſign the duke, by authority of parliament, an honourable penſion, to be diſpoſed of as he pleaſes.

She ſhall procure the parliament to aſſign a yearly penſion in caſe he ſurvives her.

The duke ſhall make the queen a dowry of forty thouſand crowns a year out of the dukedom of Berry, and ſhall pu her in preſent poſſeſſion thereof.

As to their children, the following articles ſhall be ſettled, which ſhall be ratified in the parliaments of England and France, namely,

All the children, as well males as females, ſhall ſucceed to their mother's inheritance, each in his order, according to the cuſtoms of England.

If the crown of France happens to fall to the duke of Anjou, or his heirs, and there be two males, the eldeſt ſhall ſucceed in the kingdom of France, and the ſecond in that of England.

If there be but one ſon, he ſhall enjoy both crowns, but ſhall be obliged to reſide in England eight months in every two years.

If the duke never comes to the crown of France, his children ſhall inherit his appendage.

If he out-live the queen, he ſhall have the guardianſhip of the children; of the males till they are eighteen, and of the females till fifteen.

If the duke die before the time of guardianſhip be expired, it ſhall be left to the diſpoſal of the parliament.

After theſe articles relating to the children, and ſerving to ſettle the ſucceſſion, it was further agreed:

The duke ſhall prefer no foreigner to any poſt or office in England.

He ſhall not carry the queen out of the kingdom, without her own and the expreſs conſent of the peers of the realm.

If ſhe die without iſſue, he ſhall pretend no claim to England.

He ſhall not convey the crown-jewels out of the kingdom.

He ſhall leave all the places in the hands of the Engliſh, and ſhall not remove from thence any warlike ſtores.

There ſhall be a particular treaty of league between France and England, with the proper ratifications.

By a ſeperate article ſigned apart by itſelf, it was agreed, "The queen ſhall not be bound to conſummate the marriage, before ſhe and the duke of Anjou ſhall thoroughly ſatisfy one another in certain points, and ſhall certify the king of France thereof within ſix weeks." It is not known upon what account it was neceſſary to take this precaution.

Ever ſince the laſt year, the ſtates of the Low-Countries had begun to treat with the duke of Anjou, concerning their offer of the ſovereignty of the confederate provinces, and the negotiation was ſo far advanced, that the conditions were now agreed. As ſoon as the prince of Orange was almoſt ſure of the ſucceſs of the affair, he ſo ordered it, that the ſtates declared the king of Spain to have forfeited the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, and the duke was expected every hour to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and oppoſe the prince of Parma, who was beſieging Cambray. The duke arrived indeed in Auguſt, with an army of twenty thouſand men, and conſtrained the prince of Parma to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Valenciennes. He made his entry into Cambray the 18th of Auguſt, and was declared prince thereof, having firſt taken theoath.

In the mean time, Elizabeth ſhewed ſhe had altered her mind with regard to her marriage, or had never ſeriouſly reſolved to conſummate it. She only wanted a pretence to break it off, or at leaſt ro defer it, till time ſhould produce a more favourable opportunity. To that end, ſhe ſent into France James Sommers, clerk of the council, to require that, purſuant to the laſt marriage-article, a league offenſive and defenſive ſhould be inſtantly concluded between France and England. Henry III. anſwered, that in the articles there was no mention of an offenſive, but he was ready to ſign a defenſive league. Sommers replied, the league ſpoken of in the articles muſt be deemed offenſive, ſince there was already a league defenſive concluded in 1572, which not having been violated, wanted no renewal. Upon this, Elizabeth ſent

[1] There were ſeventeen companies ſent thither. Melvil, p. 127.

ſecretary Walſingham to Paris, to improve this difficulty, and add ſome others. Walſingham therefore told the king, when the queen his miſtreſs firſt reſolved to marry, it was only to ſatisfy her people, who deſired a certain ſucceſſion by her children, to which end, ſhe had preferred the duke of Anjou before all other princes, on account of his perſonal qualities and royal deſcent: Nevertheleſs, ſhe could not think of conſummating the marriage, till ſhe perceived whether it was pleaſing to her people, for fear ſhe ſhould be accuſed of conſidering of it too late: That ſhe heard with grief, the minds of the beſt men were averſe to the marriage, and for that reaſon ſhe thought it neceſſary to delay it, though ſhe had ſtill the ſame eſteem for the duke of Anjou: That beſides, ſince the concluſion of the articles, things had happened which required her to think more attentively of her engagement: That the duke having accepted the ſovereignty of the Netherlands, had incurred the diſpleaſure of the king his brother, and this new dignity could not but engage England in a war with Spain, ſince it was not poſſible for the duke to be in war, without the queen his ſpouſe being ſo too: That ſhe believed therefore the preſent juncture very unſeaſonable to conſummate the marriage; and that it was proper to defer it till the duke ſhould be diſengaged from his war, and the league offenſive and defenſive between France and England concluded according to agreement. Henry plainly perceiving this was only an evaſion, briefly anſwered, he was ready to renew the league defenſive, and would treat of a league offenſive, as ſoon as the marriage was conſummated.

Theſe things paſſed whilſt the duke of Anjou was in the Netherlands. After he had raiſed the ſiege of Cambray, and taken Cateau in Cambreſis, the ſtates preſſed him to join his forces with their army, to improve ſo fair an opportunity: but the approach of winter furniſhed him with an excuſe to ſend back his troops into France, that he might go and ſollicit his affairs in England himſelf. He arrived there in November, and was received by the queen with ſo great reſpect and civility, that he thought himſelf almoſt ſure of ſucceſs. One day, as the anniverſary of her coronation was celebrating, the queen being in converſation with him, pulled off her ring from her finger and put it on the duke's, which made all preſent imagine ſhe had juſt then given him a promiſe [m].

Mean while, the marriage was exclaimed againſt publicly in the court and city. Walſingham, Leiceſter, Hatton, and others of the queen's confidents, murmured at it more than the reſt. Her maids of honour that were moſt intimate with her, never ceaſed to repreſent to her all the miſchiefs which might from thence befal her, as well as the whole kingdom, and ſtrove by perſuaſions mixt with tears to divert her from this reſolution. I know not whether I am miſtaken in ſuſpecting all this to be a mere farce, acted by the queen's private orders, to give her a pretence to go from her word. Miniſters, courtiers, favourites, are ſeldom ſeen to oppoſe ſo openly and publicly the will of their ſovereign, if they are not certain of approbation. Be this as it will, the queen having ſpent the whole night without taking any reſt, amidſt the ſighs and tears of her ladies, went to the duke's room [n], and talked with him in private. When ſhe withdrew, the duke was ſeen to throw the ring from him, and preſently to take it up again, complaining bitterly of the levity of women, and the inconſtancy of the Engliſh.

Elizabeth's conduct in every thing relating to the marriage was ſo ſingular, that there is no gueſſing her thoughts. If the buſineſs was only a bare negotiation, prolonged and broke off upon the point of concluſion, there would be no cauſe of wonder. Nothing was more agreeable to the queen's character; and I will venture to ſay, to her intereſt. But the ſigning and ſealing of the marriage-articles raiſes a difficulty not eaſy to be removed. It is ſcarce probable this wiſe politician ſhould think of amuſing to ſuch a degree a brother of the king of France, and who might himſelf one day be king, ſince Henry had no children. This is ſo much the harder to be believed, as there was then no viſible neceſſity to carry her diſſimulation ſo far. For my part, I ſee no properer way to explain this extraordinary conduct, than by ſaying, that in the beginning of the negotiation, her deſign was only to amuſe the duke of Anjou [o], that afterwards ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be won, and ſigned the articles with ſincerity, in a reſolution to perform them; but that after ſigning, ſhe repented, and choſe rather to affront the prince than keep her word. Then it was that ſhe carried her diſſimulation to the greateſt height, in expreſſing an extraordinary value for the duke, and labouring withal to put him out of conceit with the marriage. There are two facts very difficult to be reconciled, but upon my ſuppoſition. The firſt is, during the duke's ſtay at court, ſhe cauſed a man's hand to be cut off for writing a ſatire upon their marriage [p]. After that, ſhe publiſhed a manifeſto, to ſatisfy the public that the duke of Anjou had no ill deſign againſt the proteſtant religion, nor had demanded any thing in favour of the catholics. The ſecond fact, very oppoſite to the firſt, is, that ſhe took the opportunity whilſt the duke was with her to put to death Edmund Campian a jeſuit, with three other prieſts [q], convicted of endeavouring to raiſe commotions in the kingdoms, and obſtinately maintaining that the queen was lawfully depoſed. It is eaſy to perceive, if her eſteem and affection for the duke of Anjou had been ſo great as ſhe pretended, ſhe would at leaſt have deferred theſe men's puniſhment till after his departure. But doubtleſs ſhe intended to let him ſee he would not find in his marriage thoſe comforts he thought to have reaſon to expect. Be this as it will, which ever way her proceedings are explained, there is no juſtifying, in my opinion, either her ſigning the articles, or afterwards breaking her word.

Whatever the queen's intention might be in this negotiation, it is certain it was extremely prejudicial to the catholics in England, who entertaining great hopes from the marriage, were too haſty to diſcover them. When it was known in the world that the articles were ſigned, England was ſuddenly over-run with Romiſh prieſts, jeſuits, and other catholics, who hoped to be ſecure under the duke of Anjou's protection. Among theſe, ſome were ſo imprudent as to vent openly the moſt extravagant doctrines concerning the pope's power, a crime then unpardonable, becauſe it tended to deprive the queen of her royalty, and raiſe a rebellion. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious zeal and imprudence of ſome of the catholics drew upon the whole body ſeverities to which the queen would not have been eaſily led, if they had been contented to live in quiet, and exerciſe their religion in private, without attacking the government. What did them ſtill more injury was, that ſome of them owned they were come into England with power to abſolve every man in particular from his oath of allegiance, from which Pius V.'s bull had abſolved the whole nation in general.

This year, Don Antonio, prior of Crato, who pretended to the kingdom of Portugal, and had been crowned at Liſbon, being expelled thence by the arms of the king of Spain, withdrew into France. After which he came to Elizabeth, who took care of him, and put him in hopes of a greater relief.

[1582] The parliament meeting the beginning of the year 1582, whilſt the duke of Anjou was ſtill in England [r], paſſed very ſevere laws againſt the catholics, wherein all thoſe are declared guilty of high-treaſon, "who ſhall endeavour to diſſuade the ſubjects from their allegiance to the queen, and from the religion eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, or ſhall reconcile them to the church of Rome, as alſo thoſe who ſhall be thus reconciled. Thoſe alſo who are fined in two hundred marks and impriſonment for a year, who ſhall ſay maſs; and they who ſhall be knowingly preſent at maſs, are fined in a hundred marks, with impriſoment alſo for a year. Moreover they who abſented themſelves from their pariſh-churches, on the days appointed for divine ſervice, are fined in twenty pounds a month." It muſt be obſerved, that hitherto only one ſhilling to the uſe of the poor had been

[m] Among whom Aldegond, governor of Antwerp, diſpatched letters away into the Netherlands to ſignify as much. And Antwerp teſtified her joy by bonfires and peals of ordnance. Camden, p. 486.

[n] Camden ſays ſhe ſent for him, p. 486.

[o] Strada, and ſome other hiſtorians ſay, that queen Elizabeth ſet this treaty of marriage on foot, only to break off the deſign of a match between the duke of Anjou and a daughter of the king of Spain, which had been ſome time in agitation. And this is very probable, conſidering how afraid queen Elizabeth was of an union between the crowns of France and Spain. Dec. 2. l. 4.

[p] John Stubbs, of Lincoln's-inn, publiſhed a book againſt the marriage, entitled, "The Diſcovery of a Gaping Gulph, wherein England is like to be ſwallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by letting her ſee the Sin and Puniſhment thereof." Upon which he, and William Page who diſperſed the copies, were taken up and condemned to loſe their right hands. Which was done accordingly (by virtue of an act of Philip and Mary againſt ſeditious writings) by driving a cleaver through the wriſt with a mallet, upon a ſcaffold at Weſtminſter. I remember, ſays Camden, being preſent, that Stubbs, after his right hand was cut off, pulled off his hat with his left, and ſaid, with a loud voice, "God ſave the Queen." But the multitude ſtood ſilent, either out of horror of the puniſhment, or pity to the man, or their hatred of the match. Camden, p. 487. The queen, upon occaſion of this book, publiſhed a long proclamation, dated September 27, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 562, &c.

[q] Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Brian. They were indicted upon the treaſon-act, 25 Edward III. Before theſe, there had been no more than five papiſts put to death in this reign. Camden, p. 487.

[r] There was no ſeſſion of parliament this year. The act here mentioned, was made in the ſeſſion held in the year 1580, and of which notice has been taken above. See p. 338, note [h], and D'Ewes, p. 266, &c. Rapin has been miſled in this particular by Camden, p. 487.

exacted for abſence on Sundays and holidays. This ſhews, that before, the laws againſt the catholics were not very ſevere; neither were they, it is certain, executed with rigour. But the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe who would not be ſatisfied with this advantage, was the occaſion that all the catholics were deprived of it.

The duke of Anjou, and thoſe who had attended him into England, could plainly perceive under what conſtraint they ſhould live, if the marriage was conſummated. In all appearance, the proceedings of the queen and the parliament againſt the catholics, did not a little contribute to comfort him, and perhaps put him out of conceit with a country ſo oppoſite to France. Nay, it is very likely, all this was done before his eyes with that view. He departed in February, having received from the queen many tokens of eſteem and affection; the moſt ſubſtantial whereof was a good ſum of money [s] to aſſiſt him in maintaining the war in the Netherlands. The queen having accompanied him to Canterbury, ordered ſeveral Engliſh lords [t] to wait upon him as far as Antwerp, were preſently after he received the ducal crown of Brabant. By all theſe marks of eſteem and friendſhip, and by all her civilities, the queen had a mind to repair in ſome meaſure the mortifications ſhe made him undergo during his ſtay in England. It is very probable this ſtay was not to his advantage, and ſerved only to diſcover the meanneſs of his genius and other qualities.

Elizabeth was too wiſe not to perceive that her conduct in the negotiation of her marriage could not but diſoblige the king of France. So ſhe plainly ſaw that though there had been no other reaſon but this alone, ſhe could not much rely on his friendſhip. On the other hand, ſhe was not ignorant how angry the king of Spain was, for that whole bodies of Engliſh troops ſerved in the army of the ſtates of the Low-Countries, under the command of Norris. Though theſe men were called volunteers, that is, owned by none, and who ſerved at their own charge, it was eaſy to judge that they were not there in ſuch numbers, without the tacit or expreſs conſent of their queen. Beſides, it was hardly poſſible for Elizabeth to conceal the ſupplies of money ſhe had given prince Caſimir and the duke of Anjou, for the maintenance of their armies. Philip II. was the moſt potent prince in Europe, and the conqueſt of Portugal had lately rendered him ſtill more formidable, particularly to the Engliſh. He was ſupported by the pope, and had but too much influence in the king of France's council. But Elizabeth had no friend on whom ſhe could depend. The duke of Guiſe was now labouring to take from her the king of Scotland. The Iriſh wanted only a favourable opportunity to revolt, and the Engliſh catholics were inceſſantly excited to rebellion by the pope's emiſſaries. To theſe may be added a great number of proteſtants, the queen of Scots adherents, who only waited an occaſion to ſhew their affection for her. Elizabeth's miniſters could not without dread think of all theſe things. They were in continual apprehenſion that ſome terrible ſtorm was going to fall upon England. To this fear were owing, firſt, the league defenſive with France, and then, the project of the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou; the miniſters judging it almoſt impoſſible for her to ſupport herſelf without ſome powerful alliance.

Mean while, whether Elizabeth thought herſelf able to prevent or repel the danger, ſhe took but few precautions, relying wholly on the affection of her people. This was her beſt, or rather her only refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt, and cauſe them to loſe the love and eſteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very ſenſible part. To this muſt be aſcribed her tender expreſſions whenever ſhe ſpoke to her people. It muſt however be confeſſed, that ſhe won her people's love, not only by words and other external demonſtrations, but chiefly by very ſubſtantial deeds. Let a man peruſe the whole Hiſtory of England, and he will find no reign wherein juſtice was adminiſtered ſo impartially, or the ſubject enjoyed their privileges more peaceably, or were freer from wars abroad and at home, or from extraordinary taxes and impoſitions; in a word, wherein the kingdom was more flouriſhing. The queen ſpent no unneceſſary money, and her treaſury being regularly managed, the people had no occaſion to complain, ſince whatever they gave was employed for their own good.

But it was not only at home that the queen laboured to make her people happy, her care reached alſo abroad. This year ſhe ſent an embaſſador [u] to Frederick II. king of Denmark, under colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter. But the chief motive of the embaſſy was to induce that prince to deſiſt from certain cuſtoms paid by the Engliſh merchant-ſhips in paſſing the Sound, in which however it was not poſſible to ſucceed. Frederick gratefully received the Collar of the Order, but refuſed to take the uſual oath, becauſe he had denied the ſame thing before, when admitted into the order of St. Michael by the French king.

Though Henry III. had no reaſon to be pleaſed with Elizabeth, he gave her notice, however, that the duke of Guiſe was plotting ſomething in favour of the queen of Scots, and was to embark in Normandy ſome troops deſigned either for England or Scotland, though he pretended to ſend them into Flanders. For this reaſon ſhe recalled ſir Walter Mildmay, who had been ſent to treat with the queen of Scots, or at leaſt to pretend to do ſo.

As there was no likelihood the duke of Guiſe would invade England directly, but on the contrary every thing looked as if he intended to execute ſome project in Scotland, the queen turned her thoughts wholly to her affairs of that kingdom. They were then in a violent convulſion. Some perſons of great diſtinction, among whom were the earls of Mar, Lindſay, Goury, full of indignation to ſee the realm governed by a young prince of fifteen years and two raſh inexperienced miniſters, who had nothing leſs in view than the kingdom's welfare, conſpired together to ſeize the king's perſon and remove his two favourites. To that end, taking their opportunity whilſt they were both abſent from court, and the king intent upon hunting near Athol, they ſent and invited him by the earl of Goury to paſs a few days at his houſe at Huntingtoun, and when he came there ſecured his perſon [w]. This was called the Ruthven-conſpiracy, becauſe Ruthven was the name of the earl of Goury's family [x]. For the ſame reaſon the conſpirators were called the lords of Ruthven. The earl of Arran, one of the king's favourites, drew together ſome people, and attempted to free his maſter, but was repulſed and forced to retreat to Ruthven-caſtle, where the earl of Goury received him and ſaved his life, but kept him priſoner. The duke of Lenox hearing what had paſſed, ſpeedily retired to Dunbarton, of which he was governor, and the king was carried to Sterling, free in appearance, but priſoner in reality.

Upon this news, Elizabeth, who probably was not ignorant of the conſpirators deſign, ordered Henry Carey to go immediately and offer her ſervice to the king of Scotland. But James, terrified by thoſe who had him in their power, anſwered, that every thing was done with his conſent, and he was very well pleaſed with the lords who were about him. Melvil affirms, however, that the king found means to tell Carey in private the contrary to what he had ſaid in public. The king of France ſent likewiſe La Mothe Fenelon into Scotland [y] to try to ſupport the favourites, knowing thoſe who had ſeized the king were all friends to England. La Mothe had alſo orders to inform the king, that the queen his mother, who had hitherto refuſed to own him for king, agreed to make him partner in the royalty.

Shortly after, queen Mary wrote to Elizabeth, to try to engage her in the deliverance of the king her ſon. But ſhe took a very improper way to obtain this favour, ſince her letter is full of reproaches for the barbarous uſage ſhe meth with [z].

This year pope Gregory XIII. publiſhed his bull for reforming the calendar, and ordered ten days of this very year to be cut off at once. As England and the reſt of the proteſtant ſtates refuſed to comply with this ordinance, becauſe it flowed from the papal authority, there began from that time to be a difference of ten days in the dates, the one reckoning it the firſt day of the month, when it was the tenth with the others. This difference ſtill ſubſiſts in ſome places, and particularly in England and Swedeland, where the old

[s] An hundred thouſand crowns of gold ſol, each crown worth ſix ſhillings ſterling, or ſixty ſols French money. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 792.

[t] He was attended by the earl of Leiceſter, Charles and Thomas Howard; the lords Huntdon, Willoughby, Windſor, Audley, and Sheffield; ſir Philip Sidney, ſir Francis Ruſſel, ſir George Bourcher, &c. Camden, p. 488. Stow, p. 690.

[u] Peregrine Bertie, whom ſhe, as being ſparing in conferring honours, had with much ado made baron Willoughby of Ereſby, though his mother Catherine was the only daughter and heir of William lord Willoughby of Ereſby. She married firſt Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, by whom ſhe had no iſſue; and ſecondly, Richard Bartue, or Bertie, eſq; father of this Peregrine. See Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 87, 408. Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 670.

[w] And publiſhed a proclamation, of which the reader may ſee an account in Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 79.

[x] William Ruthven had been very lately created earl of Goury. Camden, p. 488.

[y] He went along with Daviſon, queen Elizabeth's embaſſador. Ibid. p. 491.

[z] This year, about the end of September, died the learned George Buchanan. Spotiſwood, p. 325.—This year alſo, one Peter Morris, a Dutchman, invented an engine and pipes for conveying the Thames water for the uſe of the city of London. Stow, p. 696.

Three

way of reckoning is ſtill uſed, with the addition however of the new[a].

Camden pretends that Elizabeth was very much moved with Mary's letter, and that compaſſion for the afflicted queen made her adviſe with her council upon what terms ſhe could be releaſed. We ſhall ſee preſently that this proceeding was far from demonſtrating a deſire to ſet her at liberty. It is much more likely, ſhe ſought only to amuſe her, and by putting her in hopes of deliverance had no other view than to put a ſtop to the continual plots which were contriving in her favour, and free herſelf from the ſollicitations ſhe was perpetually troubled with. However this be, ſome time after the receipt of her letter, ſhe ſent to her Robert Beal [b], one of the clerks of the council, with certain articles founded upon Mary's offer of aſſociating her ſon in the government. Conſequently they ſuppoſed a previous agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper juncture to negotiate this agreement, ſince king James was captive in the hands of queen Elizabeth's adherents. Here follow the articles, with ſome remarks, which will ſerve to ſhew Elizabeth's aim in feigning a deſire to releaſe her priſoner.

I. "The queen of Scots and the king her ſon ſhould promiſe to attempt nothing prejudicial to England."

It is eaſy to perceive that this article is expreſſed in ſuch general terms as required a large explanation.

II. "She ſhould diſclaim as unjuſt whatever was done by Francis II. her firſt huſband, and ratify the treaty of Edinburgh."

The former part of this article was very general, and liable to many cavils. As to the latter part, it muſt be obſerved, that Mary could not ratify the treaty of Edinburgh but with the reſtriction ſhe had offered. So, in propoſing to her the ratifying of that treaty ſimply and abſolutely, a ſnare was laid for her, or elſe ſhe was put under a neceſſity of rejecting the article.

III. "She ſhould diſcover and condemn all the conſpiracies againſt queen Elizabeth that were come to her knowledge."

This was accuſing her of being concerned in theſe conſpiracies, and making her own it, which was a very hard meaſure for Mary. She could have done no more, had ſhe been fully convinced of Elizabeth's ſincerity, which is not very likely.

IV. "She ſhould contrive nothing againſt the government of England, eccleſiaſtical or civil."

Mary was a catholic, and the laws of England excluded the catholics from all poſts. So if ſhe agreed to this article without farther explanation, it might have been inferred, that ſhe excluded herſelf from ſucceeding Elizabeth.

V. "She ſhould claim no right to the crown of England during queen Elizabeth's life, and after Elizabeth's death ſhould refer her title to the judgment of the parliament."

This was alſo laying a ſnare for Mary, in making her own that her title was dubious, though ſhe did maintain, and had always maintained, that it was inconteſtible.

VI. "She ſhould ſwear to theſe articles, to the end there might be no room for the objection taken from her not being at liberty."

VII. "The king her ſon ſhould ratify them by oath and writing."

To enable the king of Scotland to ratify theſe articles, it was neceſſary firſt that he ſhould agree in an authentic manner that he was king only as aſſociated by the queen his mother, which was not then in his power, ſince he was in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, who by no means acknowledged Mary's authority.

VIII. "For the performance of this article, the queen of Scots ſhould give hoſtages to the queen of England."

This article was alſo liable to many difficulties, concerning the number and quality of the hoſtages.

It is therefore evident Elizabeth propoſed theſe articles to Mary only to amuſe her and the world, at a time when it was not poſſible even to enter into a treaty upon this ſubject; beſides their being almoſt all enſnaring and liable to diſcuſſions, which the court of England might have prolonged as they pleaſed. Camden ſays, the Scots of the Engliſh party were utterly againſt the agreement, affirming it was owing to the intrigues of the French court. It is true, if the conditions propoſed had been advantageous to Mary, it is not unlikely Elizabeth would have ſet the Scots to oppoſe the concluſion of the treaty. But there was no occaſion for this, ſince ſhe had taken ſufficient care to hinder Mary, from accepting them.

I muſt now proceed to relate what paſſed in Scotland this year. If a man is confined to what Camden ſays, his idea of things will be very imperfect. This is one of thoſe paſſages wherein that hiſtorian has thought fit to be very ſhort for fear of injuring king James's reputation, for whoſe ſake he wrote the Annals of queen Elizabeth. But by good fortune, we have Melvil's Memoirs, which give us a fuller information.

The duke of Lenox ſeeing the king in the hands of the lords of Ruthven, and the little probability of forming a party ſtrong enough to free him, withdrew into France, where he died ſoon after.

Mean while, the lords of Ruthven, whoſe ſole aim had been to remove from the king his two favourites, finding that one was in priſon and the other in France, thought proper to convene the ſtates, where the king was preſent. He declared, whatever they had done was with his conſent and to his ſatisfaction. He wrote the ſame thing to the general aſſembly of the kirk; whereupon the ſtates and the kirk approved by authentic acts all that was paſſed. This done, the king was no longer watched, but left entirely at liberty.

Shortly after, the king aſſembled the nobility in the city of St. Andrew's, before whom he declared, that though he had been detained againſt his will, he owned however it was done for his ſervice: that he did not intend to call any perſon to an account, but would ſpeedily publiſh an act of oblivion. To ſhew that he forgot all that was paſt, he viſited the earl of Goury, who caſting himſelf at his feet, begged pardon, which he very readily obtained.

All being thus quiet, the king appointed twelve counſellors to aſſiſt him to govern the ſtate. But ſhortly after, his affection for the earl of Arran reviving, he wiſhed to ſee him; and as all his counſellors were unanimouſly againſt it, he proteſted he would ſend him away again within four and twenty hours, but was not as good as his word, for he kept him for ever. In a ſhort ſpace, the favourite had ſuch an influence over him, that he would not ſuffer any but him to meddle in the public affairs. Whereupon the council of twelve being no longer conſulted, broke up of themſelves. As ſoon as the earl of Arran ſaw himſelf fully reſtored, he ſuggeſted to the king, that he had made a falſe ſtep in not puniſhing the inſolence of the lords of Ruthven, and perſuaded him at length to alter his reſolution [c]. So, inſtead of an act of oblivion, he iſſued out a proclamation, commanding the accomplices of the Ruthven conſpiracy to come and beg pardon for their crime. Every one plainly ſaw the difference between the proclamation and the promiſed act of oblivion. The king being free, had declared that they who had detained him intended him no ill, and for that reaſon he had promiſed them a pardon. But by the proclamation he conſidered them as guilty, and obliged them to ſubmit to his mercy, at a time when he ſuffered himſelf to be governed by one of thoſe very favourites againſt whom they had conſpired. This was ſufficient to induce the lords to retire, ſome to their own homes, and others into England, to wait for another opportunity to ruin their enemy [d].

[1583] Elizabeth being informed of the king of Scotland's proceedings, and the danger of the earl of Arran's entirely ruining the Engliſh party, wrote to the king, repreſenting the conſequences, and mixed in her letter ſome reproaches for breach of promiſe. She told him moreover, ſhe intended to ſend ſecretary Walſingham to talk with him from her. James returned a ſtout anſwer, and vindicated himſelf for not performing his promiſe, ſince it was extorted from him when a captive. This excuſe might have ſerved with reſpect to what

[a] Three hundred and ſixty-five days ſix hours, exceeding a year by about eleven minutes, a day is gained in about a hundred and thirty-two years, by which means, from the year 325, wherein the council of Nice was held, to the year 1582, ten whole days were gained. Whereupon, to ſet matters right again, pope Gregory ordered the 5th of October, 1582, to be called the 15th, and to prevent the like error again, he decreed, that three days ſhould be taken out of every four hundred years (which comes to almoſt the ſame as taking out one day every hundred and thirty-two years), and this was done by making every hundredth year common, which, according to the Julian account, is always leap-year, but every four hundredth year to continue leap-year. Though this be the trueſt and moſt exact way of reckoning, yet ſuch was the perverſeneſs of the Engliſh, that they ſtill kept to the old way, till the year 1752, when the calendar was reformed by act of parliament. The Swedes and Ruſſians ſtill kept to the old ſtile. And hence comes what we call old and new ſtiles, which differ now by eleven days, and are thus written 1-12th of July 1733.

[b] To treat with her, together with George Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, in whoſe cuſtody Mary was. Camden, p. 491.

[c] Arran inſinuated to the king, that it would be a troubleſome buſineſs to be incumbered with ſo many contrary opinions. He deſired him to recreate himſelf with hunting and hawking, and he would attend the council, and report to his majeſty all their opinions and concluſions. This he did two or three times; but at length he gave account of no man's advice but his own, and made the king believe, it was all their opinions that it was his intereſt to follow a violent courſe. Melvil, p. 139.

[d] Camden turns the whole affair to the king's advantage, by paſſing over in ſilence all the particulars related by Melvil. Rapin.

The

he ſaid to the ſtates; but it was inſufficient, ſince he repeated the ſame thing to the nobility when at full liberty. However, he promiſed the queen to proceed no farther till Walſingham's arrival. In the mean time, the favourite made the earl of Goury undergo ſo many mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the court. Walſingham being arrived, imparted to the king, in two private audiences, the queen's advice concerning the management of his affairs. But as this advice tended to the earl of Arran's ruin, the embaſſador brought back no very ſatisfactory anſwer[e].

The beginning of the year, the duke of Anjou, being too much confined by the terms laid upon him by the ſtates, attempted to ſeize on the ſame day Antwerp, and ſeven or eight other towns of the Netherlands. But miſſing his aim, he was forced to retire to Dunkirk, and from thence into France. Mean while, the affairs of the ſtates were in a melancholy ſituation. The prince of Parma made great progreſs this year, and very likely would have ſucceeded at length, in obliging all the united Provinces to return to the obedience of the king of Spain.

Henry III. behaved in France after ſo ſtrange a manner, that he daily incurred the contempt of his ſubjects. In public he affected an over-ſtrained devotion, whilſt in private he plunged himſelf into the moſt criminal pleaſures. Philip II. taking advantage of Henry's indolence with regard to his moſt important affairs, ſtrove by all ſorts of ways to raiſe him troubles, which ſhould hinder him from undertaking the defence of the Netherlands, who ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to put themſelves under the dominion of France. He tried firſt to perſuade the king of Navarre to take up arms, promiſing to aid and protect the Hugonots. This way failing, he applied to the duke of Guiſe, who accepted the ſuccours offered by Philip to revenge the mortifications he daily received from the king's minions [f].

[1584] Whether queen Elizabeth's advice to the king of Scotland had a good effect upon him, or Melvil's remonſtrances, as he hints himſelf in his Memoirs, made ſome impreſſion on his mind, he ſeemed reſolved to put a ſtop to the proſecution of the lords of Ruthven. To that purpoſe, he aſſembled the nobility at Edinburgh, to end the affair with the advice of the great men as he had at firſt projected, by publiſhing an act of oblivion. But the earl of Arran, a bold and daring man, defeated this project in ſpite of the king himſelf. When the great men were come to Edinburgh, he went and talked with every one apart, intimating, that the king's intention was only to get his conduct approved with regard to the lords of Ruthven, after which he would pardon them, when they had acknowledged they owed that favour to his clemency. The great men ſeeing the point was only to ſave the king's honour, and thinking the fugitives would receive no prejudice, promiſed the favourite to do as the king deſired. So, when the king aſked their advice in the affair, they anſwered, it was their opinion he acted with great clemency in opening the fugitives a way to obtain their pardon. This done, the earl of Arran told him, if, after this declaration, he publiſhed an act of oblivion without the fugitives owning themſelves guilty, he would diſoblige the nobility by neglecting their advice, and extremely injure his own dignity. Thus the fugitives obtained no advantage, though the aſſembly was convened purely for their ſake.

The declaration of the nobility drove the lords of Ruthven to deſpair. They were required to aſk pardon for a thing which the king had approved, as done for his ſervice. Nay, they could not be ſure of their pardon, ſince, as the king had once departed from his word, they could not truſt him any more. The earl of Arran having obtained his deſire, grew more proud and inſolent, and ſo perſecuted all his enemies, that he forced them at length to form a new conſpiracy againſt him [g]. Though the earl of Goury had ſaved his life, and procured him the king's pardon, he never ceaſed to moleſt him, till he had forced him to aſk leave to go out of the kingdom. He was now at Dundee, in order to retire into England, when he heard that the earls of Mar, Angus, and Glames, who were fled into Ireland, had ſome enterpriſe in hand againſt the favourite. This news made him ſtay in Scotland, and at laſt he entered into the conſpiracy himſelf, without ſtirring however from Dundee. The conſpirators had ſo well laid their meaſures, that arriving unexpectedly in Scotland, they immediately took Sterling.

Mean while, the court having before received ſome confuſed intelligence of the conſpiracy, and knowing the earl of Goury was concerned, ordered him to be arreſted, which was done, juſt as the conſpirators became maſters of Sterling. This arreſt quite diſheartened them. As he was a near relation of the king, they fancied he had deſignedly ſuffered himſelf to be taken; and believing they were betrayed, abandoned their enterpriſe, and fled out of the kingdom. It coſt the earl his life, who being brought to Edinburgh was there beheaded [h]. Thus the earl of Arran ſtill kept his poſt in ſpite of his enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole kingdom, becauſe he was a wicked atheiſtical man, and of an inſatiable avarice. There was alſo another thing which very much troubled the Scots. And that was, the king for ſome time had held private intelligence with the queen his mother, which bred a fear that he would engage in deſigns deſtructive of the ſtate and religion. He had privately accepted of the aſſociation ſhe had offered him, and it was ſeen that none but the queen's known friends had acceſs to him. Nay, it was whiſpered, he intended to turn catholic, and began to liſten to the propoſals of the French court, or rather of the duke of Guiſe.

All theſe things were but too apt to give Elizabeth great uneaſineſs. She was afraid the king of Scotland would be perſuaded to take a French wife, and ſuch a marriage produce ill effects for England. To try therefore to prevent the miſchiefs which might happen from that quarter, ſhe ſent Daviſon into Scotland, under colour of excuſing her protection of the Scotch fugitives, though the king had demanded them by virtue of the treaty of alliance concluded between the two kingdoms. But Daviſon's chief buſineſs was to endeavour to win the earl of Arran to the queen's intereſt. This method was better and ſpeedier than to ſupport the malcontents of Scotland, who were always to be ſupplied with money, without being certain of the ſucceſs of their undertakings. Beſides, the queen ran the hazard of entirely loſing king James. That prince had ſenſe, but as he was young, unexperienced, and too much governed by his favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into projects detrimental to both kingdoms for the ſake of others. Daviſon ſucceeded entirely in his negotiation with reſpect to the earl of Arran, and by means that are eaſy to be gueſſed, prevailed with him to be guided by the queen. Before his return to England, it was agreed between the two courts, that the earl of Hunſdon for England, and the earl of Arran for Scotland, ſhould meet upon the borders, and make a regulation proper to preſerve a good underſtanding between the two kingdoms. Under this pretence, theſe two lords conferred together, and before they parted, made a private treaty, whereby the earl of Arran engaged to keep the king unmarried for three years. Elizabeth pretended, ſhe deſigned to give him a princeſs of the blood-royal of England, who was not yet marriageable. This was at leaſt the pretence with which the treaty was coloured.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the maſter of Gray, a young Scotch lord, inſinuated himſelf ſo far into king James's favour, that the earl of Arran growing jealous, found means to remove him, by cauſing him to be ſent embaſſador to Elizabeth. Gray was no ſooner in England, but the queen won him by her careſſes and bounties. From that time the embaſſador feigned to be ſtrongly attached to queen Mary's intereſt, and by that means drew ſecrets from her, which Elizabeth knew how to improve. The earl of Arran having ſome intelligence of the intrigue, informed the king of it, in order to ruin his rival; but as in all likelihood he could bring no proof of what he advanced, Gray being returned to Scotland, was very well received by the king, and ſpared no pains in his turn to ruin the favourite.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Scotland, plots were forming in England in favour of the captive queen. But ſome intercepted letters to queen Mary from Francis Throckmorton [i] beginning to diſcover the conſpiracy, Throckmorton was arreſted. Immediately Thomas lord Paget and Charles Arundel fled into France, and gave out that the catholics were ſo cruelly perſecuted in England, that it was not poſſible for them to ſtay there without danger of their lives: That the court had ſpies every where, not only to watch the catholics, but alſo to lay ſnares for them: That forged letters from the queen of Scots were left in their houſes, to force them either to bring them to the ſecretary of ſtate, or render themſelves guilty by

[e] The earl of Arran put all the affronts that could be invented upon him. See Melvil, p. 148.

[f] June 9, this year, died Thomas Ratcliffe earl of Suſſex, lord chamberlain, and was buried at Newhall, or rather Boreham, in Eſſex.—Alſo, July 6, died Edmund Grindal, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and was ſucceeded by Dr. John Whitgift. Stow, p. 697. Grindal was the firſt who brought tamariſk into England. Camden, p. 494.

[g] He made all the inhabitants of Scotland to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and ſeeking out new faults againſt ſeveral perſons, to get the gifts of their eſcheats, lands, benefices, &c. Melvil, p. 155.

[h] Becauſe the earl of Arran was fully reſolved to have his lands, and therefore to effect his deſign, he engaged to divide them with ſeveral others, upon condition they would aſſiſt him in ruining the earl of Goury. Melvil, p. 156.

[i] Eldeſt ſon of John Throckmorton, chief juſtice of Cheſter, who had lately been put out of the commiſſion. Camden, p. 497.

concealing them. There is no doubt, the queen had ſpies to watch the motions of the catholics, having but too much reaſon to ſuſpect their fidelity [k]. Nay, it is very poſſible that among theſe ſpies there were ſome who, to improve their ſervices, laid ſnares for the catholics. Thoſe who take upon them ſuch an office, of what religion ſoever they be, are not uſually the moſt honeſt men. But the behaviour of the catholics had made theſe precautions neceſſary, the knowledge of what paſſed among them being of the utmoſt conſequence to the queen. Several books, as well printed as in manuſcript, were handed about, wherein the queen was ſlandered to the higheſt degree. She was taxed with putting to death many catholics without cauſe, having firſt racked them, to compel them to confeſs crimes of which they were innocent. Her maids of honour were exhorted to ſerve her in the ſame manner as Judith did Holofernes, and render themſelves, by ſuch an action, worthy of the applauſe of the church throughout all future ages [l]. Theſe books, with what had been diſcovered after Throckmorton's arreſt, made it thought ſome plot was ready to break out.

Mean while the queen, willing to ſhew it was not for their religion that ſome catholics had been puniſhed, ſent for the judges of the realm, and ſharply reproved them, for having been too ſevere in the tortures they had made theſe men ſuffer. Probably, this was done to afford them an opportunity to clear themſelves from this charge, by an apology which was made public. They affirmed, "That no perſon had been made to ſuffer for his religion, but only for dangerous practices againſt the queen and ſtate; that indeed Campian, the jeſuit, had been put to the rack, but with ſo little violence, that he was preſently able to walk and ſubſcribe his confeſſion: That Brian, one of his accomplices, obſtinately refuſing to ſpeak or write the perſon's name who penned the papers found about him, was indeed denied food, till he aſked it in writing." However, the queen, willing to take from her enemies all occaſion of ſlandering her in foreign parts, forbid the putting of any perſon whatever to the rack, and was ſatisfied with tranſporting out of England ſeventy prieſts who were in priſon, and of whom ſome were under ſentence of death. Among theſe were certain jeſuits [m], who afterwards proved very ungrateful for this favour. Perhaps indeed ſhe acted, upon this occaſion, not ſo much from a motive of clemency, as to ſeparate two things which were always endeavoured to be confounded, namely, religion and the crimes againſt the ſtate, under pretence that moſt of the conſpirators were catholics.

Before Throckmorton was apprehended, he ſent a cabinet full of papers to Mendoza the Spaniſh embaſſador, of which the court had notice [n]. He denied all at his firſt examination: but at the ſecond, confeſſed, "that going ſome few years ſince to the Spa, he conferred ſeveral times with Jeney and ſir Francis Inglefield, two Engliſh fugitives, how England might be invaded [o]: That after his return, Morgan, another fugitive in France, told him, the catholic princes had formed a deſign to free the queen of Scots, and to employ the duke of Guiſe for that purpoſe: That nothing was wanting, but to know what ſuccours might be depended upon from the Engliſh catholics: That in order to take their meaſures the better, Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mope, was ſent into the county of Suſſex, where the duke of Guiſe intended to land: That he (Throckmorton) imparted the project to the Spaniſh embaſſador, who had been already informed of it, and ſhewed him the ports where it would be moſt proper to land: That he moreover acquainted the ſame embaſſador with the names of the great men to whom he might freely open his mind, becauſe, as he was a public perſon, he would not be ſo narrowly watched. Finally, that he conferred with him how to raiſe ſoldiers privately in England, to have them ready when the foreign troops ſhould arrive."

Upon theſe depoſitions, the Spaniſh embaſſador was deſired to come to the council, where he was told what Throckmorton had witneſſed againſt him. As he did not think himſelf, doubtleſs, innocent enough to clear himſelf from theſe accuſations, he choſe by way of recrimination to charge the queen with detaining the Spaniſh money ſhe had ſeized, and with aſſiſting the duke of Anjou. Then he ſpoke againſt the miniſters, ſaying, that by their ill counſels they inceſſantly laboured to ſow diſcord between the queen and the king of Spain. A few days after, the queen commanded him to depart the kingdom, which he readily obeyed, thinking himſelf very happy in coming off at ſo eaſy a rate. However, when he came into France, he loudly complained, as if in England the law of nations had been violated in his perſon. Mean while, the queen diſpatched Wade [p] to Spain, to inform the king of what had paſſed, and to tell him ſhe was ready to receive another embaſſador from him. But Philip would not give Wade audience, who refuſed alſo in his turn to impart the contents of his embaſſy to the prime miniſter.

When Throckmorton was brought upon his trial, he denied what he had confeſſed at his examination, affirming, he had invented it on purpoſe to avoid the rack. But after his condemnation, upon the evidence of his own letters to the queen of Scots, and the papers found in his coffers, he owned all, and even made a more circumſtantial declaration than at firſt. And yet when he came to the gallows, he denied again whatever he had confeſſed.

Elizabeth, as ſhe could not doubt her enemies were perpetually contriving to deprive her of the crown, and ſet it on the head of the queen of Scots, lived in a conſtant uneaſineſs, and under the apprehenſion that ſome one of their plots would at laſt ſucceed. So, to diſcover more fully the deſigns of her enemies, ſhe ſeemed willing to reſume the negotiation begun with the queen of Scots. To that end ſhe ſent Wade, at his return from Spain, to tell her ſhe was ready to renew the treaty which had been interrupted, and would diſpatch to her very ſoon ſir Walter Mildmay for that purpoſe. But withal, ſhe let her know ſhe inſiſted upon two conditions, namely, that ſhe ſhould prevail with the king her ſon to grant the pardon promiſed to the lords of Ruthven, and to put a ſtop to the plots of the biſhop of Glaſgow her embaſſador in France.

At this time happened the ſurpriſe of Sterling, the impriſonment of the earl of Goury, and the flight of the conſpirators into England. Whereupon Elizabeth ſent Beal to deſire the queen of Scots to intercede with the king her ſon for the fugitives, and inform her of the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, as ſhe had promiſed Wade. Mary anſwered, ſhe had promiſed nothing, but on condition ſhe ſhould be releaſed: That ſhe would readily intercede for the Scotch fugitives, provided any advantage would accrue from thence to herſelf or the king her ſon, and in caſe they would confeſs their fault. She did not deny, ſhe had deſired the duke of Guiſe to uſe his endeavours to free her; but ſaid ſhe knew nothing of his deſigns, nor, if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcover them, unleſs ſhe was aſſured of her freedom. She beſought Elizabeth to uſe her with more humanity, and deſired the treaty might be concluded with her before the Scots were treated with. Laſtly, ſhe added, that as the king of France had owned and received her embaſſador jointly with her ſon's, as princes aſſociated, Elizabeth would be pleaſed to cauſe this aſſociation to be publiſhed in Scotland.

Elizabeth took care not to ſerve her in what ſhe deſired, her aim being only to draw from her a ſollicitation in behalf of the Scotch fugitives, and an information concerning the duke of Guiſe's deſign, upon the uncertain hope of an agreement which ſhe flattered her with. But finding ſhe could get nothing out of her, ſhe relinquiſhed the negotiation as needleſs. However, perceiving by Mary's anſwer, that the king of Scotland had accepted the aſſociation, ſhe was afraid ſome dangerous plot was contriving in Scotland. It was this chiefly that made her reſolve to gain the earl of Arran at any rate, wherein ſhe ſucceeded, as I ſaid before.

Shortly after, Elizabeth alſo diſcovered that her enemies did not ceaſe their ſecret practices. Creichton, a Scotch jeſuit, going by ſea into Scotland, and his ſhip being attacked by pirates, tore ſome papers he had about him, and threw them into the ſea. But by a very extraordinary accident, the wind hindered the torn papers from falling into the water, and blew them back into the ſhip, where ſomebody took the pains to gather them up. Theſe papers being delivered to Wade, he paſted them together upon an another paper with great labour and patience, and by that means a plot was diſcovered, framed by the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Guiſe, to invade England. Whereupon, by the earl of Leiceſter's

[k] Theſe perſons were particularly ſuſpected, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and his ſon; Philip Howard earl of Arundel, and his brother William, with the earl of Arundel's wife; and Henry Howard, their uncle, the duke of Norfolk's brother. Camden, p. 497.

[l] The author of theſe books was never diſcovered, but the ſuſpicion lighted upon Gregory Martin, an Oxford man, very learned in the Greek and Latin tongues. Carter, a bookſeller, was executed, who procured them to be printed. Camden. p. 497. Stow, p. 698.

[m] Gaſper Haywood, James Boſgrave, John Hart, and Edward Riſhton, were the chief. Camden, p. 497.

[n] The reſt of Throckmorton's coffers being ſearched, there were found in them two catalogues; one, of the ports in England that were convenient to land forces at; and the other, of the gentlemen all over England that profeſſed the Romiſh religion. Ibid. p. 408.

[o] And to that end he had drawn theſe two catalogues. Ibid.

[p] He was clerk of the council. Camden calls him Waadus, or Waade; but others, ſir William Wade; which laſt was his true name.

means, a general aſſociation of men of all degrees and conditions was formed in England, who bound themſelves by oath to proſecute to death thoſe that ſhould attempt any thing againſt the queen.

The queen of Scots eaſily perceived that the plots of her friends were diſcovered, ſince the aſſociation was a clear evidence that Elizabeth thought herſelf in danger. As ſhe was afraid ſhe could not avoid the efforts of this aſſociation, in caſe it came to be known that ſhe was concerned in theſe plots, ſhe uſed freſh endeavours to free herſelf from captivity. To that purpoſe ſhe ſent Naue her ſecretary to Elizabeth with theſe propoſals:

That if ſhe might be releaſed, ſhe offered to enter into a cloſer amity with the queen of England: To renounce the title of queen of England, and never lay claim to the crown of that kingdom ſo long as Elizabeth was alive: To ſign the aſſociation: To make a league defenſive with England (ſo far as might ſtand with the alliance between France and Scotland), provided that nothing was done in England to her diſadvantage, before ſhe herſelf or the king her ſon was heard in the parliament: To ſtay in England till hoſtages were given: To make no change in the religion eſtabliſhed in Scotland, provided ſhe might have the free exerciſe of her own. To bury in oblivion all injuries done to her in Scotland, on condition that whatever had been enacted to her diſgrace ſhould be repealed: To recommend to her ſon ſuch counſellors as were inclined to preſerve a good underſtanding with England: To procure a pardon for the fugitives, provided they would own themſelves guilty: To treat of no match for the king her ſon without Elizabeth's knowledge. She required on her part, that the treaty ſhould be made with her and the king her ſon jointly, and promiſed to have it ratified by the duke of Guiſe. Moreover, ſhe deſired matters might be ſpeedily concluded, for fear ſome accident ſhould obſtruct the treaty. Laſtly, ſhe prayed Elizabeth to give her ſome token of her eſteem, by granting her a little more liberty.

Had Mary made theſe offers at any other time, perhaps Elizabeth would have regarded them. But in the preſent juncture, they only ſerved to increaſe her ſuſpicions, ſince it was evident they were an effect of the fear inſtilled into the priſoner, by the aſſociation and the diſcovery of the plots. Camden pretends, contrary to all appearance, that Elizabeth being ſatisfied with theſe propoſals, was going to ſet Mary at liberty, had ſhe not been hindered by the clamours of the Scots. Hence he takes occaſion to make a long invective againſt the preſbyterians and their preachers, and to accuſe them of inſolence, contempt of the king's perſon, and rebellion againſt the laws. Here alſo he ſpeaks of the ſuppreſſion of Buchanan's writings, which was foreign to the purpoſe. In a word, he would have preſbytery to be conſidered as the ſole cauſe of the obſtacles to Mary's deliverance, in ſpite of Elizabeth's good intentions towards her. This is no wonder, for it was the modiſh ſtile in England in the reign of James I. to whom court was made by inveighing againſt the puritans. I own however, it is not wholly improbable, that on this occaſion Elizabeth even ſet the Scots upon forming the obſtacles mentioned by Camden. But it is very unlikely, that at a time when ſhe ſaw her enemies in league againſt her to place Mary, though a priſoner, on the throne of England, ſhe ſhould really intend to releaſe her, and ſo enable her the better to execute her deſigns. To take Elizabeth's diſſimulation for her real intention, was an artifice of Camden, thereby to inſinuate, ſhe thought Mary innocent of the plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himſelf, by ſaying a little after, that Mary loſing all hopes of agreement, hearkened at length to dangerous counſels, and wrote to the pope and the king of Spain, ſolliciting them "to haſten what they had in hand with all ſpeed, let what would happen to her." It is therefore evident, there was now ſome project on foot which ſhe knew, and had hearkened to dangerous counſels before the time mentioned by Camden. But Elizabeth, better informed than Mary imagined, knowing what meaſures were taken to carry her away, took her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewſbury, and committed her to the cuſtody of Sir Drue Drury, a watchful man, if ever there was one [q]. Camden ſays, the earl of Leiceſter, willing at once to free Elizabeth from the uneaſineſs the queen of Scots created her, bribed certain murderers to aſſaſſinate the priſoner; but as none durſt give them an order for leave to approach her, Drury's watchfulneſs hindered them from getting acceſs to her. If this ſhews the earl of Leiceſter's villainy, and perhaps, in Camden's intention, that of Elizabeth herſelf, it ſhews too how dangerous a perſon the queen of Scots was deemed, ſince it was thought Elizabeth's life could not be ſafe but by her death. It is not likely therefore, that Elizabeth ſhould then think of releaſing her. The ſame author ſays, that to alienate queen Elizabeth's affection entirely from the queen of Scots, it was whiſpered in her ears, that a reſolution was taken to deprive her of the crown, and ſet it on Mary's head: That a council had been held, wherein cardinal Allen for the Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, Inglefield for the laity, and the biſhop of Roſs for the queen of Scots, all three impowered by the pope and the king of Spain, had agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould be aſſaſſinated, king James depoſed, and Mary given in marriage to ſome Engliſh catholic nobleman: That this nobleman ſhould be elected king of England, and the crown ſettled upon his heirs. He adds, Walſingham diligently inquired who this Engliſh nobleman might be, and that the ſuſpicion fell upon Henry Howard, the late duke of Norfolk's brother [r].

During this year, the affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worſe, the prince of Parma from time to time conqueing towns upon them. At laſt, to reduce them, as it were, to the laſt extremity, God permitted the prince of Orange to be aſſaſſinated by one Balthazar Gerrard, a Burgundian. Philip his eldeſt ſon being then in the hands of the king of Spain, and educated in the catholic religion, the ſtates conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his ſecond ſon Maurice, about eighteen years old. Mean while, the prince of Parma, improving the conſternation of the ſtates, laid ſiege to Antwerp. In this diſtreſs, the ſtates, finding it was not poſſible to ſupport themſelves with their own forces, debated, whether they ſhould put themſelves under the protection of France or England, and at length reſolved for France. But Henry III. was then involved in troubles, which ſuffered him not to accept their offer. So, finding no encouragement from that quarter, they were forced to apply to the queen of England. We ſhall ſee the next year the ſucceſs of this negotiation.

The troubles with which France had been ſo long diſturbed, and which ſeemed to be a little appeaſed, were renewed by the death of the duke of Anjou in June. As the king had no children, and was thought incapable of having any, the duke of Guiſe projected to ſeize the throne, as deſcended from Charles the Great. This at leaſt is what ſeveral have accuſed him of, not without great probability. But as Henry of Bourbon king of Navarre was become firſt prince of the blood, ſince the death of the duke of Anjou, a pretence was to be found to exclude him from the throne, otherwiſe it would not be poſſible for the duke of Guiſe to execute his project. It was not difficult to find a pretence, ſince the king of Navarre profeſſed the reformed religion. So the duke of Guiſe, hiding his ambition under the veil of religion, pretended to have no other view but to maintain the catholic religion, which would be in great danger if a Hugonot aſcended the throne. The king, who knew his deſign, did his utmoſt to perſuade the king of Navarre to change his religion; and the duke, perceiving endeavours were uſed to break his meaſures, renewed the league firſt at Paris, and then in the provinces. By this means he could have an army ready on the firſt occaſion. The people were ſo blind and ſtupid as to imagine he only aimed at the preſervation of the catholic religion. Mean while, the duke having notice that the king would cauſe him to be arreſted, withdrew to his government of Champagne, where on the laſt day of December, he ſigned a private league with the king of Spain, who, on pretence of religion, ſought only to foment the troubles in France. But as the duke would not have it appear that he aſpired to the crown, the treaty ran, that the cardinal of Bourbon ſhould be raiſed to the throne, after the death of Henry III. and to that end, the king of Spain ſhould find fifty thouſand crowns a month. Thus, by means of the duke of Guiſe, Philip II. kindled in France a flame which long conſumed that kingdom, and hindered the French from thinking of the acquiſition of the Netherlands [s].

[1585] In the beginning of the year 1585, Elizabeth diſcovered a conſpiracy, of which William Parry was the author. He was a gentleman of Wales, member of the houſe of commons, and had ſignalized his zeal for the catholic religion

[q] Sir Amias Powlet was alſo joined in the commiſſion with him, to take care of Mary. She was then in Tutbury-caſtle. Camden, p. 501.

[r] This year, in April, Walter Raleigh, eſq; went to diſcover the country adjoining to Florida in the Weſt-Indies, and returned in Auguſt, bringing two of the natives along with him. Hollingſh, p. 1369.—Within the compaſs of this year alſo, Charles Nevil, the laſt earl of Weſtmoreland of this houſe, ended his life in a miſerable exile. From this family ſprung (beſides ſix earls of Weſtmoreland) two earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, an earl of Kent, a marquis Montacute, a duke of Bedford, a baron Ferrars of Oſley, barons Latimers, barons Abergavenny, one queen, five ducheſſes, not to reckon counteſſes and baroneſſes, an archbiſhop of York, and a great number of inferior gentlemen. Camden, p. 501.

[s] Henry king of France having the laſt year been choſen into the order of the garter, queen Elizabeth ſent this year, in January, Henry earl of Derby to France, to inveſt the king with the robes and enſigns of the order. Ibid. p. 501. Stow, p. 700.

He

in oppoſing alone a bill preferred in the lower houſe againſt the jeſuits. He ſpoke upon that occaſion with ſo much paſſion and vehemence, that he was committed to cuſtody [u]; but his ſubmiſſion being made, he was in a few days re-admitted into the houſe. Hardly was he at liberty, when Edmund Nevil, who claimed the inheritance of the earl of Weſtmoreland lately deceaſed in the Low-Countries [w], accuſed him of conſpiring againſt the queen; whereupon he was ſent to the Tower. He owned, "he had a deſign to kill the queen, and was perſuaded to it by Morgan, an Engliſh catholic refugee in France; that he held intelligence with jeſuits, the pope's nuntios and cardinals [x]; that the better to deceive the queen, and procure free acceſs to her perſon, he returned from France into England, and diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to her; that afterwards, repenting of his wicked intention, he laid away his dagger every time he waited on her, leſt he ſhould be tempted to commit the murder; but at length, cardinal Allen's book, wherein he maintained it to be not only lawful but honourable to kill princes excommunicated, falling into his hands, he read it, and felt himſelf ſtrongly encouraged to purſue his firſt deſign; that Nevil his accuſer coming to dine with him, propoſed to attempt ſomething for the deliverance of the queen of Scots, to which he anſwered, he had a greater deſign in his thoughts; that a few days after, Nevil coming to ſee him, they reſolved to kill the queen as ſhe rode abroad to take the air, and ſwore upon the Bible to keep the ſecret; but that in the mean while, Nevil hearing the news of the earl of Weſtmoreland's death, accuſed him, in hopes of procuring the earl's inheritance, to which he laid claim." Upon this confeſſion, he was condemned and executed.

This conſpiracy occaſioned the parliament to take extraordinary care of the queen's and the kingdom's welfare. The general aſſociation was admitted, approved, and confirmed, by unanimous conſent [y]. It was alſo enacted, "that twenty-four or more commiſſioners choſen, and appointed by the queen, ſhould make inquiſition concerning thoſe who ſhould endeavour to raiſe a rebellion in the kingdom, or attempt the queen's life, or claimed any right to the crown of England. That the perſon for whom, or by whom any attempt ſhould be made, ſhould be utterly incapable of ſucceeding to the crown, deprived for ever of all right and title to it, and proſecuted to death, if declared guilty by the four and twenty commiſſioners."

It was impoſſible not to ſee that the queen of Scots was directly aimed at, for whoſe ſake all theſe plots were contriving. Wherefore, very probably from this time her death began to be determined; the two queens being no longer able to ſubſiſt together. The council of England at leaſt was of that opinion. Mary doubted not that the law was enacted againſt her. Perhaps ſhe would have prevented the fatal effects of it, could ſhe have reſolved to renounce all correſpondence in the kingdom and in foreign countries. But ſhe had not the prudence to take that wiſe courſe, or perhaps to avoid the ſnares laid for her, nor was quick-ſighted enough to perceive ſhe only ſerved for a blind to her pretended friends to execute other projects.

The parliament was not contented with this ſevere ſtatute for the queen's preſervation. It was farther enacted, "That all popiſh prieſts ſhould depart the realm within forty days: That thoſe who ſhould afterwards return, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon: That to receive or harbour them ſhould be felony". It was declared alſo, "That thoſe who were educated in foreign ſeminaries, if they returned not into England within ſix months, after notice, and made not their ſubmiſſion within two days after their return, before a biſhop, or two juſtices of peace, ſhould be guilty of high-treaſon: That if any perſon ſubmitting himſelf, ſhould within ten years approach the court, or come within ten miles thereof, his ſubmiſſion ſhould be void: That thoſe who ſhould directly or indirectly convey any money to ſtudents or others in ſuch ſeminaries, ſhould incur the penalty of a præmunire, loſs of goods, and perpetual exile: That if any of the peers of the realm ſhould offend againſt this act, they ſhould be brought to their trial by their peers: That if any perſon ſhould know any popiſh prieſt or jeſuit lurking in the kingdom, and ſhould not diſcover him within four days, he ſhould be fined and impriſoned at the queen's pleaſure: That if any man ſhould be ſuſpected to be a prieſt or jeſuit, and refuſe to ſubmit himſelf to examination, he ſhould be impriſoned till he did ſubmit: That they who ſhould ſend their children to popiſh colleges or ſeminaries, ſhould be fined in one hundred pounds ſterling: That if thoſe who were ſent thither, did not return within a year, they ſhould be incapable to ſucceed as heirs to any eſtate: That if the wardens of the ports ſhould ſuffer any beſides merchants to croſs the ſeas, without the queen's licence, ſigned by ſix privy counſellors, they ſhould be turned out of their places: That the maſters of ſhips who received any paſſengers without ſuch licence, ſhould forfeit their ſhips and goods, ſuffer a year's impriſonment, and be incapable of exerciſing navigation for the future."

This is the ſevereſt act againſt the catholics in the reign of queen Elizabeth. But they could blame only themſelves, or rather the indiſcreet zeal of ſome amongſt them, who never ceaſed plotting againſt the queen, and endeavouring to ſet the queen of Scots on the throne of England. Even this ſtatute was not capable of ſtopping them, till at laſt they carried their zeal to ſuch a height, that the deſtruction of one of the queens became neceſſary for the preſervation of the other [z].

Philip earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Norfolk, had through the queen's grace and favour, been reſtored in blood [a] and to his father's eſtate three years before. But afterwards he embraced the catholic religion, and being twice cited before the council to anſwer to certain accuſations entered againſt him, was confined to his own houſe. Six months after he was releaſed, and came to the houſe of lords, but withdrew the very firſt day, not to be obliged to be preſent at the ſermon. As he was extremely addicted to his religion, he reſolved to leave the kingdom to enjoy the free exerciſe of it, and before his departure wrote a letter to the queen, which was not to be delivered till after he was gone. The letter was full of complaints that his innocence was oppreſſed. He ſaid, "that to avoid the misfortune befallen his grandfather and father, and to ſerve God with freedom according to his conſcience, he had reſolved to quit the kingdom, but not his allegiance to his ſovereign." But being betrayed by his own ſervants, he was apprehended as he was going to embark, and ſent to the Tower.

Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, brother to him that was beheaded, was in the ſame Tower, having been charged with being concerned in Throckmorton's conſpiracy, and with holding correſpondence with the lord Paget and the duke of Guiſe. June 21, this year, he was found dead in his bed, ſhot with three bullets under his left pap. As he was alone in his room, which was bolted on the inſide, it was eaſy to ſee he had killed himſelf.

The calm Elizabeth had enjoyed for ſome years, began to be turned into ſtorms, which threatened her from all quarters. This change muſt be aſcribed to three principal cauſes. The firſt was the duke of Guiſe's power, which was almoſt equal to that of the French king himſelf. Philip II.'s flouriſhing condition may be reckoned a ſecond, who, after acquiring the kingdom of Portugal, was upon the point of reducing to his obedience the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. The third was the hopes queen Elizabeth's enemies flattered themſelves with, of gaining the king of Scotland, and making uſe of him to invade England. I mention not the court of Rome, or the Engliſh catholics, who always continued the ſame diſpoſition, ſo there was nothing new in that reſpect. The queen of Scots was ever the ſtumbling-block. It was ſhe that gave birth to all the contrivances. Her deliverance from captivity was deſired, in order to ſet on her head the crown of England and Scotland, and reſtore by her means the catholic religion in both kingdoms. Such was the ſcheme of Elizabeth's enemies. She could not be ignorant of it, ſince they had purſued it from the beginning of her reign, as, on her part, ſhe had made it her whole buſineſs to break their meaſures. But ſome advantages ſhe had hitherto enjoyed began to fail her. Theſe were, firſt, the jealouſy between the crowns of France and Spain, which had reſtrained both from attacking her openly. Secondly, the French

[u] He ſaid, that the bill favoured of treaſons, was full of blood, danger, deſpair, and terror, to the Engliſh ſubjects of this realm, and full of confiſcations, &c. D'Ewes, p. 340.

[w] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him Henry. He claimed the inheritance of the Nevils earls of Weſtmoreland, and the title of lord Latimer, as next heir male. Camden, p. 501.

[x] During his ſtay abroad, he held a correſpondence with the lord Burleigh, pretending to be mighty zealous for queen Elizabeth. See Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 79, &c. 188.

[y] This was done in the 4th ſeſſion of the parliament, which met by prorogation November 23, 1584, and was prorogued again March 29, 15[illegible]. In this ſeſſion the lords and commons granted the queen two fifteenths and a ſubſidy; and the clergy a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. See Statut.

[z] Beſides, the two acts already mentioned, it was alſo enacted in this ſeſſion, That no perſon ſhall be returned to ſerve upon juries, but what has an eſtate of freehold lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to the clear yearly value of four pounds at the leaſt.

[a] As his brother Thomas was in the parliament held this year. See D'Ewes, p. 341, 342.

The

Hugonots had been ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport themſelves, and diſable the court from attempting any thing againſt England. Thirdly, whilſt the affairs of the confederates in the Netherlands were proſperous, they had ſo employed the Spaniſh forces, that it was not poſſible for Philip II. to think ſeriouſly of foreign affairs. But at the time I am ſpeaking of, the ſcene was entirely changed. France was in ſuch a way, as Elizabeth could no longer reſt her ſafety upon the jealouſy between the French and Spaniſh crowns, that foundation being grown too weak. The duke of Guiſe, her mortal enemy, was more powerful in France than the king himſelf, and beſides, was ſupported by the king of Spain. Very probably, the Hugonots would be entirely oppreſſed, and the Low-Countries ſoon brought under the Spaniſh yoke; after which, there was no doubt, England would be invaded. Elizabeth therefore was to think betimes of preventing the impending danger, or reſolve to ſuſtain alone the efforts of her enemies. Prudence required that ſhe ſhould in the firſt place try to avoid the aſſaults which were preparing againſt her, without neglecting however the means of withſtanding them, if ſhe ſhould be forced to it. The ſcheme ſhe laid was this, as will plainly appear in the ſequel. Firſt, ſhe reſolved to make alliances, if poſſible, with the two Northern crowns and the German proteſtants, though it were only to raiſe the jealouſy of her enemies. Secondly, to ſend a ſtrong aid to the confederates of the Low-Countries, to keep the king of Spain employed there. Thirdly, to aſſiſt the French Hugonots, to prevent their being too eaſily oppreſſed: knowing the duke of Guiſe would be unable to attempt any thing againſt her, ſo long as the civil wars held him employed in France. Laſtly, ſhe thought there was no better way to break her enemies meaſures, than to endeavour, if poſſible, to have the king of Scotland in her power; or, if that failed, to raiſe troubles in Scotland, which ſhould hinder that young prince from framing projects detrimental to England. It is alſo very likely, that at this time the death of the queen of Scots was determined, ſince her life was the foundation of all the plots againſt Elizabeth both at home and abroad. At leaſt, if this reſolution was not abſolutely taken, very probably Elizabeth and her council were determined not to ſpare Mary, when the neceſſity of affairs required her to be ſacrificed to the public ſafety. I own this is only a conjecture, but it is built upon the ſituation of Elizabeth's affairs at that time.

To execute the firſt part of her ſcheme, ſhe ſent ſir Thomas Bodley into Germany and Denmark, to endeavour to perſuade the proteſtant princes to make a league defenſive with England [b]. He had orders, among other things, to acquaint the king of Denmark, that the duke of Lorrain, when he courted Elizabeth, pretended a right to the crown of Denmark as grandſon to Chriſtiern II. by his daughter. I do not know the ſucceſs of Bodley's negotiations; but as Elizabeth was extremely frugal of her money, it is likely ſhe uſed not the propereſt means to gain the German princes to her intereſt. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the ſecond and third articles of Elizabeth's ſcheme relating to France and the Netherlands. As to the fourth concerning Scotland, we find it explained in Melvil's Memoirs, if we may however give entire credit to this author, who ſeems extremely prejudiced againſt Elizabeth.

The king of Scotland being determined to marry, caſt his eyes on the king of Denmark's eldeſt daughter, who having ſome notice of it, reſolved to ſend an embaſſy into Scotland, under colour of propoſing an alliance between the two kingdoms, and withal to give king James an opportunity to propoſe his marriage. Melvil pretends, Elizabeth having intelligence of the project, reſolved to uſe her endeavours to render it abortive [c]. Not that the marriage was unſuitable for the king of Scotland, but it was requiſite for Elizabeth that he ſhould not marry, unleſs he would take an Engliſh wife of her chuſing, or rather, ſhe wiſhed to have him in her power before he was married. She wrote to him therefore, that to preſerve with him always a good underſtanding, ſhe intended to ſend an embaſſador, who ſhould reſide at his court, not to trouble his majeſty with buſineſs, but entertain him with merry diſcourſe, and bear him company in his recreations: that ſhe had choſen for that purpoſe Edward Wotton, a man of wit and a great traveller, imagining he would be very proper to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great delight in his converſation. Melvil, who was ordered to receive the embaſſador, remembered to have ſeen him formerly at Paris, at his uncle Dr. Wotton's the Engliſh ambaſſador; and that, young as he was, he had enſnared that able miniſter the old conſtable Montmorency [d]. He warned the king of it, who regarded it not. On the contrary, he made the embaſſador partner of all his pleaſures, and one of his greateſt favourites.

The Daniſh embaſſadors being arrived in Scotland, Wotton and ſome of the king's miniſters ſo ordered it, that they received ſo many mortifications that they were going to return in very great diſcontent [e]. But Melvil informing them of the ſtate of affairs, purſuaded them to have patience; and indeed, the king being undeceived of ſome notions inſtilled into him againſt the king of Denmark, ſent them back better ſatisfied. Shortly after, he diſpatched Peter Young [f] his almoner to the ſame prince, to thank him for his embaſſy, and to acquaint him that he would very ſoon ſend embaſſadors to him. The real motive of Young's voyage was to ſee the king of Denmark's two daughters, and inform the king his maſter of their qualifications.

In the mean while, the earl of Arran's credit ſenſibly decreaſed by the addreſs of the maſter of Gray his rival, who knew better how to manage the king. Moreover, Wotton helped with all his power to ruin the favourite; for, beſides that Elizabeth had no farther need of him ſince ſhe had won Gray, he was a man on whom ſhe could not much rely. An accident alſo on the borders did the earl of Arran great injury. Thomas Carr the laird of Fernihurſt, who had married his niece, holding a conference with ſir Francis Ruſſel [g], the earl of Bedford's ſon, upon affairs relating to both kingdoms, an Engliſhman being taken pilfering, raiſed a quarrel between the two guards [h], wherein Ruſſel was ſlain. The Engliſh embaſſador made great noiſe about the affair, pretending the earl of Arran had raiſed this quarrel by his nephew, to breed a rupture between the two kingdoms. Upon his complaints, the earl of Arran was confined to his own houſe, and Fernihurſt ſent to priſon, where he died quickly after.

Elizabeth having notice of the fact, demanded a ſolemn reparation. James did not refuſe it; but pretended he could do nothing before he had proofs. This was not eaſy, by reaſon of the cuſtom which allowed not the evidence of the Engliſh againſt the Scots, or the Scots againſt the Engliſh, concerning what paſſed on the borders. This difficulty cauſing the affair to be prolonged, and the earl of Arran having his liberty, Elizabeth took occaſion to permit the Scotch fugitives who had fled into England to return home. Wotton being informed of the queen's deſign, laboured to corrupt ſeveral Scotch courtiers [i], and gain them to Elizabeth's intereſt. If Melvil is to be credited, the king's greateſt confidents were of this number. So Wotton, finding himſelf well ſupported, formed the project to ſurpriſe the king in Sterling park and carry him into England. But being diſappointed, he reſolved to force the guard of the caſtle, and had now prepared every thing neceſſary to execute his deſign, when the king having ſome intelligence of it, broke his meaſures by a ſudden departure from Sterling. Then Wotton perceiving he was diſcovered, privately retired without taking leave. This was the man ſent by Elizabeth to king James to entertain and divert him.

But all the danger was not over. James was ſurrounded with perſons who correſponded with the fugitives, and hindered him from providing for his ſafety. The fugitive lords were now entered Scotland, where they had drawn together three thouſand men, and were marching directly to Sterling, where the king was returned, without any precaution taken at court to ſtop their proceedings. This negligence, cauſed by the traitors about the king's perſon, afforded the malcontents an opportunity to come to the gates of Sterling, where the king was ſo ſurpriſed, that he was forced to put himſelf into their hands; but the earl of Arran had time to eſcape. The malcontents having the king in their power, treated him with ſuch reſpect and ſubmiſſion, that they perſuaded him at length they were not his enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned he had been miſled by Arran's pernicious counſels; and conſented that the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates. By this revolution, Elizabeth had the ſatisfaction to ſee the king of Scotland guided by counſellors from whom ſhe had nothing to fear, whereas before ſhe was under continual apprehenſions with reſpect to the affairs of that

[b] He was ſent to the king of Denmark, the elector palatine, the dukes of Saxony, Wirtemberg, Brunſwick and Lunenburg; the marquis of Brandenburg, and the landgrave of Heſſe. Camden, p. 504.

[c] The earl of Arran had promiſed her, that he would not let the king marry within the ſpace of three years. Melvil, p. 166.

[d] See towards the end of queen Mary's reign, where mention is made of this ſnare.

[e] They were ſeveral times upon the point of returning to their country. Wotton was ſo deceitful, that he frequently viſited them, ſeemed ſorry they were ſo abuſed, offered to lend them money, &c. See Melvil, p. 162, 163.

[f] Rapin calls him Patrick. See Melvil, p. 167.

[g] And ſir John Forſter, wardens of the middle marches. Camden, p. 505. The earl of Bedford, ſir Francis's father, died the next day. Stow, p. 709.

[h] The Scots were about three thouſand in number, and the Engliſh not above three hundred. Camden, p. 505.

[i] Namely, the earl of Bothwell, the lord Humes, Maxwell lately created earl of Morton, Patrick Gray, Belendon juſtice-clerk, and Maitland lord ſecretary. Ibid. p. 505.

kingdom. Shortly after, colonel Stewart going to Copenhagen, began there a treaty about the king's marriage with one of the princeſſes of Denmark.

In the mean time, the affairs of the United Provinces were in ſo dangerous a ſituation, that the ſtates could no longer hope to withſtand the king of Spain, unleſs they were ſtrongly aſſiſted. Henry III. having refuſed the ſovereignty offered him by the ſtates, they applied to Elizabeth, who alſo refuſed it, for fear of engaging in a very troubleſome affair. She perceived a war with Spain, for the preſervation of that ſovereignty, would draw her into extraordinary charges, which ſhe ſhould not be at liberty to leſſen as ſhe pleaſed. She choſe rather, in purſuance of her ſcheme, to give the ſtates a powerful aid, and the king of Spain a diverſion, becauſe the aid might be increaſed or leſſened, according to the ſituation of her affairs. She made therefore a treaty with them, promiſing to find them five thouſand foot [k] and a thouſand horſe, under the command of an Engliſh general. It was agreed, ſhe ſhould pay theſe troops, on condition of being repaid at the end of the war, namely, in the firſt year of the peace, the expences advanced in the firſt year of the war, and the reſt in four years: That for ſecurity of payment, Fluſhing and Rammekins in Zealand, and the Briel in Holland, ſhould be delivered into her hands: That the governors, ſhe ſhould place there [l], ſhould exerciſe no authority over the inhabitants: That the money being repaid, theſe places ſhould be reſtored, not to the king of Spain, but to the ſtates: That the Engliſh general, and two others, whom ſhe ſhould name, ſhould have a place in the council of ſtate, and no peace or truce be made without a mutual conſent: That if the queen ſhould ſend a fleet to ſea, the ſtates ſhould be obliged to join it with an equal number of ſhips, under the command of the Engliſh admiral: Laſtly, That the ports ſhould be open and free to both nations [m].

The treaty being concluded, the queen appointed for general of her auxiliary forces the earl of Leiceſter, for whom ſhe had ever a great affection; but he came not into Flanders till about the end of the year. Some time after, ſhe publiſhed a manifeſto, wherein ſhe alleges as a reaſon for her aiding the confederate provinces, that the alliance between the kings of England and the princes of the Netherlands, was not ſo much between their perſons, as between their reſpective ſtates. Whence ſhe inferred, that without breach of the alliance, ſhe might aſſiſt the inhabitants of the Low-Countries, oppreſſed by the Spaniards.

Mean while, as ſhe judged this reaſon would not be ſatisfactory to the king of Spain, and that he would doubtleſs conſider this extraordinary aid given his rebellious ſubjects as a declaration of war, ſhe reſolved to prevent him. To that purpoſe, ſhe equipped a fleet of one and twenty ſail, whereon were embarked two thouſand three hundred ſoldiers, beſides mariners, to carry war into America, where the Spaniards little expected any ſuch thing. The fleet was commanded by the earl of Carliſle, who had under him the famous ſir Francis Drake [n]. The Engliſh immediately took St. Jago, one of the iſles of Cape Verd. After that they ſailed to St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, and became maſters of the capital. Having ſpent there all January of the year 1586, they went and took Carthagena. Then they burnt the towns of St. Antonio and St. Helena in Florida. A violent ſtorm diſperſing the fleet, as they were going upon new expeditions, they joined not again till they came into England [o], where they brought a booty valued at ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; but in this expedition ſeven hundred men periſhed.

At the ſame time, John Davis, an Engliſhman, went [p] in ſearch of a ſhorter paſſage through the North of America to the Eaſt Indies. The ice preventing his paſſing, he long roved on the northern ſeas, and accidentally diſcovered a ſtreight under the polar circle, which ſtill bears his name, but was not what he ſought [q].

Before I leave the year 1585, it will be neceſſary to relate what paſſed in France. After the duke of Guiſe had concluded his treaty with the king of Spain, he tried all ways to corrupt the French, and gain them to his party. His aim was to ſeize the crown, either before or after Henry III.'s death. He could not expect that the king, who hated him mortally, would countenance his deſign; and, on the other hand, he had no manner of colour to aſpire to the crown, except his pretended deſcent from the houſe of Charles the Great. And even in that caſe, the duke of Lorrain, head of that houſe, would have been before him. To aſſert therefore ſo extraordinary a title, the people's affection and a religious zeal were to ſupply all defects, otherwiſe there was not the leaſt appearance, that in cold blood the French ſhould ſet on the throne, after the king's death, a foreign prince, in prejudice of the king of Navarre, who was deſcended from St. Lewis. To accompliſh his project, the duke of Guiſe began, by means of his emiſſaries, to diſparage the king as a favourer of heretics, and to rouze the zeal of the catholics againſt the Hugonots, and particularly againſt the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, who profeſſed the reformed religion after a public abjuration. Mean while, as the duke of Guiſe did not think proper to diſcover his deſigns, he publiſhed a manifeſto in the cardinal de Bourbon's name, wherein he pretended to demonſtrate, that the crown belonged to the cardinal after the king's death. Not that he deſired to place him on the throne; but it was ſufficient firſt to ſet aſide the king of Navarre. That done, under colour of hindering the throne from being filled with a heretic, he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places, pretending however, it was for the king's ſervice and the good of the realm.

The life led by the king for ſome time, cauſed him to forfeit the eſteem of moſt of his ſubjects. The duke of Guiſe's intrigues, who repreſented him a favourer of heretics, becauſe he ſupported the houſe of Bourbon's title, helped alſo to alienate the people from him. In ſhort, the court of Rome, the clergy, the friers, were for the duke of Guiſe, and ſerved him to the utmoſt of their power. So the king being unable to reſiſt, was forced to forſake the king of Navarre, publiſh an edict againſt the Hugonots, and join with the duke in their extirpation. Nay, he had the vexation to be obliged to give him the command of the army.

The king of Navarre and the Hugonots, finding themſelves thus attacked, aſſembled all their forces in their abſence. But theſe forces were ſo inconſiderable in compariſon of their enemies, that there was no likelihood of withſtanding them long. The prince of Condé, attempting to relieve the caſtle of Angers, which was beſieged, was ſuddenly ſurrounded by enemies, and forced to ſteal away from his army, and fly into England. Elizabeth received him very civilly, and as ſhe knew the enemies of the Hugonots were alſo hers, promiſed to aſſiſt him [r]. It was not without reaſon that ſhe concerned herſelf with the affairs of the Hugonots, ſince the league was not limited to their deſtruction, but aimed at the ruin of the proteſtant religion throughout Europe, and eſpecially in England. Of this had been ſeen a very ſenſible proof this ſame year. Gregory XIII. dying in April, Sixtus V. his ſucceſſor, thundered the cenſures of the church againſt the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, calling them not only heretics and relapſes, but alſo a baſtard progeny. Hence it was eaſy to ſee, how much the pope countenanced the duke of Guiſe's deſigns, and the queen of England might infer, how great reaſon ſhe had to fear, if the duke ſhould one day become king of France, being ſupported by the pope and the Spaniard. Upon this account it was ſhe ſupplied the prince of Condé with fifty thouſand crowns, to aſſiſt him in maintaining the war, and lent him ten ſhips, with which he raiſed the blockade of Rochelle.

[1586] The earl of Leiceſter being arrived in Holland the beginning of the year 1586, was received as a guardian angel [s]. The ſtates, under colour of expreſſing their gratitude to Elizabeth, declared him [t] governor and captain-general of Holland, Zealand, and the United Provinces, and inveſted him

[k] Of which ſir John Norris was appointed general. Speed, p. 855.

[l] Sir Philip Sidney was appointed governor of Fluſhing, and ſir Thomas Cecil of the Briel. Rymer's Fœd, tom. XV. p. 801, 802.

[m] The king of Sweden, when he heard of this treaty, ſaid, Queen Elizabeth has now taken the diadem from her head, and adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war. Camden, p. 508.

[n] Sir Francis Drake was admiral of the fleet, and Chriſtopher Carliſle general of the land forces. Camden, p. 509.

[o] Keeping on their courſe along a deſolate coaſt, they lighted upon ſome Engliſhmen, who had planted themſelves in Virginia, ſo named in honour of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth; and whom ſir Walter Raleigh had, in April this year, carried over thither for a colony. See Hollingſh. p. 1401.—Ralph Lane, one of them, came home with Drake, and was the firſt that brought tobacco into England. Camden, p. 509. Tobacco was ſo named from the iſland Tobago, one of the Caribbee iſlands, where it plentifully grows.

[p] He ſailed with two ſhips, ſet forth at the charge of William Sanderſon, a globe-maker, and other Londoners. Camden, p. 510.

[q] This year alſo, licence was granted to ſeveral merchants of London to trade to Barbary. Camden, p. 510. In January, this year, died Edward Fynes lord Clinton, earl of Lincoln, and lord high-admiral, and was buried at Windſor. He was ſucceeded by Charles lord Howard of Effingham. Stow, p. 700, 709.

[r] He came before, in 1580, to ſollicit for ſuccours, but could not obtain any. See Strype's Ann. tom. II. p. 619.

[s] He ſet out from England, December 8, with fifty ſail, and a ſplendid retinue, being accompanied by the earls of Eſſex, Oxford, and Northumberland; the lords Audley, Willoughby, Sheffield, Burroughs, and North; ſir William Ruſſel, ſir Thomas Shirley, ſir Arthur Baſſet, ſir Walter Waller, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Philip, Robert, and Henry Sidney, ſir William Pelham, and other knights, with a ſelect troop of five hundred gentlemen. Camden, p. 510. Stow, p. 710, 711.

[t] On February 6. Ibid. p. 712.

He

with almoſt an abſolule power [u]. Very probably their aim was to engage the queen farther than ſhe intended. She had refuſed the offered ſovereignty, and it was deſigned to give it her in ſome meaſure, whether ſhe would or no, by inveſting her general with almoſt a ſovereign authority. But Elizabeth was too wiſe to be enſnared by this artifice. She ſharply complained to the ſtates of this ſort of deceit, and gave withal the earl of Leiceſter a ſevere reprimand for accepting the honour, without having firſt conſulted her. She told him, he had acted directly contrary to her intention, ſince ſhe had publicly declared in her manifeſto, that ſhe was very ready to relieve her diſtreſſed neighbours, but never meant to aſſume any power over them [w]. The ſtates excuſed themſelves by ſaying, the neceſſity of their affairs had obliged them to confer ſuch an authority on the earl of Leiceſter, that he might be the better able to heal their diviſions, which put them in continual danger of periſhing: That they could not revoke the authority granted to her general without great inconveniences, and had not however diveſted themſelves of the ſupreme power. The earl of Leiceſter appeaſed the queen by his ſubmiſſions. In fine, ſhe conſented the patent ſhould ſubſiſt, but intimated to the ſtates, they vainly hoped to induce her to accept of the ſovereignty of their country, and that her intention was to keep within the bounds ſhe had preſcribed to herſelf, that is, not to be obliged to aſſiſt them any farther than her affairs would permit.

The earl of Leiceſter, a man of great pride and ambition, was no ſooner clothed with this exorbitant power, than he began ſecretly to form projects deſtructive of the liberties of the country he was come to defend. At leaſt, this is what all the Dutch hiſtorians tax him with. They pretend, his deſign was to render himſelf ſovereign or perpetual dictator of the provinces, with whoſe government he had been intruſted. He made uſe of ſuch means as bred an univerſal diſcontent againſt him. In ſhort, after a campaign, wherein he performed no great exploits, he returned to England, to take proper meaſures to facilitate the execution of his projects, and probably to perſuade the queen to ſupport him [x].

Whilſt France and the Netherlands were in commotion, Elizabeth wiſely provided for her own and her people's ſecurity. This ſhe did, not only by aſſiſting the Hugonots and the confederate provinces, but alſo by preventing the dangers which might come from Scotland, in caſe the king of Spain and the duke of Guiſe ſhould be ever able to invade her [y]. The preſent juncture was very favourable. The king of Scotland had about him only men well-affected to the reformed religion, and the intereſts of England. The opportunity therefore was not to be neglected of ſtrictly uniting the two kingdoms; this union being of the utmoſt conſequence to Elizabeth. Accordingly ſhe diſpatched Randolph to king James, to repreſent to him, that the enemies of the proteſtant religion openly joining together for its deſtruction, it was the intereſt of the proteſtant ſtates to unite alſo for their common defence. That England and Scotland were the bulwarks of the true religion, and the union of their forces the only poſſible means to preſerve it. That therefore ſhe thought it their common intereſt to join in a league for the defence of their religion, againſt all who ſhould attempt to deſtroy it, at leaſt in England and Scotland. The better to perſuade the king to do what the queen deſired, Randolph told him, that as his revenues were extremely diminiſhed, by reaſon of the troubles which had ſo long afflicted his kingdom, the queen was willing to grant him a penſion to aſſiſt him in ſupporting his dignity [z]. James readily conſented to what was propoſed to him, but on condition, nothing ſhould be done in England in prejudice to his right to the crown of that kingdom, and this article, with that of the penſion, be inſerted in the treaty. Randolph anſwered, he did not believe that would be poſſible. As to the penſion, he ſaid, if it was put into the treaty, the queen would ſeem to be tributary to Scotland, to which ſhe would never agree. As to the article of the ſucceſſion, the queen could not ſettle it by a public treaty without the concurrence of the parliament; and the diſcuſſion of ſuch an affair might retard the treaty too long, and perhaps give birth to great difficulties, becauſe of the queen his mother's religion: but he did not queſtion, Elizabeth would be very willing to ſatisfy him in theſe two points, by means of two ſecret articles. James being contented with this expedient, Deſneval the French ambaſſador did all that lay in his power to diſſuade him from the league. He told him, that Elizabeth's aim was only to ſecure herſelf from the attacks of thoſe who were combined for the deliverance of queen Mary. That it was a ſtrange thing he ſhould think of uniting with a queen, who kept his mother in priſon, againſt thoſe who were labouring to free her from captivity. He added, the king his maſter could not but conſider the league as an expreſs breach of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. James anſwered, that the queen his mother's misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own friends, who, under colour of ſerving her, only aimed at executing their own projects. That, as to the alliance between France and Scotland, he did not ſee wherein he ſhould violate it, ſince France pretended not to break it, when, without ſignifying it to him, ſhe made a league defenſive with England.

James having reſolved upon what the queen deſired, the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms met at Berwick, and ſigned a treaty of alliance and ſtricter amity between the two crowns [a].

The motive of the treaty was, that whereas the princes, who called themſelves catholics, were entered into leagues for extirpating the proteſtant religion, not only in their own dominions, but alſo in foreign countries, it was neceſſary the proteſtants ſhould unite for its defence. That therefore the queen of England and king of Scotland did agree upon the following articles:

I. By this treaty, they ſhall be obliged to defend the evangelical religion againſt all thoſe who ſhall attack it in either kingdom.

II. This league ſhall be offenſive and defenſive againſt thoſe who ſhall hinder the free exerciſe of the ſaid religion in either of the two kingdoms; all other treaties and alliances to the contrary notwithſtanding.

III. If one of the two parties be invaded, the other ſhall not directly or indirectly aſſiſt the invader, notwithſtanding any alliance or treaty formerly entered into.

IV. If England be invaded in any parts remote from Scotland, the king of Scotland ſhall find the queen of England two thouſand horſe and five thouſand foot, at the queen's charges from the day of their entering England; and in the like caſe, the queen ſhall ſend the king of Scotland ſix thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe.

V. If England be invaded in any place within ſixty miles of Scotland, the king of Scotland ſhall draw together all his forces, and join the ſame with the queen's, in order to purſue the invaders for the ſpace of thirty days together; or if neceſſity require, for ſo long time as the vaſſals of Scotland are bound to furniſh the king with troops for the defence of the kingdom.

VI. If Ireland be invaded, the king of Scotland ſhall hinder the inhabitants of the county of Argyle from entering in a hoſtile manner into that kingdom.

VII. The king and queen ſhall mutually deliver all rebels, who ſhall have attempted any thing againſt either of the two kingdoms, or at leaſt, they ſhall compel them to retire from their dominions.

VIII. Within ſix months, commiſſioners ſhall be ſent to compound and adjuſt all differences, which have happened on the borders between the two nations.

IX. Neither of the two princes ſhall make any treaty to the prejudice of the articles of this preſent league, without the conſent of the other.

X. This treaty ſhall be ratified on both ſides by letters patents.

XI. This preſent treaty ſhall in no way derogate from former treaties between the two kingdoms, or from thoſe before made by the two crowns with any princes or ſtates, what relates to religion excepted. As to the article concerning religion, it is agreed, this alliance and league offenſive and defenſive ſhall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The treaties ſhall be confirmed by the ſtates of Scotland, as ſoon as the king ſhall attain to the age of twenty-five years; and in like manner, the queen ſhall cauſe it to be approved by the parliaments of England and Ireland.

Shortly after the concluſion of this league, a conſpiracy was diſcovered in England, which coſt the queen of Scots her

[u] He was attended with a noble guard, and ſaluted by all men with the title of Your Excellency, upon which he began to take upon him as if he were a perfect king. Camden, p. 511.

[w] She alſo added theſe words, "We little thought, that one whom we had raiſed out of the duſt, and proſecuted with ſuch ſingular favour above all others, would with ſo great contempt have ſlighted and broken our commands in a manner of ſo great conſequence." Ibid. p. 511.

[x] In an engagement near Zutphen, the learned and ingenious ſir Philip Sidney received a wound in the thigh, of which he died October 17; and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral. Ibid. p. 512. Stow, p. 737, 739.

[y] The jeſuits began about this time to forge a new and pretended title to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom of England for the Spaniards; and to that end, ſent into England one of their ſociety, to draw noblemen and gentlemen to the Spaniards party. Camden, p. 513.

[z] The intended penſion was to be 5000l. ſterling a year. Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 302.

[a] This league was ſigned July 5. The Engliſh plenipotentiaries were Edward earl of Rutland, William lord Euers, vice-preſident of the council of the north, and Thomas Randolph, eſq. And the Scottiſh were, Francis earl of Bothwell, Robert lord of Boyle, and ſir James Home. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XV. p. 803.

Mr

life. As this is one of the moſt important events of queen Elizabeth's reign, it will be neceſſary to relate all the particulars. But it is a ſad thing, theſe particulars muſt be taken from the annals of Elizabeth, written by Camden, a very ſuſpicious author with reſpect to the queen of Scots. In all the former reigns, there is no remarkable event but what is traced, and in ſome meaſure cleared in the collection of the public acts. But as to this, all the acts relating to queen Mary are totally deſtroyed [b]. On the other hand, James I. ſon of Mary, ſucceeding Elizabeth, there was not an Engliſhman who dared to write in his reign the truth of what paſſed in the foregoing, whilſt the memory of it was yet freſh. Camden was the only perſon that undertook to publiſh the annals of queen Elizabeth's reign; not ſo much to make known as to diſguiſe the events, as far as they concerned queen Mary, and to give an air of innocence to whatever ſullied her reputation when alive. This evidently appears in his account of king Henry Stewart's murder, which has given occaſion to preſume he has been no faithfuller in what he ſays of Mary's trial and death. He affirms, however, he has followed the Memoirs of Edward Barker [c] principal regiſter to the queen, of Thomas Wheeler public-notary, cryer of the court of Canterbury, and other perſons of credit whom he does not name. I do not know whether the Memoirs he ſpeaks of were ever publiſhed, or are ſtill extant. However, from Camden's annals the following account is taken, for want of a more impartial hiſtorian.

William Gifford, doctor of divinity in the ſeminary at Rheims, Gilbert Gifford [d] and Hodgeſon, Engliſh prieſts, had inſtilled into one John Savage their countryman, that it would be a meritorious act to kill Elizabeth, and had cauſed him to vow it during the Eaſter-holidays this year 1586 [e]. At the ſame time, Ballard an Engliſh prieſt of that ſeminary, who had been in England, notwithſtanding the prohibition, returned into France, where he had ſeveral conferences with Mendoza and the lord Paget, how to invade England [f]. As the chief end of the conſpiracy was to reſtore the catholic religion in England, the point was not only to make away with Elizabeth, but forces alſo were to be ready to deliver Mary and ſet her on the throne of England. Theſe two projects could not be ſeparated. Ballard was accompanied by one Maud, whom he thought a friend, but who was however ſecretary Walſingham's ſpy.

About Whitſuntide, Ballard was ſent back into England by the conſpirators, to gain proper perſons to facilitate the execution of the project. They told him, he would meet at London with a young gentleman called Anthony Babington [g], whom he might truſt. This Babington, who was a zealous catholic, having been lately in France, was gained there by the biſhop of Glaſgow, Mary's embaſſador, and by Morgan an Engliſh fugitive. He was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the queen of Scots, that he was thought qualified for any enterpriſe, and for that reaſon had been recommended to Mary without his knowledge. So, upon his return to England, ſhe wrote to him, and from that time he was employed to convey to her the letters which came from France, till ſhe was committed to the cuſtody of ſir Amias Powlet and ſir Drue Drury. Then Babington, fearing the watchfulneſs of the new keepers, would have nothing more to do with the letters either to or from her.

Ballard, when he came to England, ſaw Babington, and imparted to him the deſign to invade England, free the queen of Scots, and ſet her on the throne. Babington anſwered, he very much doubted the poſſibility of executing this project ſo long as Elizabeth lived. Whereupon Ballard acquainted him alſo with Savage's vow, to which Babington replied, it was too hazardous to commit the execution of ſuch a deſign to a ſingle perſon; that there ſhould be ſix at leaſt, and Savage, not to break his vow, might be one of the number [h]. Then they conferred together how a foreign army might be brought into the kingdom, otherwiſe they judged the death of Elizabeth would ſignify nothing.

A few days after, Babington received, by an unknown hand, a letter in cypher from the queen of Scots, blaming him for his ſilence, and deſiring him to ſend her the pacquet of letters come from Morgan, and delivered by the French embaſſador's ſecretary. Babington returned an anſwer, and after excuſing his ſilence, by reaſon of his fear of Powlet's and Drury's great watchfulneſs, imparted to her the plot he had laid with Ballard. In a ſecond letter from Mary, of the 27th of July, ſhe highly commended his zeal for the catholic religion, but adviſes him to attempt nothing till he was ſure of foreign aſſiſtance. Beſides this, ſhe preſcribed ſeveral things for executing the project, as to ſend privately for the earl of Weſtmoreland and the lord Paget [i]. She chalked out the way for her deliverance [k], and charged him to promiſe in her name a good reward to the ſix perſons.

Mean while, Babington had gained ſome other perſons [l], among whom was Polly, Walſingham's ſpy, who by his means was daily informed of what paſſed among the conſpirators. He learnt from him, that the ſix who had engaged to aſſaſſinate the queen, were Savage, Tilney, Charnock, Abington, Tichburn, and Barnwel, and that they were all ſix drawn in one picture with Babington in the middle, and a certain motto obſcurely ſignifying their deſign [m]. Nay, he found means to ſhew this picture to the queen, who knew only Barnwel [n]. She retained however the idea of their faces ſo well, that walking abroad, a little after, and ſeeing Barnwel, ſhe looked ſtedfaſtly on him, and then turning to the captain of the guard, ſaid, "Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a man in my company that wears a ſword?"

Babington was ſo impatient to ſee the foreign ſuccours ready to depart for England, that he gave Ballard money, who had undertaken to go into France and haſten them. But as it was not eaſy to procure paſſports, Babington found means to be introduced to ſecretary Walſingham [o], who, knowing what he was, received him very civilly, and expreſſed a great value for him. Encouraged by this kind reception, he deſired a paſſport for himſelf and another for Ballard, under a counterfeit name, and affirmed, that by means of his friends at Paris, he ſhould diſcover many ſecrets concerning the queen of Scots. Walſingham commended his zeal, and promiſed him a good reward, if he did the queen any conſiderable ſervice. He put him likewiſe in hopes of the paſſports he deſired.

Polly was not the only perſon from whom Walſingham learnt the ſecrets of the conſpiracy. Gilbert Gifford, who had been employed to corrupt Savage, being ſent into England to confirm the villain in his reſolution, ſerved at the ſame time to convey letters to the queen of Scots, and ſend back her anſwers. To make trial of his fidelity, ſeveral blank papers, made up like letters, were ſent at firſt, and as it was known by the anſwers that they were delivered, he was employed without ſcruple. Some time after, Gifford, whether ſtruck with remorſe, or allured with the hopes of reward, came to Walſingham, and informed him of all he knew. The ſecretary received him very kindly, and promiſed to uſe his intereſt for him with the queen, and procure him a good reward. Then inſtructing him how to behave, he ſent him to the place where the queen of Scots was kept, with a letter to ſir Amias Powlet, deſiring him to connive at the bearer's corrupting one of his ſervants to deliver letters to the queen of Scotland, and bring back her anſwers. But Powlet would not ſuffer any of his domeſtics to be concerned in ſuch an intrigue. He only hinted at a certain brewer, whom he thought fit for the purpoſe, and who indeed ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted. By this means, Gifford conveyed to the captive queen letters, whereof Walſingham had taken copies [p], and received her anſwers, which were ſerved in the ſame

[b] Mr. Rapin, in his account of Rymer's Fœd. ſuſpects, that king James I. ordered the archives to be cleared of every act relating to the queen his mother, on purpoſe to deprive poſterity as far as poſſible of the knowledge of her affairs. Acta Reg. vol. IV. p. 2.

[c] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him Stephen Parker.

[d] Rapin has miſtaken the chriſtian names, which are rectified from Camden and Hollingſh.

[e] At the ſame time they wrote a ſort of paſtoral letter to the Engliſh Roman catholics, not to diſturb the government, or attempt any thing againſt their queen; but to have recourſe to tears, prayers, watchings and faſtings, the only juſtifiable weapons of chriſtians againſt perſecution. They alſo got a report ſpread, that George Gifford, one of the queen's gentlemen penſioners, had ſworn her majeſty's death, and had received a ſum of money from the duke of Guiſe for that purpoſe. All this was done to amuſe the queen and council. Camden, p. 515.—Thuanus ſays, that the day pitched upon for the queen's aſſaſſination was Auguſt 24, lib. 86.

[f] This was judged to be a very proper time, whilſt the beſt Engliſh troops were employed in the Netherlands, and the Spaniard, the duke of Guiſe, and the prince of Parma, ready to invade England. Camden, p. 515.

[g] Of Dethick in Derbyſhire. Ibid.

[h] Rapin ſays, Babington offered to be one of the ſix; which is a miſtake, for Babington tells queen Mary in his letter to her, that whilſt theſe ſix perſons were to commit the tragical execution (as he called it) he himſelf, with an hundred more, was at the ſame time to ſet her at liberty. Camden.

[i] And to gain privately the earls of Northumberland and Arundel, and the latter's brothers to her party. Alſo, that the aſſociation amongſt them ſhould be entered into, upon pretence that they ſtood in fear of the puritans. There were likewiſe commotions to be raiſed in Ireland. Ibid.

[k] Either by overturning a cart in the gate, ſetting the ſtables on fire, or carrying her away, as ſhe rid abroad for diverſion in the fields, betwixt Chartley and Stafford. Ibid. p. 516.

[l] Edward Windſor, Thomas Saliſbury of Denbighſhire, Charles Tilney one of the gentlemen penſioners, Chidioc Tichbourne, Edward Abington, Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travers, and John Charnock of Lancaſhire, John Jones, Barnwel an Iriſhman, and Henry Dun. Ibid.

[m] The motto was, "Quorſum hæc alio properantibus?"

[n] Camden ſays, he had often come to her about the earl of Kildare's buſineſs. Ibid. p. 516.

[o] By Polly. Ibid.

[p] Thomas Philips was his decypherer, and one Arthur Gregory opened and ſealed them again. Ibid. p. 157.

Walſingham

manner. At length, when the court was ſufficiently inſtructed, Ballard was apprehended, under colour, that being a popiſh prieſt, he had entered the kingdom without a licence. At this news, Babington was in the utmoſt conſternation. He recovered however out of his fright, as it did not appear, that Ballard was arreſted for the conſpiracy, and nothing was ſaid at court intimating the diſcovery of the plot. He reſolved therefore to try to ſave Ballard, and to that end repreſented to Walſingham, that he would be of great ſervice to him in France, to diſcover the ſecret practices of the queen of Scots, and intreated him for his releaſe. Walſingham laid the blame of Ballard's being arreſted, upon the watchfulneſs of the ſpies employed to diſcover the popiſh prieſts and jeſuits. He promiſed to endeavour to procure his releaſe, and fed him with hopes that the paſſports would be ready very ſoon. Mean while, he ſo managed that Babington was narrowly watched. In ſhort, Babington and all the reſt of the conſpirators were ſeized at the ſame time, and being ſeverally examined, impeached one another, and diſcovered the plot [q].

It is very likely, as I ſaid, that queen Elizabeth's council had reſolved, on the firſt pretence, to put the queen of Scots to death. Her life continually endangered Elizabeth's, and of this there was but too much reaſon to be convinced by the late diſcoveries. So this opportunity was embraced. Great care was taken to hinder her being informed of the ſeizing of the conſpirators, and ſir Thomas Gorges, an officer was ſent to acquaint her with it, who ſurpriſed her with the news, juſt as ſhe had taken horſe to ride a-hunting. She would have returned to her apartment, but was not permitted [r] till ſuch time as all her papers were ſeized and ſent to court. Naue and Curle her ſecretaries, the one a Frenchman, the other a Scot, were apprehended at the ſame time, and without being ſuffered to ſpeak with her, conducted to London. But to have ſtill more convincing proofs againſt her, a method was uſed which ſucceeded according to expectation. Gifford having revealed, that he had delivered to the French ambaſſador ſeveral papers of moment concerning the queen of Scots, a falſe action, no way relating to the conſpiracy, was brought againſt him, for which he was baniſhed the realm. Before his departure, he waited on the embaſſador, and acquainting him with the ſentence paſſed upon him, left a paper cut after a certain manner, and charged him to deliver the queen of Scots papers to him only that ſhould produce the counter-part. Which counter-part he gave to Walſingham, who by that means came at every thing the embaſſador had in his hands [s].

The court being thus ſufficiently informed of all the circumſtances of the plot, fourteen of the conſpirators were arraigned, who received ſentence of death, and confeſſed all [t]. Care was taken, before their execution, to record all their confeſſions. Naue and Curle, Mary's ſecretaries, being examined, confeſſed they had wrote in cypher the letters found in the queen their miſtreſs's cabinet [u], or intercepted by Gifford's means. Camden inſinuates here, that Curle was bribed by Walſingham with the promiſe of a reward, which he afterwards refuſed to perform. However, ſir Edward Wotton was ſent to the court of France with authentic copies, atteſted by ſeveral lords, of the queen of Scots letters, that he might ſhew them to the king. Probably, theſe letters diſcovered how far Mary was concerned in the plot, and her correſpondence with the king of Spain and the duke of Guiſe.

At laſt, the reſolution being taken of trying and condemning queen Mary [w], as the prime cauſe of the dangers to which Elizabeth was continually expoſed, it was debated, on what ſtatute ſhe ſhould be proceeded againſt. But there was only one that could ſerve for that purpoſe, namely, the act paſſed the laſt year, which concerned her in particular. It was ſo uncommon a caſe to try a foreign queen, who was come unarmed into the kingdom to ſeek for refuge as a ſupplicant, that it would have been in vain to ſearch, in all the ancient ſtatutes, after any thing to ſerve for ground to ſuch a proceeding. This gives occaſion to preſume, when the act was made the laſt year, the queen of Scots death was already determined, and this ſtatute was to ſerve for foundation to her ſentence. Some however pretend, the intent of the act was only to keep her in awe, and let her ſee what ſhe was to expect if ſhe continued her practices, and that it was her own fault if ſhe did not make a good uſe of the warning. Wherefore in virtue of the act, Elizabeth, by letters patents under the great ſeal, appointed forty-two commiſſioners, with whom ſhe joined five judges of the realm, to try the queen of Scots. Some days before, certain lords, as well privy-counſellors as others, fell on their knees, and beſought her to take pity on herſelf, the whole nation, and all their poſterity, by puniſhing the queen of Scots. It muſt be obſerved, that throughout this whole affair, Elizabeth always pretended to act with regret, and from the neceſſity ſhe was under of ſaving her people, whom ſhe beheld in extreme danger. So the proceeding of theſe lords agreed with her deſigns. The queen's commiſſion ran in this manner:

"Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. To the moſt reverend father in Chriſt, John archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate and metropolitan of all England, and one of our privy-council; and to our truſty and well-beloved ſir Thomas Bromley, knight, chancellor of England, &c. Greeting [x].

"Whereas by an act of parliament held in the 26th year of our reign, it was enacted that, &c."

Here was inſerted the act mentioned under the laſt year.

"And whereas ſince the 1ſt day of June, in the ſeven and twentieth year of our reign, divers matters have been compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal perſon, as well by Mary daughter and heir of James V. king of Scotland, and commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France, pretending title to the crown of this realm of England, as by divers other perſons, with the privity of the ſame Mary, as we are given to underſtand: And whereas we do intend and determine that the act aforeſaid be in all and every part thereof duly and effectually executed, according to the tenour of the ſame, and that all offences aboveſaid in the act aboveſaid mentioned, as aforeſaid, and the circumſtances of the ſame be examined, and ſentence or judgment thereupon given, according to the tenour and effect of the ſaid act. To you, and the greater part of you, we do give full and abſolute power, faculty, and authority, according to the tenour of the ſaid act, to examine all and ſingular matters compaſſed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our royal perſon, as well by the aforeſaid Mary, as by any other perſon or perſons whatſoever, with the privity of the ſame Mary, and all circumſtances of the ſame and all other offences aboveſaid, in the act aboveſaid, as aforeſaid mentioned, and all circumſtances of the ſame, and of every of them; and thereupon, according to the tenour of the act aforeſaid, to give ſentence or judgment, as upon good proof of the matter ſhall appear to you. And therefore we do command you, that you at certain days and places which you or the greater part of you ſhall thereunto fore appoint, diligently proceed upon the premiſſes in form aforeſaid, &c. [y]"

[q] Walſingham had carried on matters himſelf as far as Ballard's taking up, without acquainting the reſt of the queen's council, and would have gone on, but the queen would not ſuffer him. Wherefore he ſent a note to his man Scudamore, whom he had ordered to watch Babington, that he ſhould obſerve him more ſtrictly. The man read the note, ſo that Babington, ſitting near him, read it along with him. Whereupon ſuſpecting all was diſcovered, he roſe from table, as they were at ſupper in a tavern, and leaving his cloak and ſword behind him, went out of the room, as if he intended to pay the reckoning, and made all the haſte he could to Weſtminſter, and changing clothes with Charnock, withdrew into S. John's wood with him and others, and lurking about for ten days, were at laſt diſcovered near Harrow on the Hill, hid in barns, and dreſſed like countrymen. Camden.

[r] She was led from one gentleman's houſe to another in the neighbourhood. Camden, p. 518.

[s] Camden ſays, the embaſſador was to deliver the letters from the queen or the fugitives, to the perſon who ſhould bring him the counter-part; but mentions no papers left in the embaſſador's hands by Gifford, p. 518.

[t] On the 13th of September, ſeven were arraigned and condemned of high treaſon; and two days after, the other ſeven were ſentenced in like manner. The firſt ſeven were executed on the 20th, cut down, their privities cut off, and their bowels taken out whilſt alive. But on the morrow, the other ſeven, by the queen's order, hung till they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. Camden, p. 518.

[u] There were found in it many letters from perſons beyond ſea, from ſeveral Engliſh noblemen, &c. and anſwers to them, with about ſixty tables of private cyphers and characters. Ibid.

[w] Some hiſtorians ſay, that queen Elizabeth endeavoured to have her poiſoned by her cook. And that afterwards, the earl of Leiceſter adviſed to diſpatch her by poiſon, and privately ſent a divine to Walſingham to perſuade him to it. But Walſingham urged, that, beſides the injuſtice of the thing, it was both dangerous and diſhonourable to the queen. Martyre de Marie, p. 275. Camden, p. 519. Spotiſwood, p. 351.

[x] The reſt of the commiſſioners were, the lord Burleigh, the marquis of Wincheſter, the earl of Oxford great chamberlain, the earl of Shrewſbury earl marſhal of England; the earl of Kent, the earl of Derby, the earl of Worceſter, the earl of Rutland, the earl of Warwick maſter of the ordnance; the earls of Pembroke, Leiceſter, and Lincoln; viſcount Montague; the lord Howard high-admiral of England; Hunſdon lord chamberlain; Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham lord warden of the Cinque-Ports; Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Stourton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletſho, Buckhurſt, Compton, Cheney; ſir Francis Knolles treaſurer of the houſhold, ſir James Crofts comptroller, ſir Chriſtopher Hatton vice-chamberlain, ſir Francis Walſingham and William Daviſon ſecretaries of ſtate, ſir Ralph Sadler chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter, ſir Walter Mildmay chancellor of the exchequer, ſir Amias Powlet captain of Jerſey, John Woolley, eſq. ſecretary for the Latin tongue; ſir Chriſtoper Wray, ſir Edmund Anderſon, ſir Roger Manwood, ſir Thomas Gawdy, William Periam, judges. Camden, p. 519.

[y] Very great care was taken in drawing up this commiſſion, as the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 362, &c.

It muſt be obſerved, that among the commiſſioners were the lord treaſurer Burleigh and ſecretary Walſingham, both Elizabeth's moſt truſty miniſters, known enemies of the queen of Scots, and probably authors and promoters of the reſolution to bring her to a trial. As it was hard to believe that Elizabeth had taken ſuch a reſolution without imparting it to her miniſters and council, and without her council's approbation, it ſhould ſeem ſhe ought not to have appointed her miniſters and privy-counſellors for Mary's judges. But on the other hand, as ſhe was willing to be ſure of the ſucceſs of the trial, ſhe had a mind doubtleſs that perſons of ſo great weight as miniſters and privy-counſellors ſhould be ready to turn the ſcale, in caſe of oppoſition from the other judges.

Thirty-ſix of the commiſſioners meeting the 11th [z] of October at Fotheringhay-caſtle in the county of Northampton, where the queen of Scots was then in cuſtody, ſent her queen Elizabeth's letter [a], which when ſhe had read, ſhe anſwered, "She was ſorry the queen her ſiſter was miſinformed of her. That ſhe had ever thought the aſſociation and the ſubſequent act of parliament aimed wholly at her, and that ſhe ſhould bear the blame of whatever was contrived in foreign countries. That it was very ſtrange the queen of England ſhould conſider her as a ſubject, and command her to ſubmit to a trial. That ſhe was a ſovereign queen, and would do nothing prejudicial to royal majeſty, to herſelf, or the king her ſon. That beſides, the laws and ſtatutes of England were unknown to her, and who were her peers ſhe could not tell. That ſhe was deſtitute of counſellors, and all her papers were taken from her. That ſhe had ſtirred up no man againſt Elizabeth, nor committed any crime. That ſhe was not to be charged but upon her own words or writings, and ſhe was ſure nothing criminal could be produced againſt her, except the recommending her cauſe to foreign princes, which ſhe did not pretend to deny."

On the morrow, the commiſſioners ſent her [b] a copy of her anſwer, and after it was read to her, ſhe ſaid, "It was rightly taken; but ſhe had forgot one very material thing, namely, that it was ſaid in Elizabeth's letters [c], ſhe was ſubject to the laws of England, becauſe ſhe had long lived under their protection; but all the world knew ſhe came into England to crave the aſſiſtance of the queen her ſiſter, and had been ever ſince detained in priſon; and therefore had not enjoyed the protection of the laws, nay, had not been able to underſtand what manner of laws they were."

In a word, ſhe diſputed two whole days the authority of the judges, and would not own that in any caſe Elizabeth had other juriſdiction over her than what was uſurped by force Nay, ſhe perſiſted in it after ſhe was threatened to be ſentenced for non-appearance, as an abſent perſon. But at laſt Hatton, one of the commiſſioners, made a ſpeech to her which ſhook her reſolution. He told her, "that indeed ſhe was accuſed, but not condemned: That if ſhe were innocent, ſhe injured her reputation extremely in avoiding a trial: That the queen would be very glad nothing could be proved againſt her, as he heard her ſay himſelf when he took his leave of her [d]."

Had Mary been provided with counſel, ſhe would doubtleſs have been told that Hatton's ſpeech tended only to enſnare her, and engage her to anſwer, that ſhe might be condemned by a peremptory ſentence. If ſhe had perſiſted in her refuſal, Elizabeth would have been perhaps greatly embarraſſed. Though ſhe was reſolved to put her to death, ſhe wiſhed however that the public was convinced of the juſtice of the thing, in order to avoid part of the blame of ſo rigorous a proceeding. But a ſentence given upon non-appearance would not have produced this effect, ſince it could not be denied, that the refuſing to plead was founded upon very good reaſons. Mary ſtood out however till the 14th of October, when ſending for ſome of the commiſſioners, ſhe told them, Hatton's arguments had convinced her of the neceſſity to make her innocence appear. Adding, ſhe conſented therefore to anſwer before them, provided her proteſtation were admitted: to which the commiſſioners agreed, without approving however the reaſons on which it was grounded.

Preſently after, the judges met in the hall of the caſtle, to the number of thirty ſix, and the queen came to the ſame place [q]. When they were ſeated, the chancellor turning to Mary, ſaid, "She was accuſed of conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England, and the proteſtant religion, and they were commiſſioned to examine the truth of the accuſation, and to bear her anſwer." The chancellor having done ſpeaking, the queen roſe up and ſaid, "That ſhe came into England to crave the aid which had been promiſed her: That ſhe was a queen, and no ſubject of Elizabeth, and if ſhe appeared before them, it was only to ſecure her honour and reputation." The chancellor would not own that any aid had been promiſed her. As to the proteſtation, he anſwered, "it was in vain, ſince the law upon which the accuſation was grounded, allowed of no diſtinction in the perſons of the tranſgreſſors, and therefore it was not to be admitted." The court ordered however that the proteſtation ſhould be recorded, with the chancellor's anſwer.

This done, the attorney general read to her aloud the commiſſion, with the act of parliament [e], and after an account of Babington's plot, concluded that Mary had broken the act, becauſe ſhe knew of the conſpiracy, and even ſhewed the ways and means to effect it. She anſwered, "She knew not Babington, or ever received any letters from him, or wrote any to him. She never plotted the queen's deſtruction, and to prove any ſuch thing, letters under her own hand ought to be produced, which was impoſſible. She knew not Ballard, nor ever heard of him; and, in a word, being a priſoner, ſhe could not hinder the plots of others."

Whereupon the copies of Babington's letters to her were read, containing all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy [f]. It ſhould ſeem, ſince her papers were ſeized, Babington's original letters might have been produced. But as probably ſhe had burnt them, only the copies could be uſed, which Walſingham took when he had the originals in his hands. To this Mary anſwered, "Babington might poſſibly write theſe letters, and therefore the point was not to know whether he wrote them or not, but whether ſhe received them." To prove this, there was read Babington's confeſſion before his execution, wherein he ſaid, he had ſent ſeveral letters to the queen of Scots and received ſeveral from her. After that, were read the copies of certain letters in cypher from Mary to Babington, which he had received, where mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland. Then the queen with tears in her eyes, ſaid aloud, "Alas! What has the noble houſe of the Howards endured for my ſake!" She added, "That Babington might write what he pleaſed: That as for her own letters in cypher, which were produced, ſhe knew nothing of them, and it was very eaſy for her enemies to get her cyphers, and write forged letters in her name: That in ſhort, the letters were not her hand-writing; and beſides it was not likely, that to execute the deſign ſhe was charged with, ſhe ſhould employ the earl of Arundel, who was priſoner in the Tower, or the earl of Northumberland, who was very young, and to her entirely unknown."

There were alſo read Savage's and Ballard's confeſſions, which ran, That Babington communicated to them ſeveral letters which he had received from the queen of Scots. To this ſhe anſwered with a proteſtation, that Babington never received any from her.

Before I proceed, I ſhall here make two or three ſhort remarks. Firſt, it is ſurpriſing that Babington, Savage, and Ballard, ſhould be executed before the queen of Scots trial, ſince their teſtimony was uſed againſt her. In the next place, hitherto the whole evidence conſiſted only in Babington's confeſſion, that he had received letters from the queen of Scots; but as he was dead, it could not be proved that theſe were the ſame letters that were read, which too were only copies of letters decyphered. My third remark is, that though Mary proteſted ſhe never received any letters from Babington, nor wrote any to him, Camden muſt have been ſatisfied of the contrary, ſince in his account of the conſpiracy, he ſpeaks of a correſpondence by letters between Mary and Babington as a

[z] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays the 9th. See Camden.

[a] Rapin ſays, by miſtake, the commiſſion was ſent to her. The letters were ſent next day to Mary, by ſir Walter Mildmay, Powlet, and Edward Barker public notary, who were deputed by the commiſſioners. Ibid. p. 520.

[b] By ſir Amias Powlet and Barker. Ibid.

[c] Rapin ſays again, by miſtake, in the commiſſion.

[d] To this the queen replied, That ſhe refuſed not to anſwer in full parliament, provided ſhe might be declared the next in ſucceſſion; yea, before the queen, and her council, ſo as her proteſtation was admitted, and ſhe was acknowledged the next of kin to the queen; but to the judgment of her adverſaries ſhe would never ſubmit. Ibid. p. 521.

[q] At the upper end of the room was placed a chair of ſtate for the queen of England, under a canopy of ſtate. Over againſt it, below, at ſome diſtance, near the beam that ran acroſs the room, ſtood a chair for the queen of Scots. By the walls on both ſides were placed benches, on which ſat the commiſſioners. Camden, p. 522.—Thuanus obſerves, that ſome of theſe commiſſioners were papiſts--Inter quos fuere nonnulli majorum religioni addicti--l. 88.

[e] He read the commiſſion to her, in which the act was ſpecified. Whereupon ſhe boldly and reſolutely offered her proteſtation againſt the ſaid act, as made directly and purpoſely againſt her. But upon the lord treaſurer's ſaying, Every perſon in the kingdom was bound by the laws, though never ſo lately made; and that the commiſſioners were reſolved to proceed according to that law, what proteſtations ſoever ſhe interpoſed, ſhe anſwered at length, "That ſhe was ready to hear and anſwer touching any fact whatſoever committed againſt the queen of England." Camden, p. 522.

[f] What ſhe ſaid to this, was, That there had paſſed letters betwixt her and many men, yet it could not thence be inferred, that ſhe was privy to all their wicked deſigns. Ibid.

Thuanus

thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little book, entitled, The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of the Queen of Scots, printed at Paris in 1589, where the author, though a great friend of queen Mary, does not deny that ſhe held a correſpondence with Babington [g].

After this were produced ſeveral letters in cypher from the queen of Scots, wherein ſhe approved of the conſpiracy. Theſe were probably the letters Walſingham intercepted by Gifford's means, or thoſe he artfully drew out of the hands of the French embaſſador. The queen anſwered, She wrote not thoſe letters; and probably they were forged by her alphabet of cyphers in France; and accuſed Walſingham of doing it, who ſo cleared himſelf as ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied with his anſwer [h]. But to prove that ſhe wrote them, the confeſſions of Naue and Curle her ſecretaries were produced, who owned they wrote them by her order.

This is all that paſſed in the firſt ſeſſion the 14th of October. In the afternoon were read the copies of the letters received by Mary, concerning the conference at Paris between Ballard, Paget, and Mendoza, for invading England; and it was proved by the teſtimony of Curle her ſecretary, that ſhe had received them. She anſwered, This did not prove her intention to kill the queen. It is proper to obſerve here, ſhe was accuſed of three things, of conſpiring the queen's death; of procuring England to be invaded; and of contriving the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion. She conſidered the firſt as the principal, to which ſhe was very ready to anſwer, well knowing ſhe could not without great injuſtice be condemned for the other two. In anſwer to the proof taken from the teſtimony of her ſecretaries, ſhe ſaid, "She believed Curle the Scot to be an honeſt man [i], but had not the ſame opinion of Naue the Frenchman, who might poſſibly be corrupted: beſides, he abuſed Curle's eaſineſs in ſuch a manner, that he made him write what he pleaſed. In a word, her ſecretaries might inſert in her letters things which ſhe never dictated; and therefore, ſhe ought to be convicted only by her own hand-writing, and not by that of her ſecretaries, who would aſſuredly clear her if they were preſent."

It cannot be denied that this proceeding was very irregular: firſt, becauſe three men had been put to death, on whoſe evidence it was pretended to convict the queen; ſecondly, as her ſecretaries, who were alive, were never brought face to face, though their teſtimony was uſed. This was the more ſtrange, as by an act of parliament paſſed in the 13th year of this very reign, it was expreſly ordained that the witneſſes ſhould be confronted with the parties accuſed.

Upon this account doubtleſs it was, that the lord treaſurer Burleigh, perceiving the embarraſſment occaſioned by the queen's anſwer grounded on the laws of England, thought proper to proceed to other matters. He charged her therefore with having intentions to ſend the king her ſon into Spain, and reſign to Philip II. her right to the kingdom of England. It is eaſy to perceive the firſt of theſe accuſations was very foreign to the purpoſe, ſince the affairs of Scotland were not in diſpute. Accordingly ſhe made no anſwer to it. As to the ſecond, ſhe only ſaid, "That by her birth ſhe was preſumptive heir to queen Elizabeth, and it was lawful to convey her right to whom ſhe pleaſed; but that all this amounted not to any proof of her having conſented to the project of killing the queen."

It being objected to her, that ſhe had ſent an alphabet of cyphers to ſome Roman catholics, as Curle had teſtified, ſhe denied it not, and briefly anſwered, "It was not unlawful to hold correſpondence and negotiate her concerns with men of her religion." But theſe objections ſerved only to divert them from the main point, ſince none of theſe things were contained in the accuſation. At laſt, ſhe was again urged with the teſtimonies of her ſecretaries, to which ſhe made the ſame anſwer as before, proteſting ſhe knew neither Babington nor Ballard. "But (ſaid the lord treaſurer) you know Morgan very well, who ſent Parry over to kill the queen, and have aſſigned him a penſion." To this ſhe anſwered, "She was ignorant of what Morgan had done, but knew that he had loſt all for her ſake, and ſhe might as well give him a penſion, as Elizabeth give one to Patrick Gray and the king himſelf."

Then they proceeded to the other two articles of the impeachment, concerning the invaſion of the kingdom and the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion; and to prove that Mary was concerned in theſe plots, the letters were read which ſhe wrote to Mendoza, Ingleſield, and the lord Paget. She anſwered, "That theſe things did not prove ſhe had any hand in the conſpiracy againſt the queen's life: That ſhe had nothing to ſay to the reſt, and had often declared to the queen herſelf, ſhe would try all methods to procure her own liberty." In this manner paſſed the ſecond ſeſſion.

The next day the court being met, Mary repeated her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges, and required it to be recorded, and a copy delivered to her. She complained, "That all her offers for an accommodation were rejected [k], and herſelf moſt unworthily dealt with, whilſt all her letters were publicly read, in which were many things no way relating to the impeachment." To this the lord treaſurer replied, "That he was going to anſwer her in a double capacity, as commiſſioner and as privy-counſellor. As commiſſioner, he told her, her proteſtation was recorded, and a copy thereof ſhould be delivered her. As to their authority, it was grounded on the power conferred on them by letters patents under the queen's own hand and the great ſeal. That for the peruſing her letters, which ſhe complained of, it was neceſſary to read them whole and entire, becauſe they contained things, which by their circumſtances were ſo interwoven that there was no ſeparating them. Here ſhe interrupted him, and ſaid, "Though the circumſtances were proved, it would ſignify nothing if the principal fact was not: That her integrity depended not upon the credit of her ſecretaries, ſince they might very poſſibly be corrupted: That theſe letters having no ſuperſcription might be directed to others, and many things inſerted without her knowledge: but if ſhe had her papers, ſhe could the more eaſily vindicate herſelf." The lord treaſurer anſwered, "Nothing ſhould be objected but what paſſed ſince the 19th of June laſt, concerning which her memory could furniſh her with what ſhe thought requiſite for her defence: That her papers would be of no ſervice to her, ſince Babington and her ſecretaries, without being put to the rack, had owned theſe letters came from her: That it was left to the commiſſioners to judge whether more credit were to be given to her bare negation than to their affirmation." He added, as a privy-counſellor, "That it was true ſhe had made ſeveral eſſays to procure her liberty; and if they proved fruitleſs, it was owing to herſelf and the Scots: That the lords of Scotland had refuſed to give the king in hoſtage; and when the laſt treaty was holden concerning her releaſe, Morgan her vaſſal ſent Parry into England to kill the queen." Mary eaſily perceived the venom of theſe words, whereby, under colour of juſtifying the council, the lord treaſurer would have inſinuated to the other commiſſioners, that ſhe was concerned in Parry's plots. Wherefore upon hearing him ſay this, "Ah! (ſaid ſhe) you are my adverſary." "Yes, (ſaid he) I am adverſary to all queen Elizabeth's enemies."

Now were read again her letters to Charles Paget, wherein ſhe told him, there was no other way for the king of Spain to reduce the rebellious Netherlands, but by ſetting a catholic on the throne of England. There was read likewiſe the copy of cardinal Allen's letter to her, wherein he called her his moſt dread ſovereign lady, and told her, the buſineſs was recommended to the prince of Parma's care. She anſwered, ſtill adhering to the firſt article of the impeachment, "That Babington and her ſecretaries had accuſed her to ſave themſelves: That ſhe had never heard of the ſix murderers; and all the reſt was of no ſervice to prove the principal crime ſhe was accuſed of: That ſhe held Allen for a reverend prelate, and acknowledged the pope for the true head of the church; neither could ſhe hinder foreigners from giving her what titles they pleaſed: That as for her ſecretaries, ſhe was willing to add to what ſhe had already ſaid

[g] Thuanus alſo affirms, that Babington and Ballard confeſſed, and their intercepted letters confirmed the ſame, that Mary was informed of the conſpiracy, and the deſign of deſtroying queen Elizabeth was undertaken for her ſake, and upon her account.---Qui ſeorſim interrogati, ac poſt confeſſiones inter ſe commiſſi, atque ex epiſtolis interceptis poſtremo convicti, in eo conveniebant, ut Mariam facti non ignaram, atque ejus cauſſa conjurationem ſuſceptam ad Eliſabetham èmedio tollendam dicerent, l. 86. And the continuator of Hollingſhead ſays, that the conſpirators owned the Scottiſh queen to be the principal comforter, director, and embracer, of theſe treaſons, p. 1578.

[h] Upon her charging Walſingham with forging the letters, he roſe up, and proteſting that his heart was free from all malice, ſaid, "I call God to witneſs that, as a private perſon, I have done nothing unbecoming an honeſt man; neither in my public condition and quality have I done any thing unworthy of my place. I confeſs that, out of my great care for the ſafety of the queen and realm, I have diligently endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all plots and deſigns againſt the ſame. If Ballard had offered me his aſſiſtance, I ſhould not have refuſed it, yea, I ſhould have rewarded him for his pains and ſervice. If I have tampered any thing with him, why did he not diſcover it to ſave his life?" With this anſwer (ſhe ſaid) ſhe was ſatisfied; and prayed him not to be angry that ſhe had ſpoken ſo freely what ſhe had heard reported; and that he would give no more credit to thoſe that ſlandered her, than ſhe did to ſuch as accuſed him. Spies (ſhe ſaid) were men of little credit; and deſired he would not in the leaſt believe, that ever ſhe had conſented to queen Elizabeth's deſtruction. Camden, p. 523.

[i] But no competent witneſs. Ibid.

[k] Even though ſhe promiſed to deliver her ſon, and the duke of Guiſe's ſons in hoſtage. Ibid. p. 524.

Before

of them, that they deſerved no credit; for as they had ſworn ſecrecy to her, they could be deemed no other than perjured perſons, when they gave in their evidence againſt her: That Naue had often wrote otherwiſe than ſhe dictated, and Curle, whatever Naue bid him: That they had poſſibly confeſſed ſeveral falſehoods to ſave their lives, imagining that her royalty would ſcreen her from puniſhment: That ſhe had never heard of any ſuch man as Ballard, but of one Hallard, who had offered her his ſervice, which however ſhe refuſed, becauſe ſhe knew him to be one of Walſingham's ſpies." It muſt be confeſſed, Mary was afforded great advantage in not confronting the witneſſes, though it be a neceſſary formality in criminal trials.

Laſtly were read ſome particular paſſages out of Mary's letters to Mendoza, wherein mention was made of her deſign to convey to the Spaniard her right to the crown of England. To this ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe being cloſe priſoner and in a declining condition, it ſeemed good to her friends, that the ſucceſſion to the crown of England ſhould be ſettled upon the king of Spain, or ſome Engliſh catholic; and that a book was ſent her to juſtify the Spaniards title, which ſhe would not read; but deſpairing to recover her liberty by any other means, ſhe had reſolved not to refuſe foreign aſſiſtance." When ſhe had done ſpeaking, the lord treaſurer aſked her, if ſhe had any more to ſay in her defence [l]? To which ſhe anſwered, "That ſhe required to be heard in full parliament, or before the queen and council [m]." Then the court adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter.

This is Camden's account of the queen of Scots trial at Fotheringhay. As there are no better Memoirs, we are forced as it were to ſuppoſe what he ſays to be true. There is however but too much cauſe to ſuſpect he has curtailed or altered in ſeveral places, what he pretends to take from the Regiſter's Memoirs. For inſtance, it may eaſily be remarked in this narrative, that whatever is objected to the queen of Scots, is indeterminate and general, without deſcending to particulars. Of all the letters that were read for her conviction, he cites not one extract; ſo that ſhe ſeems to have been accuſed of holding a correſpondence by letters with Babington, and other of Elizabeth's enemies, rather than of engaging in a ſettled plot to kill the queen, though this was the principal point. In a word, this hiſtorian's partiality for the queen of Scots on other occaſions, gives reaſon to think, he did not forget himſelf in this capital article, but uſed all his art to render doubtful the fact ſhe was accuſed of. However, as this is only a conjecture, I do not pretend to inſiſt upon it [n]. I ſhall content myſelf, in order to clear the affair, with making ſome obſervations on this famous trial.

It is hardly to be queſtioned that Mary's death was determined, when Elizabeth and her council reſolved to have her tried by commiſſioners. But it muſt not be imagined, their intention was to puniſh her for attempting the life of Elizabeth. If that had been all, they would never have proceeded to extremities, but would doubtleſs have been ſatisfied with putting it out of her power to contrive any ſuch plots for the future, which would have been eaſy, by confining her more cloſely. But it was not ſo eaſy to hinder the pope, the king of Spain, the houſe of Guiſe, the Engliſh catholics, the Iriſh, the Scottiſh malcontents, from conſidering her as a princeſs to whom of right belonged the two crowns of England and Scotland, and from uſing their continual endeavours to reſtore her to the throne of Scotland, and place her on that of England, even in Elizabeth's life-time. Though ſhe had been ſo cloſely confined, that ſhe could not herſelf have been concerned in theſe plots, it would not have prevented her friends from acting in her favour. Nothing therefore but her death could break their meaſures, and put an end to the plots which were daily framing on her account. So, it might with truth be ſaid, that as Elizabeth's death was Mary's life, ſo Mary's death alone could preſerve Elizabeth, and with her, liberty and the proteſtant religion in England. But as it was not likely Mary, who was the younger, ſhould die firſt by a natural death, recourſe was to be had to violence, that the queen and the realm might be freed from their imminent danger. The ſhare Mary had in Babington's conſpiracy, and which probably was greater than what Camden intimates, was not therefore the cauſe of her condemnation, but the pretence uſed to be rid of a queen, on whoſe life Elizabeth's adverſaries built all their hopes. It was therefore Mary's own friends that occaſioned her misfortune by ſerving her too zealouſly, or rather by making her their inſtrument to execute their grand projects againſt the proteſtant religion. The pope flattered himſelf with reſtoring, by her means, the catholic religion in England; and the Engliſh catholics looked upon her as the only perſon that could free them from the intolerable yoke of a proteſtant government. Philip II. ſaw no other way to ſubdue the Netherlands. In ſhort, the houſe of Guiſe, whoſe ambitious projects are well known, thought to find in her an infallible means to cruſh the Hugonots of France, who ſupported the title of the lawful heir to the crown of that kingdom. Mary herſelf gave too much countenance to all theſe plots. She was ſo important, as, being a priſoner, inceſſantly to confound two things, which could well be diſtinguiſhed and ſeparated; I mean, her liberty, and her title to the crown of England. She thereby gave Elizabeth occaſion to confound them too, and to ruin her, in order to preſerve her own life and crown.

Theſe were the real motives of Mary's condemnation. If we conſider them politically, they may be ſaid to be good and neceſſary; but it happens very frequently that policy is repugnant to juſtice and equity. Upon this condemnation it is that Elizabeth's enemies have triumphed, and indeed it is a very fit ſubject for rhetoric. But if it is conſidered who they were that exclaimed the loudeſt againſt Elizabeth, they will be found to be the very perſons who would have murdered her to ſet Mary on the throne of England. Had they ſucceeded in their deſign, would their deed have been more juſt or more agreeable to the precepts of the chriſtian religion? Doubtleſs it would, were the thing to be tried by the principles of the adverſaries to Elizabeth and her religion. But if it were allowed by the laws of religion, juſtice, and equity, to take away the life of Elizabeth, in order to ſet Mary on the throne, and reſtore the catholic religion in England, was it leſs allowable for the Engliſh to put Mary to death, in order to preſerve their queen and religion from the deſtruction they were continually threatened with? Let us ſay rather, theſe maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the rules of the Goſpel, to whatever party they are applied.

Having ſeen the real motives of queen Mary's condemnation, there is no great cauſe to wonder at the irregularities to be obſerved in her trial. The point was not ſo much to puniſh her for her part in the plot, as to ſatisfy the public ſhe was concerned in it, that her condemnation might be thought the leſs ſtrange, or rather abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of England. The queen and the council believed to have ſufficient evidence, that Mary was acquainted with the conſpiracy, had conſented to it, and promoted the execution to the utmoſt of her power. This ſufficed for their deſign. They knew the people would eaſily excuſe ſome irregularities in an affair where their own perſervation was concerned.

Since therefore Mary's condemnation can be conſidered only as the effect of Elizabeth's policy, it is in vain that the following queries are put concerning her trial. 1. What authority had Elizabeth over her? 2. Whether Mary could be conſidered as ſubject to the laws of England, under colour that ſhe had lived there eighteen years, being a priſoner? 3. Whether it could be ſaid, ſhe had enjoyed during that time the protection of the laws, and be thence inferred that ſhe ought to be liable to them? 4. Whether, even upon ſuch a ſuppoſition, ſhe had enjoyed in her trial the benefit of the laws of England? 5. Whether ſhe were tried by her peers according to the conſtant and immutable privilege of the Engliſh? 6. Who could be her peers? 7. Whether Elizabeth's commiſſion was according to law? 8. Whether the formalities requiſite in a trial of this nature were obſerved? 9. Whether ſhe can be ſaid to have been legally convicted by the teſtimony of perſons that were dead, and whom it lay in Elizabeth's breaſt to keep alive and bring face to face? 10. Whether the evidence of her ſecretaries, who were ſtill alive, could be deemed valid without being confronted, contrary to expreſs acts of parliament? 11. Whether a captive queen's conſent to the invaſion of a kingdom, were ſhe is unjuſtly detained, is a crime worthy of death? 12. Whether the letters in cypher, wrote by her ſecretaries, were a ſufficient proof that the whole contents were dictated by her? 13. Laſtly, ſuppoſing ſhe had given a full and entire conſent to the plot, whether the manner of her being detained in England, her long confinement, the loſs of her kingdom procured partly by Elizabeth's ſecret practices, did not merit, that her crime ſhould be reckoned of a different nature from that of a ſubject who conſpires againſt his ſovereign? I do not think it

[l] Before Burleigh aſked her this, the ſollicitor put the commiſſioners in mind what would become of them, their honours, eſtates, and poſterities, if the kingdom were aſſigned to the Spaniard. But the lord treaſurer ſhewed, the kingdom of England could not be conveyed at all, but was to deſcend by right of ſucceſſion, according to the laws; and then aſked the queen, if ſhe had any more to ſay? Camden, p. 525.

[m] Upon which ſhe roſe up, and had ſome conference with the lord treaſurer, Hatton, Walſingham, and the earl of Warwick, apart by themſelves. Camden, p. 525.

[n] This conjecture is however grounded upon the difference between Camden's account, and that of Thuanus, lib. 86. tom. III. p. 156 and 162. Rapin.

poſſible to vindicate Elizabeth upon each of theſe queries. We muſt therefore keep to the neceſſity ſhe was under of deſtroying Mary to ſave herſelf, and juſtify her by the natural law of ſelf-preſervation, the only one which can be pleaded in her favour [o].

The commiſſioners being aſſembled [p] in the Star-chamber at Weſtminſter, the 25th of October, ſent for Naur and Curle, who confirmed upon oath their former evidence, after which ſentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that Mary had broken the ſtatute paſſed the laſt year. This is all that was divulged. It is not known whether the commiſſioners expreſly condemned the queen of Scots to die, or whether, after their judgment of the fact, they left it to the laws and the queen to decide what puniſhment the crime deſerved. What follows is all that was publiſhed afterwards by the queen's order. "That ſince the 1ſt day of June, in the 27th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, divers matters have been compaſſed and imagined within this realm of England, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of the ſaid Mary, tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of our ſaid lady the queen. And alſo, that ſince the aforeſaid day, the ſaid Mary pretending a title to the crown of this realm, has compaſſed and imagined, within this realm, divers matters tending to the deſtruction of the royal perſon of our ſovereign lady the queen, contrary to the tenor of the ſtatute in the commiſſion aforeſaid ſpecified."

It is eaſy to perceive by this very extract, that the ſentence muſt have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the terms of the "ſaid Mary," which ſhew that ſhe was mentioned before. But the queen thought not proper to publiſh more of it. The author of the book entitled, "The Hiſtory of the Martyrdom of Mary Stuart," ſays, ſo great care was taken to conceal the ſentence, that he could never poſſibly recover a copy of it, notwithſtanding all his pains. "Without doubt (continues he) there were myſteries in it which were not to be divulged."

The ſame day the ſentence was pronounced, the judges declared, it did nothing derogate from the king of Scotland, that is, his title to the crown of England did ſtill remain intire. But was it their buſineſs to give ſuch a determination concerning the ſucceſſion, when they were not impowered by their commiſſion? It is viſible, they acted by the queen's direction, who was willing by this means to pacify the king of Scotland. Otherwiſe, the judges would not have taken upon them to make ſuch a declaration, which was beyond their power.

The parliament meeting four days after [q], and the 29th of October, approved and confirmed the ſentence given againſt the queen of Scots. But whether this was without a perfect knowledge or upon a diligent enquiry, it is hard to know, though afterwards Elizabeth pretended it was not till after a long and ſerious examination [r]. However, the parliament having confirmed the ſentence, preſented a petition to the queen, beſeeching her to order it to be put in execution. The petition contained reaſons taken not from the heinouſneſs of the crime, but the danger to which Elizabeth and the realm would be expoſed, if the queen of Scots were ſuffered to live [s]. The queen returned to the petition an anſwer, the intent whereof was to ſhew the parliament ſhe was extremely troubled and irreſolute. She had a mind to inſinuate, ſhe was inclined to mercy, but that her affection for her people extremely embarraſſed her. It was eaſy to conclude from this ſpeech, ſhe deſired to be preſſed, that ſhe might not ſeem to act from a motive of revenge. Here follows the anſwer, which perfectly diſcovers Elizabeth's character.

"SO many and ſo great are the bottomleſs graces and immeaſurable benefits beſtowed upon me by the Almighty, that I muſt not only moſt humbly acknowledge them as benefits, but admire them as miracles, being in no ſort able to expreſs them. And though there liveth not any, that may more juſtly acknowledge himſelf bound to God than I, whoſe life he hath miraculouſly preſerved from ſo many dangers; yet am I not more deeply bound to give him thanks for any one thing, than for this which I will now tell you, and which I account as a miracle, namely, That as I came to the crown with the moſt hearty good-will of all my ſubjects, ſo now after a twenty-eight years reign, I perceive in them the ſame, if not greater good-will towards me; which if once I loſe, well might I breathe, but never think I lived. And now though my life hath been dangerouſly ſhot at, yet I proteſt there is nothing hath more grieved me, than that one not differing from me in ſex, of like rank and degree, of the ſame ſtock, and moſt nearly allied unto me in blood, hath fallen into ſo a great a crime. And ſo far have I been from bearing her any ill-will, that upon the diſcovery of certain treaſonable practices againſt me, I wrote unto her ſecretly, that if ſhe would confeſs them by a private letter unto myſelf, they ſhould be wrapped up in ſilence. Neither did I write thus in mind to intrap her, for I knew then as much as ſhe could confeſs. And even yet, though the matter be come thus far, if ſhe would truly repent, and no man would undertake her cauſe againſt me, and if my life alone depended hereupon, and not the ſafety and welfare of my whole people, I would (I proteſt unfeignedly) moſt willingly pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flouriſhing eſtate, and a better prince, I would moſt gladly lay down my life. For, for your ſakes it is, and for my people's, that I deſire to live. As for me, I ſee no ſuch great cauſe why I ſhould either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good experience of this world; and I know what it to be a ſubject, and what to be a ſovereign. Good neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad; and in truſt I have found treaſon. I have beſtowed benefits upon ill-deſervers; and where I have done well, have been ill requited. While I call to mind theſe things paſt, behold things preſent, and expect things to come; I hold them happieſt that go hence ſooneſt. Nevertheleſs, againſt ſuch miſchiefs as theſe, I put on a better courage than is common to my ſex; ſo as whatſoever befal me, death ſhall not take me unprepared.

"And as touching theſe treaſons, I will not ſo prejudicate myſelf or the laws of my kingdom, as not but to think that ſhe, having been the contriver of the ſame treaſons, was bound and liable to the ancient laws, though the late act had never been made. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and terrify her from attempting any thing againſt it. But ſeeing it was now in force of a law, I thought good to proceed againſt her according to the ſame. But you lawyers are ſo curious in ſcanning the nice points of the law, and following of precedents and form, rather than expounding the laws themſelves, that by exact obſerving of your form, ſhe muſt have been indicted in Staffordſhire, and have holden up her hand at the bar, and have been tried by a jury of twelve men. A proper courſe, forſooth, of tryal againſt a princeſs! To avoid therefore ſuch abſurdities, I thought it better to refer the examination of ſo weighty a cauſe to a good number of the nobleſt perſonages of the land, and the judges of the realm; and all little enough. For we princes are ſet as it were upon ſtages in the ſight and view of all the world: the leaſt ſpot is ſoon ſpied in our garments, a blemiſh quickly noted in our doings. It behoveth us therefore to be careful that our proceedings be juſt and honourable. But I muſt tell you one thing, that by this laſt act of parliament, you have brought me to a narrow ſtraight, that I muſt give order for her death, which is a princeſs moſt nearly allied unto me in blood, and whoſe practices againſt me have ſtricken me into ſo great grief, that I have been glad to abſent myſelf from this parliament [t], leſt I ſhould increaſe my ſorrow, by hearing it ſpoken of, and not out of fear of any danger, as ſome think. But yet I will now tell you a ſecret (though it is well known that I have the property to keep counſel), it is not long ſince theſe eyes of mine ſaw and read an oath, wherein ſome bound themſelves to kill me within a month. Hereby I ſee your danger in me, which I will be very careful to avoid.

"Your aſſociation for my ſafety I have not forgotten,

[o] This is indeed the beſt, and the only excuſe that can be alleged in vindication of queen Elizabeth. Accordingly, Dr. Welwood obſerves, "That when every day produced ſome new conſpiracy againſt the life of queen Elizabeth, and that in moſt of them the queen of Scots was concerned, either as a party, or the occaſion, queen Elizabeth was put under a fatal neceſſity of either taking off the queen of Scots, or expoſing her own perſon to the frequent attempts of her enemies." Memoirs, p. 13. Du Maurier alſo expreſly ſays, That queen Mary was the cauſe of her own ruin, by her reſtleſs temper, and her repeated deſigns againſt queen Elizabeth's life. Preface to his Memoirs. For queen Mary's friends would never ſuffer her to be quiet, but were eternally plotting and contriving, bribing and conſpiring, how to murder queen Elizabeth, and ſet up the queen of Scots in her ſtead, to reſtore their beloved popery here in England. Bohun's Character of Queen Elizabeth, p. 129.

[p] The earls of Shrewſbury and Warwick were abſent, being then ſick. Camden, p. 525.

[q] The laſt parliament was diſſolved September 15, this year; ſo that the preſent parliament was called upon the diſcovery of the plot, and in order to take the buſineſs of the queen of Scots into conſideration. See D'Ewes, p. 374, 375, 377.

[r] In the Journals of the Houſe of Lords it is ſaid, that the committees of both houſes, "upon hearing the ſentence, and divers of the ſpecial evidences and proofs whereupon the ſentence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long deliberation and conſultation had betwixt them, both publicly and privately, they all with one aſſent allowed the ſame ſentence to be juſt, true, and honourable." Ibid. p. 379.

[s] See the petition in D'Ewes's Journal, p. 380; and in the Appendix to Elizabeth's reign, p. (667) of the ſecond volume of the Complete Hiſtory.

[t] The queen came not to the parliament the firſt day of the ſeſſion, but granted a commiſſion to John archbiſhop of canterbury, William lord Burleigh, and Henry earl of Derby, to ſupply her place. See D'Ewes, p. 375, 377.

which I never ſo much as thought of, till a great number of hands, with many obligations, were ſhewed me. Which as I do acknowledge as a ſtrong argument of your true hearts and great zeal to my ſafety, ſo ſhall my bond be ſtronger tied to a great care for your good. But foraſmuch as this matter now in hand is very rare, and of greateſt conſequence, I hope you do not look for any preſent reſolution: for my manner is, in matters of leſs moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is once to be reſolved. In the mean time, I beſeech Almighty God to illuminate my mind, that I may foreſee that which may ſerve for the good of his church, the proſperity of the commonwealth, and your ſafety. And that delay may not breed danger, we will ſignify our reſolution with all conveniency. And whatever the beſt ſubjects may expect at the hands of the beſt princeſs, that expect from me to be performed to the full."

It is not very difficult to perceive in this ſpeech, notwithſtanding her affected obſcurity, the double view Elizabeth propoſed to herſelf. One was to make the public believe, ſhe could not, without extreme concern, reſolve to put the queen of Scots to death: the other, to inſinuate to the parliament, that there was a neceſſity of diſpatching queen Mary, or reſolving to loſe the beſt of queens, who was very ready to lay down her life for the good of her ſubjects. She dwelt chiefly upon her tenderneſs for her people, that they might fear to be deprived of ſo gracious a queen, and earneſtly require the death of her adverſary. But leſt the parliament's affection for her ſhould not be ſufficiently ſtrong, ſhe took care to hint ſeveral times, that their own ſafety depended on her preſervation. She ſaid, if her welfare only were at ſtake, ſhe would readily pardon, ſince ſhe was not fond of life; but that it was ſolely the danger of the ſtate which made her uneaſy. Was not this very plainly ſaying, the death of the queen of Scots was neceſſary for the ſafety of the realm? She would have it believed, ſhe was inclined to favour Mary, but alleged no reaſon for her. On the contrary, ſhe uſed the arguments of ſex and kindred to aggravate her crime, and clearly ſet forth the reaſons which might determine her to conſent to her death. She magnified the care ſhe had taken, not to ſuffer her dignity to be debaſed by trying her like a common perſon. This was all the favour ſhe ſhewed her. But what favour was it to give her judges, among whom were her greateſt enemies, perſons who had before voted againſt her in the council, and had been for bringing her to a trial; Hatton, one of the judges, drew her into a ſnare by perſuading her to anſwer for herſelf, and the lord treaſurer acted in ſome meaſure the part of an accuſer. On the other hand, we ſee in ſeveral of Walſingham's letters ſent from France when he was embaſſador, that it was his opinion, Elizabeth could never be ſafe ſo long as the queen of Scots was alive. Was it not a great favour to give her ſuch judges? In ſhort, with what intent did Elizabeth tell the parliament, ſhe knew for certain ſome had bound themſelves by an oath to kill her within a month? Was it not to incite the two houſes to prevent this misfortune by the ſpeedy execution of the ſentence againſt Mary? All this ſhews, that her aim was to engage the parliament to preſs her upon that head, that ſhe might in ſome meaſure be juſtified to the world, by aſcribing the execution of the ſentence to the inſtances of the parliament. But the ſequel will ſtill more plainly ſhew it.

On the 12th day after, the queen ſent the lord chancellor to the upper houſe, and Puckering[u] to the lower, to deſire them to find ſome expedient, whereby the queen of Scots life might be ſaved, and her own ſafety provided for. The two houſes, after a ſerious debate, anſwered her, that her ſafety could not poſſibly be ſecured ſo long as the queen of Scots lived. That there were but four ways to be deviſed to that end, which were all inſufficient. The firſt was, that the queen of Scots ſhould ſeriouſly repent: but ſuch a repentance was not to be expected, ſince ſhe would not ſo much as acknowledge her fault. The ſecond, that ſhe ſhould be kept with a cloſer guard, and bound to her good demeanour by bond and oath. The third, that ſhe ſhould give hoſtages. But theſe two ways were inſufficient, ſince if the queen's life were once taken away, all theſe precautions would vaniſh. The fourth, that ſhe ſhould depart the kingdom. But this was the moſt dangerous: for if, whilſt a priſoner, ſhe ſtirred up ſo many in her favour, what would ſhe do if ſhe were at liberty? In a word, the two houſes in their anſwer repreſented to the queen, that if it were juſtice to deny execution of the law to the meaneſt of her ſubjects, how much more to the whole body of the people, unanimouſly and with one voice ſuing for the ſame. They who have the leaſt knowledge what influence the court party uſually have upon the two houſes, will very eaſily judge, that the parliament would never have expreſſed themſelves in this manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the queen. But to diſcover more fully Elizabeth's character, it will be neceſſary to inſert her anſwer, which will evidently ſhew, not her perplexity and uncertainty, as ſhe pretended, but her extreme diſſimulation, on this article.

"FULL grievous is the way, whoſe going on and end yield nothing but cumber for the hire of a laborious journey. I have this day been in greater conflict with myſelf, than ever in all my life, whether I ſhould ſpeak, or hold my peace. If I ſpeak, and not complain, I ſhall diſſemble; and if I ſhould be ſilent, your labour taken were all in vain. If I ſhould complain, it might ſeem ſtrange and rare. Yet I confeſs, that my moſt hearty deſire was, that ſome other means might have been deviſed to work your ſecurity and my ſafety, than this which is now propounded. So I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet unto you, that I perceive by your petitions, that my ſafety dependeth wholly upon the death of another. If there be any that think I have prolonged the time, of purpoſe to make a counterfeit ſhew of clemency, they do me the moſt undeſerved wrong, as he knoweth which is the ſearcher of the moſt ſecret thoughts of the heart. Or if there be any that be perſuaded, that the commiſſioners durſt not pronounce other ſentence, as fearing thereby to diſpleaſe me, or to ſeem to fail of their care for my ſafety, they do but heap upon me moſt injurious conceits. For either thoſe whom I have put in truſt have failed of their duties; or elſe they ſignified unto the commiſſioners in my name, that my will and pleaſure was, that every one ſhould deal freely, according to his conſcience: and what they would not openly declare, that they ſhould reveal unto me in private. It was of my moſt favourable mind towards her, that I deſired ſome other means might be found out to prevent this miſchief. But ſince now it is reſolved, that my ſurety is moſt deſperate without her death, I have a moſt inward feeling of ſorrow, that I, which have in my time pardoned ſo many rebels, winked at ſo many treaſons, or neglected them with ſilence, muſt now ſeem to ſhew cruelty upon ſo great a princeſs.

"I have, ſince I came to the crown of this realm, ſeen many defamatory books and pamphlets againſt me, accuſing me to be a tyrant. Well fare the writers hearts; I believe their meaning was to tell me news. And news indeed it was to me, to be branded with the note of tyranny. I would it were as great news to hear of their impiety. But what is it which they will not write now, when they ſhall hear that I have given conſent that the executioner's hands ſhould be imbrued in the blood of my neareſt kinſwoman? But ſo far am I from cruelty, that, to ſave mine own life, I would not offer her violence: neither have I been ſo careful how to preſerve mine own life, as how to preſerve both: which that it is now impoſſible, I grieve exceedingly. I am not void of judgment, as not to ſee mine own perils before mine eyes; nor ſo mad to ſharpen a ſword to cut mine own throat; nor ſo careleſs as not to provide for the ſafety of mine own life. But this I conſider with myſelf, that many a man would put his own life in danger to ſave a princeſs's life: I do not ſay, ſo will I. Yet have I many times thought upon it.

"But ſeeing ſo many have both written and ſpoken againſt me, give me leave, I pray you, to ſay ſomewhat in my own defence, that ye may ſee what manner of woman I am, for whoſe ſafety you have paſſed ſuch careful thoughts. Wherein as I do with moſt thankful heart conſider your vigilant care; ſo am I ſure I ſhall never requite it, had I as many lives as you all.

"When firſt I took the ſcepter, I was not unmindful of God the giver, and therefore began my reign with his ſervice, and the religion I have been both born in, bred in, and I truſt ſhall die in. And though I was not ignorant how many perils I ſhould be ſet withal at home for altering religion, and how many great princes abroad of a contrary profeſſion would attempt all hoſtility againſt me; yet was I no whit diſmayed, knowing that God, whom only I reſpected, would defend both me and my cauſe. Hence it is, that ſo many treacheries and conſpiracies have been attempted againſt me, that I rather marvel that I am, than muſe that I ſhould now be alive at this day, were it not that God's holy hand hath protected me beyond all expectation. Then, to the end I might make the better progreſs in the art of ſwaying the ſcepter, I entered into long and ſerious

[u] Speaker of the houſe of commons. Camden, p. 527.—It was not he that was ſent with that meſſage, but ſir Chriſtopher Hatton; and then it was not the 12th, as Camden affirms, but the 2d day after. See D'Ewes p. 403.

Or

cogitations, what things were worthy and fitting for kings to do; and I found it moſt neceſſary that they ſhould be abundantly furniſhed with thoſe ſpecial virtues, juſtice, temperance, prudence, and magnanimity. As for the two latter I will not boaſt myſelf, my ſex doth not permit it. But for the two former, I dare ſay (and that without oſtentation) I never made a difference of perſons where right was one. I never preferred for favour whom I thought not fit for worth: I never bent my ear to credit a tale that was firſt told; nor was ſo raſh to corrupt my judgment with prejudice, before I heard the cauſe. I will not ſay but many reports might haply be brought me into much favour of the one ſide or the other; for we princes cannot hear all ourſelves. Yet this I dare ſay boldly, my judgment ever went with the truth, according to my underſtanding. And as full well Alcibiades wiſhed his friend not to give any anſwer till he had run over the letters of the alphabet; ſo have I not uſed raſh and ſudden reſolutions in any thing.

"And therefore as touching your counſels and conſultations, I acknowledge them to be ſo careful, provident, and profitable for the preſervation of my life, and to proceed from minds ſo ſincere, and to me moſt devoted, that I ſhall endeavour myſelf all I can to give you cauſe to think your pains not ill beſtowed, and ſtrive to make myſelf worthy of ſuch ſubjects.

"And now for your petition, I pray you for this preſent to content yourſelves with an anſwer without anſwer. Your judgment I condemn not, neither do I miſtake your reaſons; but pray to accept my thankfulneſs, excuſe my doubtfulneſs, and take in good part my anſwer anſwerleſs. If I ſhould ſay, I would not do what you requeſt, I might ſay perhaps more than I think; and if I ſhould ſay I would do it, I might plunge myſelf into peril, whom you labour to preſerve, which in your wiſdoms and diſcretions, ye would not that I ſhould, if ye conſider the circumſtances of place, time, and the manners and conditions of men."

This ſpeech, which was of the ſame nature and ſpirit with the former, was not an anſwer to the petition of the two houſes, as the queen herſelf owned, but only an intimation to the Engliſh, how imprudent it would to hazard the life of ſo good a queen, in order to ſave Mary's. She ſeemed in a great perplexity, and yet gave to underſtand, ſhe was fully determined. And indeed ſince ſhe perferred the good of her ſubjects before all other things, and Mary's death was neceſſary to them, what could be the occaſion of her doubts? In comparing the reaſons which inclined her to mercy with thoſe which concerned her own ſafety, there was need of no great penetration to ſee to which ſide ſhe would turn, howſoever irreſolute ſhe ſeemed. So in this, as in the former ſpeech, her ſole aim was to make the public believe ſhe yielded with reluctancy to the ſollicitations of the parliament, though ſhe took care not to object any ſtrong reaſons to theſe ſollicitations. But her actions were ſtill plainer indications than her ſpeeches of what paſſed in her mind.

Immediately after this anſwer without anſwer, the parliament was prorogued[w], for fear doubtleſs her feigned perplexities ſhould be taken literally, and ſome expedient found to ſave the queen of Scots. After what had been done, Elizabeth had no farther occaſion for the parliament; and in cauſing the ſentence to be executed, could ſay, ſhe only yielded to the preſſing inſtances of the two houſes. It will perhaps be thought ſtrange that I am thus peremptory in a thing ſo hard to be known, as Elizabeth's inmoſt thoughts. But in my opinion, very evident proofs may be drawn both from her actions and words, that throughout this whole affair ſhe acted with great diſſimulation.

A few days after the prorogation of the parliament, the lord Buckhurſt and Beale were ſent to the queen of Scots. They had orders to tell her, that her judges had condemned her to die, that the parliament had confirmed the ſentence, and deſired the execution thereof, believing, if ſhe remained alive, the religion eſtabliſhed in England could not ſubſiſt. She received the news with great reſolution, and even ſeemed to triumph that religion was the cauſe of her death[x]. Then ſhe ſaid with ſome emotion, "It is no wonder if the Engliſh, who have often put their own ſovereigns to death, ſhould treat in the ſame manner a princeſs ſprung from the blood of their kings."

L'Aubeſpine the French embaſſador, who was entirely devoted to the houſe of Guiſe, ſtopped for ſome days the publication of the ſentence by his ſollicitations. But at laſt it was proclaimed all over London[y] by the queen's expreſs order, who forgot not to declare to the people that her conſent was extorted by the preſſing intreaties of the parliament. In the proclamation the queen ſaid, that being informed of the queen of Scots' devices, the lords of the council, with many others, earneſtly beſought her to bring her to juſtice, and try her in the moſt honourable manner. That upon theſe inſtances ſhe granted a commiſſion to forty-two lords, thirty-ſix of whom met at Fotheringhay, and after a very ſtrict examination, gave ſentence to this effect: "That Mary had broken the ſtatute made the laſt year." That the parliament having examined the ſentence, and the proofs on which it was founded, required the execution thereof, notwithſtanding her frequent inſtances, that ſome other expedient might be found: that therefore moved with her own and the nation's welfare, ſhe had ordered the ſentence to be notified to her good ſubjects.

Mary, when ſhe received the news of this publication, plainly ſaw there was no mercy to be expected. She wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, deſiring certain favours concerning her death, burial, and ſervants[z]. But it is uncertain whether the letter was ever delivered. The king of Scotland wrote alſo to queen Elizabeth, and ſent Patrick Gray and Robert Melvil to implore her mercy for the queen his mother; but it was to no purpoſe. Nay, it is ſaid, Gray, who had been many years attached to Elizabeth's intereſts, after having publicly ſollicited her to favour Mary, adviſed her in private to make away with her, ſaying, "A dead woman bites not."

Henry III. ſent alſo the preſident de Bellievere into England, to intreat Elizabeth in behalf of the condemned queen. The embaſſador diſcharged his commiſſion like a man who ſeemed very deſirous to ſucceed. He preſented a long memorial, which was publiſhed, containing the ſtrongeſt reaſons he could deviſe to perſuade Elizabeth to ſpare the unfortunate queen; to which memorial the queen returned an anſwer in the margin of each article. The ſubſtance of the anſwers was, "That things were come to that point, that one or other of the two queens muſt periſh, and Elizabeth flattered herſelf that the king of France had her intereſts no leſs at heart than Mary's." But if du Maurier is to be credited, in his preface to his father's Memoirs, the embaſſador acted the counterfeit, and impoſed upon the world and Mary's friends. He affirms to have heard his father ſay, that Bellievere, though he feigned to have inſtructions to the contrary, had private orders to ſollicit the death of the queen of Scots[a]. This is not unlikely, conſidering the ſituation of the affairs of France at that time, and the king's juſt apprehenſions of the duke of Guiſe's ambitious deſigns[b].

Whilſt all the world was in expectation of the effects of this extraordinary ſentence, the court diſcovered that L'Aubeſpine the French embaſſador had bribed two aſſaſſins[c] to murder the queen. One of the villains repenting, and informing the miniſters of the plot, the embaſſador was deſired to come to the lord treaſurer's houſe, where the council was aſſembled, and the two witneſſes were brought face to face. If Camden is to be credited, he made but an ill defence, contenting himſelf with pleading the privilege of embaſſadors, who were accountable only to their own maſters. The lord treaſurer,

[w] Or rather adjourned to February 15, when it met again, and was at laſt diſſolved March 23, after granting the queen one ſubſidy, and two fifteenths and tenths. The clergy granted alſo a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be paid in three years. And moreover, gave a contribution or benevolence of three ſhillings in the pound for the ſupport of the wars in the Netherlands. In this parliament were confirmed the attainders of Thomas lord Paget, and of the late executed rebels. See Statut. and D'Ewes, p. 375, 387, 390, 414, &c. Rymer, tom XVI. p. 5. Stow, p. 742.

[x] She deſired to have a catholic prieſt allowed her, to direct her conſcience and adminiſter to her the ſacraments. The lord Buckhurſt and Beal recommended a biſhop and a dean to her for this purpoſe, whom ſhe abſolutely refuſed. Camden, p. 528.

[y] On December 6, and then throughout the kingdom. Stow, p. 741. Camden, p. 528.

[z] She deſired her body might be buried in catholic ground, particularly in France, near her mother; that ſhe might not be put to death in private without queen Elizabeth's knowledge, but in the ſight of her ſervants, who might give a true teſtimony of her faith; that her ſervants might peaceably depart whither they pleaſed, and enjoy thoſe legacies which ſhe had bequeathed them by her will and teſtament. Ibid. p. 529. Spotiſwood, p. 354.—In this her will, queen Mary provided, that if the prince her ſon did not renounce the falſe and heretical perſuaſion which he had drunk in, the inheritance of the crown of England ſhould never deſcend to him, but devolve to Philip king of Spain. Burnet, tom. III. p. 327. Jebb endeavours to confute this account. Preface to vol. II. of Queen Mary's Life.

[a] Nay, this was not ſo ſecret, but that after the death of the duke of Guiſe, Henry III. was accuſed by the leaguers of having cauſed the queen of Scots to be put to death. Rapin.

[b] This year, Thomas Cavendiſh ſailing from Plymouth on the 21ſt of July, with three ſhips and an hundred and twenty five men, began his voyage round the world, entering in at the Streights of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. This voyage he performed in about two years and two months, arriving at Plymouth September 9, 1588.—May 7, Philip Howard earl of Arundel, was condemned in a fine of 10,000l. and to remain in priſon at the queen's pleaſure. This year, Ludgate in London was rebuilt by the citizens, and the charges amounted to above 1500l. Stow, p. 720, 741. Hollingſh. p. 1561.

[c] He bribed only one, Edward Stafford, who, abhorring the fact, recommended one Moody as a fit perſon; but Stafford diſcovered the matter to the council. Camden, p. 532.

And

without allowing or diſputing the privilege, gravely reproved him, and adviſed him to beware for the future how he provoked a queen, who was too much injured already, and had it in her power to be revenged. It muſt be obſerved, the French tranſlator of Camden's Annals thought fit to paſs over in ſilence this whole conſpiracy.

It was no proper ſeaſon to inquire any farther into the circumſtances of this plot, which probably was entirely owing to the embaſſador's furious zeal for the houſe of Lorrain. Nay, who knows whether it was not a ſnare laid for him, to make him inſtrumental, contrary to his intention, in haſtening the queen of Scots execution? When the affair became public, it was every where ſaid, there was no ſafety for the queen ſo long as Mary was alive. This was preciſely what the court wiſhed, that the people being ſatisfied of the neceſſity of executing the ſentence, might be leſs attentive to the irregularities. Camden ſays, Elizabeth was ſtill in ſuſpence, and diſtracted in her thoughts, not being able to reſolve to put to death a queen her near relation, over whom ſhe had no juriſdiction. He adds, means were found however to determine her, by ſpreading a report that England was going to be invaded: That the Spaniſh fleet was already arrived at Milford Haven: That the duke of Guiſe was landed in Suſſex with an army: That the queen of Scots was eſcaped out of priſon, and was raiſing troops in the North: That ſeveral plots were on foot to kill the queen, and ſet the city of London on fire; yea, that the queen was dead. By theſe artifices, according to that hiſtorian, Elizabeth was prevailed with to ſign a warrant for Mary's execution. For my part, who verily believe Mary's death was reſolved, even before her trial, I rather think all theſe reports were ſpread by the emiſſaries of the court, to terrify the people, and to let them ſee how neceſſary Mary's death was. There is not the leaſt probability that the queen and her miniſters ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by ſuch reports, the falſhood whereof it was ſo eaſy for them to diſcover. But Camden's aim is to inſinuate, that Elizabeth was convinced of Mary's innocence, and therefore diſtracted in her thoughts.

We are now come to the laſt act of the tragedy, for ſo it may well be called with reſpect to the queen of Scots, though with regard to Elizabeth it was a real comedy, or at leaſt a continued ſcene of diſſimulation, acted ſo artfully, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried farther. Before Elizabeth ordered the commiſſion to try Mary to be drawn, ſeveral lords, as I ſaid, caſt themſelves at her feet, and begged her to take pity of them and their poſterity, and to provide by Mary's death for the ſecurity of the church and ſtate. Afterwards, when ſentence was given, ſhe waited till ſhe was twice ſollicited by the parliament, with the ſharp reproach that ſhe denied her people juſtice. To carry on the farce, ſome formalities were likewiſe to be acted after the publication of the ſentence, before the warrant was ſigned for execution. All this was done: but there was ſtill ſomething more. Elizabeth undertook to make the public believe the execution was done againſt her will, and without her knowledge, and the method ſhe uſed to accompliſh it was this.

Daviſon, without his knowing it, was her inſtrument to act this ſort of comedy. A little before the queen of Scots trial, he was made ſecretary of ſtate, and very likely was put into that office on purpoſe to be inſnared and made accountable for Mary's death. All the forementioned rumours being ſpread, and the queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to Daviſon a writing ſigned with her own hand, and ſealed with her ſignet, commanding him to draw a warrant under the great ſeal for the queen of Scots execution, but enjoined him withal to keep the warrant by him [d], and acquaint no man therewith [e]. The lord chancellor however muſt have been informed of it, unleſs ſhe had taken the great ſeal from him and given it to Daviſon, of which there have been inſtances. However, the next day ſhe ordered Daviſon by Killigrew not to draw the warrant [f]. Whereupon Daviſon came to the queen, and told her, it was drawn and under ſeal already; at which ſhe was angry, and blamed him for making ſuch haſte. The warrant was dated the 1ſt of February, and directed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Kent, Cumberland, and Pembroke, to ſee the queen of Scots executed in their preſence. Mean while, though the queen ſeemed diſpleaſed with the ſecretary for making too much haſte, ſhe left the warrant in his hands, without telling him what he was to do with it. This puzzled him extremely, ſince by her contrary proceedings with reſpect to the warrant, ſhe had not diſcloſed to him her intention. In this uncertainty, he choſe to impart the tranſaction to a privy counſellor, who was of opinion that the reſt of the counſellors ſhould be informed, that nothing might be done raſhly; and Daviſon fell into the ſnare. Whereupon the council being met, it was unanimouſly reſolved to execute the warrant, though nothing was eaſier than to advertiſe the queen of their embarraſſment. To that end, the warrant was given to Beal, who took care to acquaint the four lords, to whom it was addreſſed, and departed for Fortheringhay with two executioners. Certainly, it is very hard to believe that a ſcore of privy counſellors (among whom were the queen's miniſters and her intimate confidents) would have undertaken to order the warrant to be executed unknown to her [g], had they not been perſuaded it was agreeable to her will. Eſpecially as Daviſon had communicated the ſecret to them, only becauſe of his uncertainty concerning the queen's intention [h].

After Beal's departure, the queen told Daviſon, ſhe had changed her mind. This ought to have aſtoniſhed the council, who had ordered execution by their own authority; and yet no care was taken to recal Beal, though there were ſeven days ſpace between his departure and Mary's execution. But what is ſtill more ſtrange, is, that during theſe ſeven days, though the queen had declared that her mind was altered, not one of her counſellors or miniſters thought of informing her of what was tranſacting. This is a clear evidence, that it was very well known ſhe did not deſire to be informed.

However this be, the four lords, appointed to ſee execution done, being come to Fotheringhay, admoniſhed the queen of Scots to prepare for her death [i]; and on the morrow, being the 8th of February, they ſaw her beheaded. I ſhall not relate here all the circumſtances of this tragedy. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that ſhe died with great reſolution, and in an inviolabe attachment to her religion. The earl of Kent telling her, "That her life would be the death of the proteſtant religion in England," ſhe rejoiced and ſaid, ſhe was condemned as guilty of plotting againſt the queen of England's life, and yet the earl of Kent had juſt told her, ſhe was to die for her religion, wherein ſhe gloried. If Camden is to be credited, ſhe proteſted ſhe knew nothing of Babington's practices, and that her ſecretaries were ſuborned to witneſs againſt her [k].

The news of Mary's execution being brought to Elizabeth, ſhe appeared extremely diſpleaſed. Sighs, tears, lamentation,

[d] And only have it in readineſs, in caſe any danger happened to break out in that time of jealouſy and fear. Camden, p. 534. Melvil ſays, that it was not to be delivered without her majeſty's expreſs command; nevertheleſs, Daviſon being deceived by the council, delivered it to them, p. 172.

[e] This Daviſon abſolutely denied in his examination. See Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 375.

[f] Rapin ſays, the queen ſent Daviſon word to haſten the warrant. But it is a miſtake; for Camden ſays, the queen changed her mind, and ſent to him not to draw it. Camden, p. 534.

[g] And yet Thuanus thinks ſo, l. 86.

[h] Camden ſays, Daviſon perſuaded the council that the queen had commanded it ſhould be executed, p. 534.

[i] Upon which ſhe told them, I did not think the queen my ſiſter would have conſented to my death, who am not ſubject to your law and juriſdiction; but ſeeing her pleaſure is ſo, death ſhall be to me moſt welcome. Camden, p. 534.

[k] When the earls had told her to prepare for death, ſhe deſired that ſhe might have a conference with her almoner, confeſſor, and Andrew Melvil the maſter of her houſhold. But they would not allow her confeſſor to come near her, but recommended to her biſhop or dean of Peterborough, whom ſhe refuſing, the earl of Kent, out of his zeal to the reformed religion, ſaid to her the words above-mentioned. After they were gone, ſhe ordered ſupper to be haſtened, that ſhe might have the more time to diſpoſe of her concerns. She ſupped temperately, as ſhe uſed to do. Towards the end of ſupper ſhe drank to all her ſervants, who pledged her in order upon their knees, begging pardon for their neglect of duty, as ſhe alſo did of them. After ſupper ſhe peruſed her will, and wrote down the names of thoſe to whom ſhe bequeathed her goods and jewels. At her wonted time ſhe went to bed, ſlept ſome hours, and then awaking, ſpent the reſt of the night in prayer. The fatal day being come, ſhe dreſſed herſelf as ſhe was wont to do upon feſtival-days, and calling her ſervants together, commanded her will to be read, and then retired into her oratory, where ſhe ſtayed till Thomas Andrews the ſheriff acquainted her that ſhe muſt now come forth. She appeared with a compoſed countenance and cheerful look; her head was covered with a veil hanging down to the ground, her beads hanging at her girdle, with a crucifix in her hand. In the porch ſhe was received by the earls and other noblemen, where ſpeaking a ſhort ſpeech to Melvil, who bewailed his hard hap that he was to carry into Scotland the woeful tidings of the unhappy fate of his lady and miſtreſs, ſhe bade him farewel; and, turning to the earls, deſired that her ſervants might ſtand by her at her death. Then the earls of Kent and Shrewſbury, and Thomas Andrews, eſq; ſheriff of Northamptonſhire, going before her, ſhe came to the ſcaffold, at the upper end of the hall, on which was placed a chair, a cuſhion, and a block covered with black cloth. As ſoon as ſhe was ſat down, Beal read the warrant, to which the queen liſtened with a careleſs, or rather merry countenance; which done, Dr. Fletcher dean of Peterborough began a long ſpeech to her, concerning her life paſt, preſent, and to come. She interrupted him, praying not to trouble himſelf, for ſhe was reſolved to die in the catholic religion. Then they appointed the dean to pray; after which, the executioner having aſked her forgiveneſs, her women took off her upper garments, and covering her face with a handkerchief, ſhe laid down her head on the block, which was ſevered from her body at two ſtrokes. She was buried in a royal manner, in the cathedral of Peterborough, on Auguſt 1, where ſhe lay till her ſon king James's acceſſion to the crown of England; but he had her corps removed in 1612, into the ſouth aiſle of king Henry VIIth's chapel at Weſtminſter, where it now lies, and a ſtately monument erected to her memory, of which the reader may ſee a print in Sandford, p. 533.—Camden, p. 534, 535. Melvil, p. 172. Martyre de Marie, p. 301, &c. Mort de Marie, p. 615, &c. Edit. Lilb.

And

and mourning, were the ſigns ſhe gave of her grief, which ſeemed immoderate. She drove the privy-counſellors from her preſence [l], and commanded them to be examined in the Star-chamber, and Daviſon to be tried for his diſobedience. A few days after, ſhe ſent the following letter to the king of Scotland by Robert Carey.

My dear brother,

" I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolour that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miſerable accident which farre contrary to my meaning hath befalne. I have ſent this kinſman of mine [m], whom ere now it hath pleaſed you to favour, to inſtruct you truly of that which is too irkſome for my pen to tell you. I beſeech you, that as God and many more know how innocent I am in this caſe, ſo you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not ſo baſe minded, that the fear of any living creature ſhould make me afraid to do what is juſt; or done, to deny the ſame; I am not ſo degenerate, nor carry ſo vile a mind. But as not to diſguiſe, fits moſt a king, ſo will I never diſſemble my actions, but cauſe them ſhew as I mean them. This aſſure yourſelf from me, that as I know it was deſerved, if I had meant it, I would never over another's ſhoulders, and to impute to myſelf that which I did not ſo much as think of: I will not. The circumſtances you will be pleaſed to hear of this bearer: and for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving kinſwoman, and more dear friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preſerve you and your ſtate. And if any would otherwiſe perſuade you, think they bear more good-will to others than to you. Thus in haſte, I leave to trouble you, beſeeching God to ſend you a long reign."

Whilſt Carey was upon the road, Daviſon was cited into the Star-chamber, to anſwer to the accuſation of contempt and diſobedience entered againſt him. The accuſation ran, " That he had contemned the queen's orders, broke his oath of allegiance, and neglected his duty: That the queen never intending (for reaſons beſt known to herſelf) that the queen of Scots, though condemned, ſhould have been put to death, had however, for preventing of dangers, commanded a warrant for her execution to be drawn, and committed it to his truſt and ſecrecy; but that he forgetting his duty, had acquainted the council therewith, and put the warrant in execution unknown to the queen."

Daviſon anſwered, " That he was extremely ſorry to find himſelf accuſed of contempt to the queen, who had loaded him with favours: That he choſe rather to confeſs himſelf guilty of the crimes he was charged with than conteſt with her majeſty, ſince he could not vindicate himſelf without failing in the reſpect and duty he owed her. He proteſted however, he had offended wholly out of ignorance, being perſuaded he had done nothing contrary to the queen's will and pleaſure. He affirmed, that when the queen blamed him for making ſuch haſte to get the warrant ready, ſhe gave ſome intimation, but no expreſs command, that he ſhould keep it by him, neither did he believe himſelf guilty of breach of truſt by communicating it only to the council. As to his being accuſed of not recalling the warrant, after ſhe had told him ſhe had changed her mind, he proteſted, it was the opinion of the whole council that it ſhould be preſently executed, leſt the queen or ſtate ſhould receive any hurt by too long a delay."

After he had done ſpeaking, the queen's council preſſed him with his own confeſſion, and with what the lord treaſurer had teſtified, That doubting whether the queen had abſolutely conſented to have execution done, Daviſon affirmed, it was her intention. Then Daviſon, with tears in his eyes, prayed the queen's council not to urge him any farther, but remember that he would not conteſt with the queen, to whoſe conſcience, and his judges cenſure, he intirely ſubmitted himſelf. After that were made ſeveral ſpeeches, ſome tending to aggravate his offence, and others, to ſhew he had only acted imprudently [n]. In ſhort, he was condemned to be fined in ten thouſand pounds, and impriſoned during the queen's pleaſure. The lord Lumley, in his ſpeech on this occaſion, was not ſatisfied with blaming Daviſon; but, accuſing chiefly the whole council, ſaid, " Never was there ſuch a contempt againſt a prince heard or read of, that privy-counſellors, in the queen's palace, and when they had free acceſs to her, ſhould attempt ſuch a thing without her advice or knowledge; proteſting, that if his own ſon were guilty of the like fault, he would be the firſt to condemn him." But it was not the queen's intention to puniſh the counſellors, who probably had acted only by her private orders. And therefore to ſcreen them from theſe and the like reproaches, the lord privy-ſeal told the aſſembly, that though the queen, being juſtly offended with her council, had left them to a ſtrict examination, yet now being ſenſible they had tranſgreſſed out of an exceſs of zeal for her and the ſtate, ſhe forgave them. Thus Daviſon was the only ſacrifice, though the council was ſtill more guilty than he, ſuppoſing he had acted contrary to the queen's intention. Daviſon remained long in priſon without obtaining any other favour than ſome preſents of money from the queen, to relieve his wants.

Camden, whoſe aim was not to vindicate Elizabeth in any thing relating to the queen of Scots, has inſerted in his Annals an apology, which Daviſon, being in priſon, ſent himſelf to ſecretary Walſingham; and leaves his readers to give their judgment of it, without making himſelf any remark. The apology was worded in the following manner:

" The queen, after the departure of the French and Scotch embaſſadors, of her own accord, commanded me to deliver her the warrant for executing the ſentence againſt the queen of Scots. When I had delivered it, ſhe readily ſigned it with her own hand; when ſhe had ſo done, ſhe commanded it to be ſealed with the great ſeal of England; and in a jeſting manner ſaid, Go, tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick; though I fear he will die for ſorrow when he hears it. She added alſo the reaſons of her deferring it ſo long; namely, leſt ſhe might ſeem to have been violently or maliciouſly drawn thereto, whereas in the mean time ſhe was not ignorant how neceſſary it was. Moreover ſhe blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eaſed her of this care, and wiſhed that Walſingham would feel their pulſes touching this matter.

" The next day after the warrant was under the great ſeal, ſhe commanded me by Killegrew, that it ſhould be done; and when I had informed her that it was done already, ſhe found fault with ſuch great haſte, telling me, that in the judgment of ſome wiſe men, another courſe might be taken. I anſwered, that the courſe which was juſt was always beſt and ſafeſt. But fearing leſt ſhe would lay the fault upon me (as ſhe had laid the putting of the duke of Norfolk to death upon the lord Burleigh) I acquainted Hatton with the whole matter, proteſting, that I would not plunge myſelf any deeper in ſo great a buſineſs. He preſently imparted it to the lord Burleigh, and the lord Burleigh to the reſt of the council; who all conſented to have the execution haſtened, and every one of them vowed to bear an equal ſhare in the blame, and ſent Beal away with the warrant and letters. The third day after, when by a dream, which ſhe told of the queen of Scots death, I perceived that ſhe wavered in her reſolution, I aſked her whether ſhe had changed her mind? She anſwered, No; but another courſe (ſaid ſhe) might have been deviſed: and withal ſhe aſked me, whether I had received any anſwer from Powlet? whoſe letter when I had ſhewed her, wherein he flatly refuſed to undertake that which ſtood not with honour and juſtice: ſhe waxing angry, accuſed him and others (who had bound themſelves by the aſſociation) of perjury and breach of their vow, as thoſe that had promiſed great matters for their prince's ſafety, but would perform nothing. Yet there are (ſaid ſhe) who will do it for my ſake. But I ſhewed her how diſhonourable and unjuſt a thing this would be; and withal into how great danger ſhe would bring Powlet and Drury by it. For if ſhe approved the fact, ſhe would draw upon herſelf both danger and diſhonour, not without cenſure of injuſtice; and if ſhe diſallowed it, ſhe would utterly undo men of great deſert and their whole poſterity. And afterwards ſhe gave me a light check the ſame day that the queen of Scots was executed, becauſe ſhe was not yet put to death."

If this apology be true, one cannot deſire a more convincing proof of Elizabeth's diſſimulation. The point was not Mary's death, for that was fully determined, but the manner. It appears in this writing, that Elizabeth would have been glad the queen of Scots two keepers had diſpatched her,

[l] And particularly the lord Burleigh; who, upon his diſgrace, wrote ſeveral very ſubmiſſive letters to the queen, which the reader may ſee in Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 371, 372. He chiefly pleaded ignorance, and offered to reſign his places. If there was any precipitation uſed in this affair of the death of the queen of Scots, the lord Burleigh, ſecretary Walſingham, and a few others, may reaſonably be ſuppoſed the authors of it, in order to ſecure themſelves; for they had acted ſo openly againſt Mary, that had ſhe ever mounted the throne of England, they muſt have been utterly undone.

[m] He was kin to her by Ann Boleyn her mother. Rapin.

[n] The commiſſioners, being thirteen in number, made each a ſpeech, wherein they owned that ſentence was juſtly pronounced againſt the queen of Scots; but that Daviſon deſerved to be puniſhed for acting without the queen's advice and conſent. Camden, p. 537.

that ſhe might have been able to clear herſelf, which ſhe would not have failed to do, by putting them both to death. There remains but one ſcruple, which is, that we have this from Camden only, whoſe teſtimony cannot be reckoned very certain [o].

The king of Scotland having received the news of the queen his mother's tragical end, expreſſed a very lively reſentment at the ſame. His firſt thoughts prompted him to revenge. The ſtates of Scotland, then aſſembled, promiſed him their aſſiſtance, and there was not wanting ſome about him, who perſuaded him to join with the pope, France, and Spain, to revenge ſo great an affront. Others adviſed him not to break with England, for fear of hazarding upon the uncertain chance of war his undoubted title to the crown of that kingdom; eſpecially as the Engliſh only wanted perhaps a pretence to hinder a Scotch prince from aſcending the throne of England; which therefore he ought to take care not to furniſh them with. Some were of opinion, he ſhould declare openly for neither of the two religions, but keep himſelf always ready to improve the events time ſhould produce. Carey arriving ſhortly after, the king refuſed him his audience, and it was not without great difficulty that he was perſuaded to receive Elizabeth's letter. We find however in Melvil's Memoirs, that ſome lords of the court of Scotland had wrote to England, that whenever queen Mary ſhould be put to death, the king her ſon would not highly reſent it; and accordingly, Melvil affirms, he quickly forgot it. When Elizabeth heard that king James's grief began to abate, ſhe cauſed ſome of thoſe whom ſhe moſt truſted [p], to repreſent to him, "That in the preſent ſituation of Scotland, there was no room to expect that a war with England could be ſucceſsful: If he pretends to rely on foreign aid, his mother's ſad experience might teach him how uncertain that was. The king of France would be ſo far from countenancing him, that it was his intereſt to hinder the two kingdoms of Great Britain from being united under the ſame dominion. Nay, he would oppoſe to the utmoſt of his power the ſucceſs of his arms, for fear he ſhould afterwards aſſiſt the duke of Guiſe, who aſpired to the crown. The king of Spain, in pretending to aid him, would only ſerve himſelf, on account of his groundleſs claim to the crown of England, as deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter. Even the queen his mother had made a will the night before her death, whereby ſhe excluded him from the ſucceſſion, in caſe he perſevered in the proteſtant religion, and nominated Philip II. for her heir, which will was ſent into Spain. He was therefore to expect no aſſiſtance from Philip, but rather to conſider him as an enemy. In a word, if he made war upon Elizabeth, and the parliament paſſed an act againſt him, he ran the hazard of being excluded for ever from a noble ſucceſſion, which he could not fail to enjoy, provided he would but remain in peace. "To all theſe arguments it was alſo added, "That Elizabeth had an affection for him, and beſides would think herſelf bound in honour and duty to repair the mother's wrongs by leaving her crown to the ſon, in caſe he gave her no occaſion to do otherwiſe." Theſe repreſentations had their effect. James ſaw it to be his intereſt to keep fair with Elizabeth, and that, added to the ſentence given againſt Daviſon, which was ſent him, ſo ſtifled his reſentment, that he ſhewed no farther marks of it [q].

Mean while Elizabeth, hearing the Spaniard was making great preparations to invade England [r], ſent Drake with a good fleet [s] upon the coaſt of Spain, with orders to burn all the Spaniſh ſhips he ſhould meet, The admiral's firſt expedition was to the port of Cadiz, where he burnt above an hundred veſſels laden with victuals and ammunition, and a large galeon of the marquis of Santa Cruz, with another of Raguſa, full of rich merchandize. Then returning to Cape St. Vincent, he did great damage to the inhabitants along the coaſt; after which he came to the mouth of the Tagus, where he in vain provoked the marquis of Santa Cruz, by plundering and burning the ſhips he found there. From thence he ſailed to the Azores, and meeting in the way with a rich carack called the St. Philip, returning from the East-Indies, eaſily took her [t]. The proviſions and ſtores which the Spaniards loſt at Cadiz, the taking of the galeons and carack, and the reſt of the damages they ſuſtained, obliged Philip to defer till the next year the expedition he had projected againſt England [u]. While Drake was acting in Europe againſt Spain, Cavendiſh was doing the ſame in America, having entered the South-ſea by the ſtraits of Magellan. He plundered without oppoſition the coaſts of Chili and Peru, and did the Spaniards great damage in thoſe parts.

I left, about the end of the laſt year, the earl of Leiceſter returning into England, after having ſet on foot his project to become ſovereign of the United Provinces, by cheriſhing confuſion and diſcord. Before his departure, the ſtates began to perceive his deſigns, and the orders he left when he went away, and which the officers his creatures punctually executed, fully confirmed their ſuſpicions. For this reaſon they ſent embaſſadors to Elizabeth to complain of him: but his credit, and the queen of Scots affair, which then held the court employed, hindered the embaſſadors from being ſo ſpeedily diſpatched as they deſired. It even happened in this interval, that Stanley and York, who held of the earl of Leiceſter the governments of Deventer and a fort near Zutphen, delivered theſe two places to the duke of Parma. So, the ſtates no longer truſting that general, gave the command of their army to count Maurice of Naſſau, the late prince of Orange's ſecond ſon. They did likewiſe ſome other things, which plainly ſhewed that, having diſcovered the earl of Leiceſter's deſigns, they would not ſuffer him to put them in practice. In the mean while, the duke of Parma beſieging Sluys, the earl returned from England to raiſe the ſiege, but had not the good fortune to ſucceed [w]. At laſt, finding he was every where miſtruſted, he reſolved to execute by force the project he had formed. To that end, he would have made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places at once in the heart of the country, to keep the reſt in awe. But his deſign to ſurpriſe Leyden being diſcovered in ſeaſon, all correſpondence between him and the ſtates intirely ceaſed. Whereupon the queen was obliged to recal him, and ſend in his room Peregrine Barty lord Willoughby of Ereſby, but with no other authority than the command of the Engliſh forces. Then the ſtates appointed count Maurice their captain-general.

Mean time the king of Spain, ever intent upon the project of invading England, continued to make extraordinary preparations. The project was formed ever ſince the queen of Scots had been perſuaded to convey to him her right to England, as being the only means to reſtore the catholic religion. According to the received maxim in the church of Rome, that a heretic is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a crown, Philip II. thought he might juſtly claim that of England, as being the next catholic prince deſcended from the houſe of Lancaſter. But that the reader may the better know the ground of his pretenſions, it will be proper to caſt an eye upon his genealogy, which ſhews him ſprung from the two daughters of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, fourth ſon of Edward III. Upon this deſcent therefore, and the queen of Scots conveyance and will, he had projected the conqueſt of

[o] This matter is alſo undeniably confirmed by the two letters, inſerted by Mackenzie, in his Life of Queen Mary (if they are genuine). In the firſt, written on February 1, 1586-7, by Walſingham and Daviſon, to ſir Amias Powlet, and ſir Drue Drury, it is ſaid—"her majeſty doth note in you, both a lack of that care and zeal for her ſervice, that ſhe looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time (of yourſelves, without other provocation) found out ſome way to ſhorten the life of the Scots queen, conſidering the great peril ſhe is hourly ſubject to, ſo long as the ſaid queen ſhall live.—She taketh it moſt unkindly, that men profeſſing that love towards her that you do, ſhould in a kind of ſort, for lack of the diſcharge of your duties, caſt the burden upon her, knowing, as you do, her indiſpoſition to ſhed blood."—Sir Amias Powlet, in his anſwer dated February 2, has theſe words, "—My anſwer—I ſhall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterneſs of mind, in that I am ſo unhappy, as living to ſee this unhappy day, in which I am required by direction from my moſt gracious ſovereign, to do an act, which God and the law forbiddeth.—God forbid I ſhould make ſo foul a ſhipwreck of my conſcience, or leave ſo great a blot to my poor poſterity, and ſhed blood without law or warrant," p. 270—273. Oſborn alſo obſerves, that "our queen may be found, in many of her letters, intimating ſo much [as the making her away] to ſuch as kept her, who were ſo wiſe, as not to underſtand what was meant." Mem. ſect. 4.

[p] Some of her friends in Scotland, and the lord Hunſdon governor of Berwick. Camden, p. 539.

[q] He aſſigns himſelf theſe reaſons for not revenging his mother's death: 1. His tender youth, not trained up in arms. 2. His exceſſive cowpit (or poverty) from hand to hand, from neydie to neydie, to greedie and greedie. 3. The factions in his kingdom, &c. See Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 380.

[r] Their preparations were ſo extraordinary great, that ſir Francis Drake ſays, in a letter, the Spaniards had proviſions of bread and wine ſufficient to maintain forty thouſand men a whole year. See Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 451—That theſe great preparations were aimed at England, was diſcovered by Walſingham, in the following remarkable manner: he had intelligence from Madrid, that Philip had told his council, he had diſpatched an expreſs to Rome, with a letter wrote with his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations, and aſking his bleſſing upon it; which for ſome reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to them, till the return of the courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the pope, Walſingham, by the means of a Venetian prieſt retained at Rome as his ſpy, got a copy of the original letter, which was ſtolen out of the pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the keys out of the pope's pocket while he ſlept. Welwood's Mem. p. 8, 9.

[s] With forty gallies. Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 391.

[t] The Engliſh ſo fully underſtood by the merchants papers the rich value of the Indian merchandizes, and the manner of trading into the eaſtern world, that they afterwards ſet up a gainful trade and traffic, eſtabliſhing a company of East-India merchants. Camden, p. 540.

[u] There was another remarkable thing which retarded this expedition, and was the contrivance of the great ſtateſman Walſingham; namely, he got all the Spaniſh bills, that were to ſupply the king with money to carry on his preparations, proteſted at Genoa. Welwood's Mem. p. 9.

[w] This place was defended a while by ſir Roger Williams, ſir Francis Vere, and captain Nicolas Baſkerville. Camden, p. 541.

Thomas

England. Elizabeth not being ignorant of it, took all poſſible care to be in a poſture of defence; and both coloured their preparations with divers pretences. To amuſe Elizabeth, Philip ſent and propoſed her mediation for a peace between him and the revolted provinces of the Netherlands. Elizabeth perfectly knew Philip's aim, and, to amuſe him in her turn, accepted the mediation, in hopes the negotiation would give her more time to be prepared. She propoſed therefore to the ſtates a peace with Spain, intimating, they could not refuſe to enter into treaty, without incurring the blame of continuing the war out of obſtinacy. She promiſed them moreover to have their intereſts as much at heart as her own. But the ſtates abſolutely refuſed to treat, knowing, by frequent experience, that ſuch negotiations were ever fatal to them. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſent plenipotentiaries [x] into Flanders, imagining the ſtates would be forced, as ſhe hinted, to agree to her deciſions with Spain. Three months paſſed before the place of congreſs could be ſettled. Elizabeth required as preliminaries, a general pardon for the confederates; that the towns of the Netherlands ſhould enjoy all their ancient privileges, and the old alliance between England and Spain be renewed; that ſome good fund ſhould be aſſigned her for the payment of what was due from the ſtates, and the forces on both ſides be diſbanded. As to religion, the Spaniards demanded, that it ſhould be entirely as the king pleaſed, ſince he did not hinder Elizabeth from ſettling it in her dominions according to her pleaſure. Elizabeth did not inſiſt much upon this article, whether ſhe believed every ſovereign to have a right to impoſe a religion upon his people, or, to amuſe the Spaniard, feigned to relax, that ſhe might not obſtruct a negotiation, the continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her. Be this as it will, ſhe went ſo far as to be ſatisfied that the exerciſe of the reformed religion ſhould be tolerated two years only in the United Provinces. As for the places in her poſſeſſion, ſhe refuſed not to reſtore them, provided ſhe were reimburſed. Upon theſe mutual demands, the Spaniards took care to delay the concluſion of the preliminaries, imagining that the hopes of a ſpeedy peace would prevent Elizabeth's preparations againſt their attacks. They refuſed to come to any agreement with reſpect to religion; and as for Elizabeth's charges in ſupporting the confederates, they pretended they were to be balanced by the expences ſhe had put their king to. At length, the preparations which were making againſt England in all the Spaniſh ports became ſo public, that this feigned negotiation broke off without any ſucceſs, after laſting till March the next year.

I have already mentioned Philip's pretenſions to England and Ireland. Ferdinand the Catholic, his great-grandfather, had not ſo plauſible a claim to the kingdom of Naples and Navarre, which he ſeized, and which ſtill are part of the Spaniſh monarchy. But beſides theſe pretenſions, Philip made uſe of another thing, very proper to impoſe upon the world, namely, a great zeal for the reſtoration of the catholic religion in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. By that he had perſuaded pope Sixtus V. to come into the project, the execution whereof would be as well glorious as advantageous to both, but of which Philip was to bear the whole charge. As for Sixtus, he had nothing to contribute, but what the popes were wont to ſupply on ſuch occaſions, namely, vows, prayers, and anathemas. To countenance therefore the king of Spain's undertaking, the pope thundered againſt Elizabeth a bull, abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance, and giving her kingdoms to the firſt that ſhould ſeize them [y]. This was the king of Spain, who was now ready to embrace the pope's offer.

He had prepared in Portugal, at Naples, and in Sicily, a fleet, called the Invincible Armada. It conſiſted of one hundred and fifty great ſhips, in which were embarked nineteen thouſand men, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of cannon [z]. It was to be commanded by the marquis De Santa Cruz, but that admiral dying whilſt the fleet was equipping, the duke of Medina-celi was appointed in his room. On the other hand the duke of Parma had cauſed an army of thirty thouſand men [a] to advance towards the coaſts of the Low-Countries, and prepared a great number of veſſels to tranſport them, in order to join the Spaniſh fleet, and land in England [b]. The project was to ſtation the fleet at the mouth of the Thames, to aſſiſt the troops who were to march directly to London. Elizabeth, who wanted not good ſpies, having timely notice of theſe great preparations, provided for the defence of her kingdom with great care and diligence. She fitted out a conſiderable fleet, which however was inferior to that of Spain, both in the number and largeneſs of the ſhips, and gave the command to Charles lord Howard of Effingham, high admiral of England, and very expert in ſea-affairs. He had for vice-admirals, Drake, Hawkins, and Forbiſher, three of the beſt ſea-officers then in the world [c]. On the other hand, Henry Seymour, ſecond ſon of the late duke of Somerſet, lay upon the coaſt of Flanders, with forty ſail of Engliſh and Dutch, to hinder the prince of Parma from joining the Spaniſh fleet. Moreover, Elizabeth had in England an army of forty thouſand men, whereof three thouſand, under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, were poſted near the Thames mouth. The reſt were near the queen's perſon, ready to march where it ſhould be deemed neceſſary [d]. Beſides this, there was in each county a body of militia well armed, under leaders who had orders to join one another as occaſion ſhould require. It is certain, there are no trained-bands in the world more proper for a bold action than thoſe of England. So in caſe the Spaniards had landed, they would have met with a warm reception. The ſea-ports were fortified [e] as much as the time would permit, and ſignals were every where appointed to ſhew the places where the troops were to march. In ſhort, it was reſolved, that if the Spaniards made a deſcent, the country about them ſhould be laid waſte, that they might have nothing to ſubſiſt upon but what they brought from the fleet [f]. This was the courſe taken by Francis I. in Provence againſt Charles V. with a ſucceſs that anſwered his expectations. Theſe meaſures being taken, the enemy was expected with uncommon alacrity, though it ſhould ſeem that on ſuch an occaſion every one ſhould have been in the utmoſt conſternation [g].

[1588] Mean while, Elizabeth was not without uneaſineſs. The hour ſhe had always dreaded was at length come. Her crown lay at ſtake, and ſhe was to defend it, without the aſſiſtance of any ally. This ſhe had always endeavoured to prevent, from the beginning of her reign, by all the artifices her policy could ſuggeſt, by fomenting the troubles of Scotland, by making an alliance with France, by feigning to marry the duke of Anjou, by aſſiſting the Hugonots of France and the malcontents of the Netherlands, and finally, by beheading the queen of Scots. She had ſucceeded hitherto, and though ſurrounded with enemies, had found means to employ them at home, and prevent them from directly invading England. But the time was now come that her right muſt be expoſed to the chance of war. Though ſhe was generally beloved by her ſubjects, ſhe was not ignorant that there were many diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, and eſpecially among the catholics. Nay, ſhe had reaſon to fear, they correſponded with the king of Spain and favoured his invaſion. On the

[x] Thomas Sackvil lord Buckhurſt, ſir John Norris, and Bartholomew Clerk. Camden, p. 540.

[y] The bulls of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. were renewed by cardinal Allen, ſent for that purpoſe into the Low Countries. A cruſade was alſo publiſhed againſt queen Elizabeth. Ibid. p. 543.

[z] The Spaniard, the more to advance his glory, and terrify his enemies, publiſhed an account of this fleet in Spaniſh, Latin, French, and Dutch. The Spaniſh book ſoon came into the hands of the lord treaſurer Burleigh, in divers places whereof Strype ſaw notes added by that lord ſoon after the defeat. From this book he has inſerted a brief account of the Spaniſh Armada, in his appendix of original papers, Ann. vol. iii. N. 51. The ſum whereof is this, That there were in all 130 ſhips of 57,868 tuns, 19,295 ſoldiers, and 8450 mariners, 2088 ſlaves, and 2630 great braſs pieces of all ſorts, beſides 20 caravels for the ſervice of the army, and 10 ſalves with ſix oars a-piece. Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 519, 520. Speed, p. 858.—Queen Elizabeth's fleet conſiſted of not much above an hundred ſail. See Stow, p. 749.

[a] One hundred and three companies of foot, and four thouſand horſe, among which were ſeven hundred Engliſh fugitives, commanded by Stanley; the earl of Weſtmoreland was alſo with them. Camden, p. 543.

[b] Moreover, the duke of Guiſe brought twelve thouſand men down to the coaſt of Normandy, which was to join the Spaniſh Armada as they went by, and land in the Weſt of England; but for want of money, or ſome other reaſon, their deſign proved abortive. Stow, p. 746.

[c] Theſe were ordered to lie at the Channel's mouth, and about the weſtern parts of England. Camden, p. 543.

[d] For the land ſervice there were diſpoſed along the ſouthern coaſts twenty thouſand men. Beſides which, two armies were raiſed of choice well diſciplined men, the one under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, conſiſting of a thouſand horſe, and twenty-two thouſand foot, which encamped at Tilbury (where the queen was pleaſed to come and review them; and made a very kind ſpeech to them, which ſee in Caballa, p. 373); the other was under the leading of the lord Hunſdon, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to guard the queen's perſon. Upon this emergency the city of London lent the queen great ſums of money. And being deſired to furniſh five thouſand men, and fifteen ſhips, they granted ten thouſand men, and thirty ſhips. No words, ſays Stow, can expreſs the great forwardneſs of the people, in their zealous love and duty towards their ſovereign, at this juncture. See Stow, p. 744, 750. Camden, p. 543, 548. Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 517.

[e] Particularly Milfordhaven, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Iſle of Wight, Portſmouth, the Downs, and about the Thames mouth, Harwich, Yarmouth, Hull, &c. Camden, ibid.

[f] Arthur lord Grey, ſir Francis Knolles, ſir John Norris, ſir Richard Bingham, and ſir Roger Williams, excellent ſoldiers, were made choice of to conſult about the beſt way of managing the war at land. Camden, p. 543, 548.

[g] April 12, this year, died ſir Thomas Bromley, lord high chancellor, and was ſucceeded by ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain. Stow, p. 742. This year alſo died, ninety years old, Ann Stanhope, relict of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerſet, and protector of England. And ſir Ralph Sadler, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter. Camden, p. 541. And likewiſe, on April 18, John Fox the martyrologiſt. Strype's Ann. tom. III. Appen. p. 208.

other hand, ſhe was not eaſy with reſpect to Ireland, becauſe of the religion of the Iriſh, and the correſpondents the pope and Philip II. had there. But ſhe was under a ſtill greater concern on account of Scotland. She had juſt put king James's mother to death by the hand of the executioner, and if that prince ſhould be tranſported with the deſire of revenge, he could never have a fairer opportunity, ſince it was in his power to favour the deſcent of the Spaniards in one extremity of the kingdom, by making a diverſion in the other. In a word, if ſhe could not hinder the Spaniards from landing in England, ſhe muſt neceſſarily reſolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war. All this was more than ſufficient to inſpire her with a juſt dread, which however ſhe very carefully concealed. If ever ſhe diſcovered ability, it was on this important occaſion. Far from ſhewing the leaſt faint-heartedneſs, ſhe encouraged her people by her looks, her reſolution, her affability, which made them think ſhe was troubled only for their ſakes; and on her own account, regardleſs of the danger. Mean while, ſhe looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence, and a preſence of mind rarely to be found in the greateſt men, and which gained her the admiration and praiſes of all the world. Some adviſed her to put to death, or ſend beyond ſea, the leading catholics. But ſhe thought it would be diſcovering too much fear, beſides that it would have been great injuſtice to puniſh men upon bare ſuſpicions. She contented herſelf with cauſing ſome to be arreſted, and put into cuſtody, telling them however, it was only by way of precaution, which, inſtead of injuring, would ſcreen them from the violence of their enemies.

As for Ireland, ſhe ſent orders to ſir William Fitz-williams, who was then lord deputy, diſtinctly pointing out to him what precautions he ſhould uſe to hinder the Iriſh from riſing. But above all things, ſhe took care to careſs the king of Scotland, and put him in hopes of an ample acknowledgment, if on this occaſion he inviolably adhered to the proteſtant religion and the intereſt of Great Britain. She repreſented to him, that, in reſpect to England, he was to conſider the king of Spain as a dangerous competitor, and that the loſs of one of the realms of Great Britain would not fail of being attended with the loſs of the other. But her uneaſineſs with regard to Scotland was not long-lived, ſince ſhe had quickly the ſatiſfaction to hear that James, knowing perfectly his own intereſt, had no correſpondence with the king of Spain, but even ſtood upon his guard for fear of being invaded himſelf.

The duke of Medina-celi ſailed out of the Tagus with the Invincible Armada, the 3d of June [h], and ſteered his courſe towards the north. Within a few days, a ſtorm ariſing, ſo diſperſed the ſhips, that they could not rejoin till they came to the Groyne. This accident occaſioned a report over Europe, that the Spaniſh fleet was entirely deſtroyed. Walſingham himſelf, ſecretary of ſtate, thought his intelligence ſo certain, that he wrote to the lord admiral Howard, to ſend home four of the largeſt ſhips, there being no farther danger this year. But the admiral anſwered, he could not think of parting with the four ſhips, though he ſhould be obliged to keep them at his own charge, till he had more certain advice. The better to know the truth, the wind turning to the north, he ſailed with all his fleet towards Spain, with deſign to complete the deſtruction of the enemy's Armada, which was repreſented to him as diſabled. But when he approached Spain, he heard the fleet had not ſuffered ſo much damage as was reported. At the ſame time, the wind changing to the ſouth, he ſailed back to his ſtation at the mouth of the Channel, for fear with the ſame wind the enemies fleet ſhould advance towards England.

But it was the 12th of July before the Spaniards departed from the Groyne, and two days after, the duke of Medina-celi ſent a yacht to notify the ſame to the duke of Parma, that he might be ready to join him. The 19th, the Spaniſh fleet entered the Channel, and the 20th, appeared in ſight of the Engliſh, who let it paſs in order to follow it before the wind. Camden has inſerted in his Annals, a journal of what paſſed in the Channel till the Spaniards retired to the north. I do not think it very neceſſary to copy the journal, which beſides is a little obſcure, and gives but an imperfect idea of the bravery and conduct of the Engliſh. It will ſuffice to ſay, that whilſt the Spaniards were in the Channel, the Engliſh kept cloſe to them, and even took ſome of their ſhips. Of this number were a galeon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdis, which was ſent to Dartmouth, and a ſhip of Biſcay, in which was the king's treaſure; but the Spaniards had taken out the money, becauſe the ſhip had been fired.

The 23d of July, the wind being in the north, the duke of Medina-celi ſtood towards the Engliſh fleet. There was that day a ſharp engagement, wherein the Spaniards, though much ſuperior in number of ſhips, obtained no advantage. The unweildineſs of their ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh, made it eaſy for theſe to ſtand off or on, as they ſaw fit, and ſo to balance the ſuperiority of their enemies. The trial the Spaniards made on this occaſion of the Engliſh valour and ſkill in ſea-engagements, began doubtleſs to give them quite another notion of their enterpriſe than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the duke of Medina-celi ſent daily meſſengers to preſs the duke of Parma to put to ſea with his army. But that was not practicable, by reaſon of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, poſted advantageouſly to hinder the junction. It was neceſſary for the Spaniards to approach the coaſt of Flanders, to compel them to retire [i]. But the 27th in the evening, they were no farther than off Calais, where they came to an anchor, being ſtill followed by the Engliſh, who lay within ſhot. Here the Engliſh fleet was joined by a good number of ſhips, not only of the queen's, but of divers private perſons, who had fitted out ſeveral at their own expence [k]. And now the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſhips of war, ſmall indeed in compariſon of the Spaniſh, but however with the advantage of moving more eaſily, and retiring into the ports of England in caſe of neceſſity. The duke of Parma, who was to ſail from Dunkirk and Newport, was ſtill earneſtly ſollicited by the duke of Medina-celi to put to ſea, and make a deſcent in England, as it had been reſolved. But, beſides that the ſhips which expected him, were not yet withdrawn, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh Armada, many of his mariners had deſerted, and his fleet was ill-provided with victuals. In ſhort, he could not or would not embark.

Whilſt the Spaniards lay before Calais, the Engliſh admiral ſent in the night eight fire-ſhips among their fleet [l]. This ſight ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that inſtantly cutting their cables, they put to ſea to avoid the impending danger. In this confuſion, the Admiral-galeaſs, commanded by Hugo de Moncada, having loſt her rudder, floated up and down till the next day, when ſhe was taken by the Engliſh after a ſharp engagement, wherein Moncada was ſlain. Though the Spaniſh admiral had ordered every ſhip to return to her ſtation as ſoon as the danger was paſſed, and made a ſignal for that purpoſe, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So, the fleet remained diſperſed, ſome of the ſhips being driven to the north, and others upon the ſhallows of Flanders, where they were in great danger. They had not only to guard againſt the ſands, but alſo againſt the Engliſh, who ſo played upon them with their cannon, that ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips were that day diſabled, and the galeons, called St. Philip and St. Matthew, fell into the hands of the Zealanders. At laſt, a north-weſt wind driving the fleet upon the coaſt of Zealand, were they were like to be loſt, the Engliſh gave over the chace, for fear of being expoſed to the ſame danger. Happily for the Spaniards, the wind turned to the ſouth-weſt very ſeaſonably, and freed them from their diſtreſs. But now, perceiving the impoſſibility of executing their project, they reſolved to return home by ſailing round Scotland and Ireland, and the rather, as ſome of their ſhips had already ſteered that courſe. The Engliſh admiral ſeeing them ſtand to the northward, left part of his fleet to have an eye upon the coaſt of Flanders, and gave them chace, though at a little diſtance, till they were paſt Edinburgh-frith. The courſe they ſteered gave ſome ſuſpicion, that they were ſure of a retreat in the ports of Scotland. Whereupon the Engliſh embaſſador at king James's court made him large offers, and even ſome promiſes, which he had not power to make, and which were never performed [m].

Mean while, the Spaniſh fleet continuing their courſe, ſuſtained ſome farther damage by contrary winds, which cauſed ſeveral of their ſhips to be loſt on the coaſts of Scotland and Ireland. Seven hundred ſoldiers and mariners, who had eſcaped to land in the king of Scotland's dominions, were ſent to the duke of Parma with Elizabeth's conſent. But thoſe who were ſhipwrecked in Ireland, and caſt aſhore, were all put to the ſword, or periſhed by the hands of the executioner;

[h] May 29, ſays Camden, p. 545.

[i] On the 26th, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their good ſervice; and a reſolution was taken not to attack the enemy any more, till they were come into the ſtreights of Calais. Ibid. p. 547.

[k] Amongſt others, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Carey, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Georges, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, and others of good quality. Camden, p. 547. Stow, p. 747.

[l] Under the conduct of Young and Prowſe. Camden, p. 547.

[m] Aſhby, the queen's embaſſador in Scotland, made king James the following offers; namely, the title of a duke in England, a yearly penſion of 5000l. a guard to be maintained at the queen's charge, and ſome other matters whether (ſays Camden) of his own head, or by the command of others, I cannot tell. Camden, p 548..

Of

the lord-deputy, by whoſe orders it was done, fearing they would join with the rebels. At leaſt this was his pretence to excuſe this barbarity [n].

Philip II. received the news of the ill-ſucceſs of his fleet with an heroic patience. He had ſpent three years in preparing the Armada with an incredible expence, and when he heard of the defeat, ſo contrary to his expectation, thanked God it was no greater [o].

Upon the retreat of this ſo formidable a fleet, England was filled with an univerſal joy. Elizabeth ordered a public thankſgiving for the deliverance, to be made in all the churches of the kingdom, and went herſelf to St. Paul's [p] in great ſolemnity to perform the ſame duty. After that, ſhe conferred on the lord-admiral a yearly revenue, in recompence of his great ſervice to his country, and beſtowed penſions on the wounded. For the reſt, their rewards conſiſted more in words than in deeds.

Sir Robert Sidney, who had been ſent into Scotland before the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think of being revenged, returned home when the danger was over. He reported that the king of Scotland had teſtified his ſincere attachment to the intereſt of England, and the proteſtant religion, and had told him, "That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than what Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, namely, that he ſhould be devoured the laſt."

On the 4th of September [q] died the earl of Leiceſter, a man little deſerving his greatneſs, if moſt of the hiſtorians are to be credited. His death drew tears from the queen, who nevertheleſs ordered his goods to be ſold at a public ſale, for payment of the ſums ſhe had lent him [r].

After the Spaniſh fleet had left the coaſt of Flanders, the duke of Parma ſeeing the enterpriſe blaſted, beſieged Bergen-op-zoom, where was an Engliſh governor, with a garriſon of the ſame nation. The ſiege acquired the governor great reputation, who by a gallant defence obliged the duke at length to raiſe it [s].

The ſame year, ſo memorable for England, was no leſs ſo for France. The duke of Guiſe, grown more powerful than the king, came to Paris in May, and by the favour of the people, whoſe idol he was, obliged the king to depart, having firſt ſeen the furious populace chaining the ſtreets, and preparing to attack his perſon in the Louvre. This is what was called, The barricadoes of Paris [t]. This inſolent action was followed by an agreement, which the king was forced to make with the heads of the league, whereby he put ſeveral places into their hands. But in December following, Henry perceiving himſelf ruined, if he did not make away with the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, cauſed them both to be aſſaſſinated at Blois, where the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled. Thus he freed himſelf from a preſent danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this action made the league and the city of Paris openly declare againſt him.

As for Scotland, all was quiet there during the whole year 1588. So long as the king had about him miniſters and counſellors attached to the intereſts of England, he generally led an eaſy and peaceable life. So, the only thing that troubled him this year was his marriage, which he could not accompliſh, though he paſſionately wiſhed it himſelf. Melvil inſinuates, that chancellor Maitland, who then managed that prince's affairs, was bribed by Elizabeth; that ſhe gave penſions to moſt of the counſellors of Scotland, and that her aim was to hinder the king from marrying. He had ſent embaſſadors [u] to Copenhagen, to treat of his marriage with the eldeſt daughter of Frederic II. but by the artifice of his miniſters, the embaſſadors power was ſo limited, that it was impoſſible for them to conclude, On the other hand, whilſt the marriage was negotiating, one Dubartus [w], a French poet, ſervant of the king of Navarre, came to Edinburgh, under colour of paying his reſpects to the king, who had expreſſed ſome eſteem for his works, and propoſed, as of himſelf, the king's marriage with Catherine his maſter's ſiſter. He ſaid ſo many fine things of the lady, that the king, by the advice of his council, ſent the lord Tungland, Melvil's brother, into France to ſee her, on pretence of negotiating ſome affair with the king her brother. The king of Denmark hearing of it, and ſeeing, moreover, the limited power of the Scotch embaſſadors, believed he was mocked, and gave his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. Melvil aſcribes, not without great likelihood, this whole intrigue to Elizabeth, and affirms, it was ſhe that informed the king of Denmark of the lord Tungland's being ſent to the court of Navarre.

[1598] Shortly after, in the beginning of the year 1589, was diſcovered in Scotland a conſpiracy againſt the king, contrived by the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, ſon of John Prior of Coldingham, natural ſon of James V [x]. Their deſign was to ſeize the king's perſon, and compel him to reſtore the catholic religion in Scotland [y]. It is ſaid, they were excited by emiſſaries from Spain [z]. The king prevented the execution of the plot by his diligence. He purſued the earl of Huntley, who had taken up arms, till at laſt he conſtrained him to yield at diſcretion. As for Bothwell, he withdrew to his own houſe, where he meditated new projects, which I ſhall mention hereafter. I return to the affairs of England.

Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Norfolk, who had been three years priſoner in the Tower, was at laſt brought to his trial before his peers, being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the queen and the ſtate. Camden ſhews, he was convicted at moſt but of being diſaffected to the government, and too much attached to the catholic religion [a]. He was however condemned to die; but the queen gave him his life [b].

Elizabeth enjoyed now a tranquillity, to which ſhe had been a ſtranger ever ſince the beginning of her reign. The queen of Scotland was no longer in the world; and the king her ſon, in expectation of one day ſucceeding Elizabeth, ſtifled his reſentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical death of his mother. The king of Spain was diſabled to make a freſh attempt upon England, ſince the unfortunate ſucceſs of his invincible Armada. The affairs of the United Provinces began to be reſtored by the valour and prudent conduct of count Maurice, and thoſe of France were in ſuch a ſituation, that England had nothing to fear from that quarter. The duke of Guiſe, Elizabeth's great enemy, was dead, his ſon in priſon, and the duke of Mayenne wholly bent upon revenging the death of his brothers. As for Sixtus V. though very capable of forming great projects, he could not execute them without the aid of ſome catholic potentate; and the king of Spain, on whom alone he could depend, was wholly engroſſed with the thoughts of improving the troubles of France. As for the Engliſh catholics, there was no likelihood of their ſtirring, at a time when they could not expect any foreign aſſiſtance.

In this proſperous ſtate, Elizabeth having nothing to fear either at home or abroad, had a mind to ſhew the Spaniard, the Engliſh could attack as well as defend. But as ſhe was extremely frugal, and an undertaking againſt Spain could not but be very expenſive, ſhe ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themſelves amends by the booty they ſhould meet with. So

[n] Of the Spaniſh Armada were taken and deſtroyed in July and Auguſt, fifteen great ſhips, and 4791 men, in the fight between the Engliſh and Spaniſh navies in the Channel: and on the coaſt of Ireland, in September, ſeventeen ſhips, and 5394 men. In all thirty-two ſhips and 10,185 men. See Strype's Append. Numb. 53. Upon the diſappearance of this mighty fleet, the following writing was faſtened up to Paſquil at Rome; Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum eſſe de plenitudine poteſtatis ſuæ, ſiquis certò ſibi indicaverit, quid ſit factum de claſſe Hiſpanicâ, quò abierit: in cœlumne ſublata: an ad tartara detruſa: velin ære alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo mari fluctuet. Strype's Ann. tom. III. p. 522.

[o] This is Camden's account. But according to Anthony Coppley, a fugitive gentleman in thoſe times, when the news was brought to Philip, being at maſs, "He ſwore (after maſs was over) that he would waſte and conſume his crown even to the value of a candleſtick (pointing at one that ſtood upon the altar) but either he would utterly ruin her majeſty and England, or elſe him and all Spain become tributary to her." Strype, Ibid. p. 525.—The duke of Medina returned to Spain about the end of September, with only ſixty ſail out of his hundred and thirty, and thoſe too very much ſhattered. Stow, p. 746.

[p] Where eleven colours and ſtandards taken from the enemy were hung up. Camden, p. 549. Stow, p. 750.

[q] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays the 14th of December.

[r] Robert Dudley, fifth ſon of John duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, in his way to Kenilworth, from whence he was carried to Warwick, and there interred. The titles and places he enjoyed were theſe: knight of the orders of the garter and St. Michael; privy-counſellor; maſter of the horſe; ſteward of the queen's houſhold; conſtable of Windſor-caſtle; chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; juſtice in eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of the Trent; lieutenant and captain-general of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 221. Camden, p. 549.

[s] The lord Willoughby general of the Engliſh, (who had made ſir William Drury governor, though the queen, by her letters, had given the place to Morgan) to reward military valour, knigted ſir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous, ſir Thomas Knolles, ſir Nicholas Parker, and ſir John Pooley, for their courageous behaviour. Ibid. p. 550.

[t] What occaſioned this name was, that the ſtreets were blocked up with barriques, i. e. hogſheads, &c. See Thuanus, l. 90.

[u] The biſhop of St. Andrew's, and the lairds of Segie and Bairbarrow. Melvil, p. 176.

[w] As this name is thus written in Melvil's Memoirs, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to ſuſpect it ſhould be Du Bartas, a famous poet, who was indeed ſent to Scotland by the king of Navarre, though one cannot be ſure it was this very year. Thuanus, tom. V. p. 100. Rapin.—Melvil ſays, that king James had this Dubartus in great eſteem, for his rare poeſie ſet out in the French tongue; which puts it out of all doubt that it was Dubartus. Ibid. p. 176.

[x] And alſo the earls of Arrol and Crawford. Camden, p. 551.

[y] And then invade England, in revenge for the death of the queen of Scots. Ibid.

[z] Namely, Robert Bruce a prieſt, and Chreicton and Hayes jeſuits. Ibid.

[a] He was accuſed of having held private and ſecret conference and communication of ſeveral treaſons, with Allen and other popiſh prieſts; and of having had maſs ſaid for the happy ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Armada. See State Trials, vol. I.

[b] Henry earl of Derby was made lord high-ſteward of England for this purpoſe. Camden, p. 551.

other hand, ſhe was not eaſy with reſpect to Ireland, becauſe of the religion of the Iriſh, and the correſpondents the pope and Philip II. had there. But ſhe was under a ſtill greater concern on account of Scotland. She had juſt put king James's mother to death by the hand of the executioner, and if that prince ſhould be tranſported with the deſire of revenge, he could never have a fairer opportunity, ſince it was in his power to favour the deſcent of the Spaniards in one extremity of the kingdom, by making a diverſion in the other. In a word, if ſhe could not hinder the Spaniards from landing in England, ſhe muſt neceſſarily reſolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war. All this was more than ſufficient to inſpire her with a juſt dread, which however ſhe very carefully concealed. If ever ſhe diſcovered ability, it was on this important occaſion. Far from ſhewing the leaſt faint-heartedneſs, ſhe encouraged her people by her looks, her reſolution, her affability, which made them think ſhe was troubled only for their ſakes; and on her own account, regardleſs of the danger. Mean while, ſhe looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence, and a preſence of mind rarely to be found in the greateſt men, and which gained her the admiration and praiſes of all the world. Some adviſed her to put to death, or ſend beyond ſea, the leading catholics. But ſhe thought it would be diſcovering too much fear, beſides that it would have been great injuſtice to puniſh men upon bare ſuſpicions. She contented herſelf with cauſing ſome to be arreſted, and put into cuſtody, telling them however, it was only by way of precaution, which, inſtead of injuring, would ſcreen them from the violence of their enemies.

As for Ireland, ſhe ſent orders to ſir William Fitz-williams, who was then lord deputy, diſtinctly pointing out to him what precautions he ſhould uſe to hinder the Iriſh from riſing. But above all things, ſhe took care to careſs the king of Scotland, and put him in hopes of an ample acknowledgment, if on this occaſion he inviolably adhered to the proteſtant religion and the intereſt of Great Britain. She repreſented to him, that, in reſpect to England, he was to conſider the king of Spain as a dangerous competitor, and that the loſs of one of the realms of Great Britain would not fail of being attended with the loſs of the other. But her uneaſineſs with regard to Scotland was not long-lived, ſince ſhe had quickly the ſatisfaction to hear that James, knowing perfectly his own intereſt, had no correſpondence with the king of Spain, but even ſtood upon his guard for fear of being invaded himſelf.

The duke of Medina-celi ſailed out of the Tagus with the Invincible Armada, the 3d of June [h], and ſteered his courſe towards the north. Within a few days, a ſtorm ariſing, ſo diſperſed the ſhips, that they could not rejoin till they came to the Groyne. This accident occaſioned a report over Europe, that the Spaniſh fleet was entirely deſtroyed. Walſingham himſelf, ſecretary of ſtate, thought his intelligence ſo certain, that he wrote to the lord admiral Howard, to ſend home four of the largeſt ſhips, there being no farther danger this year. But the admiral anſwered, he could not think of parting with the four ſhips, though he ſhould be obliged to keep them at his own charge, till he had more certain advice. The better to know the truth, the wind turning to the north, he ſailed with all his fleet towards Spain, with deſign to complete the deſtruction of the enemy's Armada, which was repreſented to him as diſabled. But when he approached Spain, he heard the fleet had not ſuffered ſo much damage as was reported. At the ſame time, the wind changing to the ſouth, he ſailed back to his ſtation at the mouth of the Channel, for fear with the ſame wind the enemies fleet ſhould advance towards England.

But it was the 12th of July before the Spaniards departed from the Groyne, and two days after, the duke of Medina-celi ſent a yacht to notify the ſame to the duke of Parma, that he might be ready to join him. The 19th, the Spaniſh fleet entered the Channel, and the 20th, appeared in ſight of the Engliſh, who let it paſs in order to follow it before the wind. Camden has inſerted in his Annals, a journal of what paſſed in the Channel till the Spaniards retired to the north. I do not think it very neceſſary to copy the journal, which beſides is a little obſcure, and gives but an imperfect idea of the bravery and conduct of the Engliſh. It will ſuffice to ſay, that whilſt the Spaniards were in the Channel, the Engliſh kept cloſe to them, and even took ſome of their ſhips. Of this number were a galeon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdis, which was ſent to Dartmouth, and a ſhip of Biſcay, in which was the king's treaſure; but the Spaniards had taken out the money, becauſe the ſhip had been fired.

The 23d of July, the wind being in the north, the duke of Medina-celi ſtood towards the Engliſh fleet. There was that day a ſharp engagement, wherein the Spaniards, though much ſuperior in number of ſhips, obtained no advantage. The unweildineſs of their ſhips, and the agility of the Engliſh, made it eaſy for theſe to ſtand off or on, as they ſaw fit, and ſo to balance the ſuperiority of their enemies. The trial the Spaniards made on this occaſion of the Engliſh valour and ſkill in ſea-engagements, began doubtleſs to give them quite another notion of their enterpriſe than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the duke of Medina-celi ſent daily meſſengers to preſs the duke of Parma to put to ſea with his army. But that was not practicable, by reaſon of the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, poſted advantageouſly to hinder the junction. It was neceſſary for the Spaniards to approach the coaſt of Flanders, to compel them to retire [i]. But the 27th in the evening, they were no farther than off Calais, where they came to an anchor, being ſtill followed by the Engliſh, who lay within ſhot. Here the Engliſh fleet was joined by a good number of ſhips, not only of the queen's, but of divers private perſons, who had fitted out ſeveral at their own expence [k]. And now the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſhips of war, ſmall indeed in compariſon of the Spaniſh, but however with the advantage of moving more eaſily, and retiring into the ports of England in caſe of neceſſity. The duke of Parma, who was to ſail from Dunkirk and Newport, was ſtill earneſtly ſollicited by the duke of Medina-celi to put to ſea, and make a deſcent in England, as it had been reſolved. But, beſides that the ſhips which expected him, were not yet withdrawn, notwithſtanding the neighbourhood of the Spaniſh Armada, many of his mariners had deſerted, and his fleet was ill-provided with victuals. In ſhort, he could not or would not embark.

Whilſt the Spaniards lay before Calais, the Engliſh admiral ſent in the night eight fire-ſhips among their fleet [l]. This fight ſtruck them with ſuch a terror, that inſtantly cutting their cables, they put to ſea to avoid the impending danger. In this confuſion, the Admiral-galeaſs, commanded by Hugo de Moncada, having loſt her rudder, floated up and down till the next day, when ſhe was taken by the Engliſh after a ſharp engagement, wherein Moncada was ſlain. Though the Spaniſh admiral had ordered every ſhip to return to her ſtation as ſoon as the danger was paſſed, and made a ſignal for that purpoſe, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So, the fleet remained diſperſed, ſome of the ſhips being driven to the north, and others upon the ſhallows of Flanders, where they were in great danger. They had not only to guard againſt the ſands, but alſo againſt the Engliſh, who ſo played upon them with their cannon, that ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips were that day diſabled, and the galeons, called St. Philip and St. Matthew, fell into the hands of the Zealanders. At laſt, a north-weſt wind driving the fleet upon the coaſt of Zealand, were they were like to be loſt, the Engliſh gave over the chace, for fear of being expoſed to the ſame danger. Happily for the Spaniards, the wind turned to the ſouth-weſt very ſeaſonably, and freed them from their diſtreſs. But now, perceiving the impoſſibility of executing their project, they reſolved to return home by ſailing round Scotland and Ireland, and the rather, as ſome of their ſhips had already ſteered that courſe. The Engliſh admiral ſeeing them ſtand to the northward, left part of his fleet to have an eye upon the coaſt of Flanders, and gave them chace, though at a little diſtance, till they were paſt Edinburgh-frith. The courſe they ſteered gave ſome ſuſpicion, that they were ſure of a retreat in the ports of Scotland. Whereupon the Engliſh embaſſador at king James's court made him large offers, and even ſome promiſes, which he had not power to make, and which were never performed [m].

Mean while, the Spaniſh fleet continuing their courſe, ſuſtained ſome farther damage by contrary winds, which cauſed ſeveral of their ſhips to be loſt on the coaſts of Scotland and Ireland. Seven hundred ſoldiers and mariners, who had eſcaped to land in the king of Scotland's dominions, were ſent to the duke of Parma with Elizabeth's conſent. But thoſe who were ſhipwrecked in Ireland, and caſt aſhore, were all put to the ſword, or periſhed by the hands of the executioner;

[h] May 29, ſays Camden, p. 545.

[i] On the 26th, the lord admiral knighted the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Roger Townſend, John Hawkins, and Martin Forbiſher, for their good ſervice; and a reſolution was taken not to attack the enemy any more, till they were come into the ſtreights of Calais. Ibid. p. 547.

[k] Amongſt others, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Charles Blunt, Walter Raleigh, William Hatton, Robert Carey, Ambroſe Willoughby, Thomas Gerard, Arthur Georges, ſir Thomas Vavaſor, and others of good quality. Camden, p. 547. Stow, p. 747.

[l] Under the conduct of Young and Prowſe. Camden, p. 547.

[m] Aſhby, the queen's embaſſador in Scotland, made king James the following offers; namely, the title of a duke in England, a yearly penſion of 5000l. a guard to be maintained at the queen's charge, and ſome other matters whether (ſays Camden) of his own head, or by the command of others, I cannot tell. Camden, p 548..

Of

the lord-deputy, by whoſe orders it was done, fearing they would join with the rebels. At leaſt this was his pretence to excuſe this barbarity [n].

Philip II. received the news of the ill-ſucceſs of his fleet with an heroic patience. He had ſpent three years in preparing the Armada with an incredible expence, and when he heard of the defeat, ſo contrary to his expectation, thanked God it was no greater [o].

Upon the retreat of this ſo formidable a fleet, England was filled with an univerſal joy. Elizabeth ordered a public thankſgiving for the deliverance, to be made in all the churches of the kingdom, and went herſelf to St. Paul's [p] in great ſolemnity to perform the ſame duty. After that, ſhe conferred on the lord-admiral a yearly revenue, in recompence of his great ſervice to his country, and beſtowed penſions on the wounded. For the reſt, their rewards conſiſted more in words than in deeds.

Sir Robert Sidney, who had been ſent into Scotland before the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet, at the time the queen was afraid king James would think of being revenged, returned home when the danger was over. He reported that the king of Scotland had teſtified his ſincere attachment to the intereſt of England, and the proteſtant religion, and had told him, "That he looked for no other favour from the Spaniards, than what Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, namely, that he ſhould be devoured the laſt."

On the 4th of September [q] died the earl of Leiceſter, a man little deſerving his greatneſs, if moſt of the hiſtorians are to be credited. His death drew tears from the queen, who nevertheleſs ordered his goods to be ſold at a public ſale, for payment of the ſums ſhe had lent him [r].

After the Spaniſh fleet had left the coaſt of Flanders, the duke of Parma ſeeing the enterpriſe blaſted, beſieged Bergen-op-zoom, where was an Engliſh governor, with a garriſon of the ſame nation. The ſiege acquired the governor great reputation, who by a gallant defence obliged the duke at length to raiſe it [s].

The ſame year, ſo memorable for England, was no leſs ſo for France. The duke of Guiſe, grown more powerful than the king, came to Paris in May, and by the favour of the people, whoſe idol he was, obliged the king to depart, having firſt ſeen the furious populace chaining the ſtreets, and preparing to attack his perſon in the Louvre. This is what was called, The barricadoes of Paris [t]. This inſolent action was followed by an agreement, which the king was forced to make with the heads of the league, whereby he put ſeveral places into their hands. But in December following, Henry perceiving himſelf ruined, if he did not make away with the duke of Guiſe, and his brother the cardinal, cauſed them both to be aſſaſſinated at Blois, where the ſtates of the kingdom were aſſembled. Thus he freed himſelf from a preſent danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this action made the league and the city of Paris openly declare againſt him.

As for Scotland, all was quiet there during the whole year 1588. So long as the king had about him miniſters and counſellors attached to the intereſts of England, he generally led an eaſy and peaceable life. So, the only thing that troubled him this year was his marriage, which he could not accompliſh, though he paſſionately wiſhed it himſelf. Melvil inſinuates, that chancellor Maitland, who then managed that prince's affairs, was bribed by Elizabeth; that ſhe gave penſions to moſt of the counſellors of Scotland, and that her aim was to hinder the king from marrying. He had ſent embaſſadors [u] to Copenhagen, to treat of his marriage with the eldeſt daughter of Frederic II. but by the artifice of his miniſters, the embaſſadors power was ſo limited, that it was impoſſible for them to conclude, On the other hand, whilſt the marriage was negotiating, one Dubartus [w], a French poet, ſervant of the king of Navarre, came to Edinburgh, under colour of paying his reſpects to the king, who had expreſſed ſome eſteem for his works, and propoſed, as of himſelf, the king's marriage with Catherine his maſter's ſiſter. He ſaid ſo many fine things of the lady, that the king, by the advice of his council, ſent the lord Tungland, Melvil's brother, into France to ſee her, on pretence of negotiating ſome affair with the king her brother. The king of Denmark hearing of it, and ſeeing, moreover, the limited power of the Scotch embaſſadors, believed he was mocked, and gave his daughter to the duke of Brunſwick. Melvil aſcribes, not without great likelihood, this whole intrigue to Elizabeth, and affirms, it was ſhe that informed the king of Denmark of the lord Tungland's being ſent to the court of Navarre.

[1598] Shortly after, in the beginning of the year 1589, was diſcovered in Scotland a conſpiracy againſt the king, contrived by the earls of Huntley and Bothwell, ſon of John Prior of Coldingham, natural ſon of James V [x]. Their deſign was to ſeize the king's perſon, and compel him to reſtore the catholic religion in Scotland [y]. It is ſaid, they were excited by emiſſaries from Spain [z]. The king prevented the execution of the plot by his diligence. He purſued the earl of Huntley, who had taken up arms, till at laſt he conſtrained him to yield at diſcretion. As for Bothwell, he withdrew to his own houſe, where he meditated new projects, which I ſhall mention hereafter. I return to the affairs of England.

Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of Norfolk, who had been three years priſoner in the Tower, was at laſt brought to his trial before his peers, being accuſed of conſpiring againſt the queen and the ſtate. Camden ſhews, he was convicted at moſt but of being diſaffected to the government, and too much attached to the catholic religion [a]. He was however condemned to die; but the queen gave him his life [b].

Elizabeth enjoyed now a tranquillity, to which ſhe had been a ſtranger ever ſince the beginning of her reign. The queen of Scotland was no longer in the world; and the king her ſon, in expectation of one day ſucceeding Elizabeth, ſtifled his reſentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical death of his mother. The king of Spain was diſabled to make a freſh attempt upon England, ſince the unfortunate ſucceſs of his invincible Armada. The affairs of the United Provinces began to be reſtored by the valour and prudent conduct of count Maurice, and thoſe of France were in ſuch a ſituation, that England had nothing to fear from that quarter. The duke of Guiſe, Elizabeth's great enemy, was dead, his ſon in priſon, and the duke of Mayenne wholly bent upon revenging the death of his brothers. As for Sixtus V. though very capable of forming great projects, he could not execute them without the aid of ſome catholic potentate; and the king of Spain, on whom alone he could depend, was wholly engroſſed with the thoughts of improving the troubles of France. As for the Engliſh catholics, there was no likelihood of their ſtirring, at a time when they could not expect any foreign aſſiſtance.

In this proſperous ſtate, Elizabeth having nothing to fear either at home or abroad, had a mind to ſhew the Spaniard, the Engliſh could attack as well as defend. But as ſhe was extremely frugal, and an undertaking againſt Spain could not but be very expenſive, ſhe ordered it, that Drake and Norris took upon them to be at the charge, in hopes of making themſelves amends by the booty they ſhould meet with. So

[n] Of the Spaniſh Armada were taken and deſtroyed in July and Auguſt, fifteen great ſhips, and 4791 men, in the fight between the Engliſh and Spaniſh navies in the Channel: and on the coaſt of Ireland, in September, ſeventeen ſhips, and 5394 men. In all thirty-two ſhips and 10,185 men. See Strype's Append. Numb. 53. Upon the diſappearance of this mighty fleet, the following writing was faſtened up to Paſquil at Rome; Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum eſſe de plenitudine poteſtatis ſuæ, ſiquis certò ſibi indicaverit, quid ſit factum de claſſe Hiſpanicâ, quò abierit: in cœlumne ſublata: an ad tartara detruſa: velin ære alicubi pendeat, an in aliquo mari fluctuet. Stryſpe's Ann. tom. III. p. 522.

[o] This is Camden's account. But according to Anthony Coppley, a fugitive gentleman in thoſe times, when the news was brought to Philip, being at maſs, "He ſwore (after maſs was over) that he would waſte and conſume his crown even to the value of a candleſtick (pointing at one that ſtood upon the altar) but either he would utterly ruin her majeſty and England, or elſe him and all Spain become tributary to her." Strype, Ibid. p. 525.—The duke of Medina returned to Spain about the end of September, with only ſixty ſail out of his hundred and thirty, and thoſe too very much ſhattered. Stow, p. 746.

[p] Where eleven colours and ſtandards taken from the enemy were hung up. Camden, p. 549. Stow, p. 750.

[q] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays the 14th of December.

[r] Robert Dudley, fifth ſon of John duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordſhire, in his way to Kenilworth, from whence he was carried to Warwick, and there interred. The titles and places he enjoyed were theſe: knight of the orders of the garter and St. Michael; privy-counſellor; maſter of the horſe; ſteward of the queen's houſhold; conſtable of Windſor-caſtle; chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford; juſtice in eyre of all the foreſts ſouth of the Trent; lieutenant and captain-general of the Engliſh forces in the Netherlands. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 221. Camden, p. 549.

[s] The lord Willoughby general of the Engliſh, (who had made ſir William Drury governor, though the queen, by her letters, had given the place to Morgan) to reward military valour, knigted ſir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous, ſir Thomas Knolles, ſir Nicholas Parker, and ſir John Pooley, for their courageous behaviour. Ibid. p. 550.

[t] What occaſioned this name was, that the ſtreets were blocked up with barriques, i. e. hogſheads, &c. See Thuanus, l. 90.

[u] The biſhop of St. Andrew's, and the lairds of Segie and Bairbarrow. Melvil, p. 176.

[w] As this name is thus written in Melvil's Memoirs, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is room to ſuſpect it ſhould be Du Bartas, a famous poet, who was indeed ſent to Scotland by the king of Navarre, though one cannot be ſure it was this very year. Thuanus, tom. V. p. 100. Rapin.—Melvil ſays, that king James had this Dubartus in great eſteem, for his rare poeſie ſet out in the French tongue; which puts it out of all doubt that it was Dubartus. Ibid. p. 176.

[x] And alſo the earls of Arrol and Crawford. Camden, p. 551.

[y] And then invade England, in revenge for the death of the queen of Scots. Ibid.

[z] Namely, Robert Bruce a prieſt, and Chreicton and Hayes jeſuits. Ibid.

[a] He was accuſed of having held private and ſecret conference and communication of ſeveral treaſons, with Allen and other popiſh prieſts; and of having had maſs ſaid for the happy ſucceſs of the Spaniſh Armada. See State Trials, vol. I.

[b] Henry earl of Derby was made lord high-ſteward of England for this purpoſe. Camden, p. 551.

ſhe only found them ſhips of war [c], with leave to raiſe ſoldiers and ſailors for the expedition. Drake had already tried the Spaniards in America and the Channel, and was convinced they were more formidable in common opinion, than in reality. Wherefore, joining with Norris, and ſome other private perſons, they equipped a fleet, and embarked eleven thouſand ſoldiers, and fifteen hundred mariners. The Hollanders having alſo added ſome ſhips, the fleet conſiſted of fourſcore ſail [d] of all ſorts. Drake commanded at ſea, and Norris was general of the land forces. They took with them Don Antonio, who ſtiled himſelf king of Portugal, and hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, to be put in poſſeſſion of that kingdom, where he pretended to have many friends.

They ſailed from Plymouth the 18th of April, and ſoon after arrived at the Groyne, where landing their troops, they aſſaulted the lower town and carried it by ſtorm. Then they beſieged the upper town. But Norris having advice that the Condé de Andrada was approaching with a body of troops to relieve the place, ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege to march againſt him; but the Spaniſh Condé thinking proper to retire, he purſued him, and overtaking him, ſlew three thouſand of his men. This done, he burned ſeveral villages, and, without returning to the ſiege, reimbarked his troops. The principal deſign of the Engliſh was to exert themſelves chiefly againſt Portugal.

Whilſt they were ſailing towards the coaſts of that kingdom, they met the earl of Eſſex, who joined the fleet with ſome ſhips he had armed at his own charge, and unknown to the queen. Some days after, they arrived at Penicha, a little town of Portugal, and taking it, reſtored it to Don Antonio. From thence Norris marched by land to Liſbon, Drake promiſing to follow with the fleet up the Tagus. The army marched ſixty miles without any oppoſition, and encamping before Liſbon, took the ſuburbs of St. Catherine. But as Drake performed not his promiſe, and the army wanted cannon and ammunition, it was reſolved in a council of war to retire. This reſolution was taken, becauſe there was no appearance that the Portugueze were inclined to revolt, as Don Antonio had expected, and alſo becauſe there was no news of the ſuccours he had boaſted of, from the king of Morocco. The army marching towards the mouth of the Tagus, met Drake, who had taken the town of Caſcaes, and excuſed himſelf upon the impoſſibility of performing his promiſe. Some days after, the caſtle of Caſcaes ſurrendering, it was blown up; and, to make themſelves amends for the charges of the expedition, the Engliſh ſeized ſixty veſſels laden with corn [e] belonging to the Hans-towns. Then they went and took Vigo, which was abandoned by the inhabitants, and firing the town returned to England. This expedition did ſome damage to the king of Spain, but was of no benefit to Elizabeth, and the booty was not ſufficient to pay for equipping the fleet [f]. Beſides this, above ſix thouſand men periſhed by ſickneſs. The only advantage reaped by the Engliſh, was, that they were more convinced of the weakneſs of the Spaniards in their own country.

The Hans-towns made great noiſe on account of the ſeizure of their ſhips in the Tagus, and ſent embaſſadors to the queen with their complaints. They were told, in the firſt place, that in the patent granted them by Edward III. it was expreſly provided, they ſhould not import any commodities into the dominions of the profeſſed and open enemies of England. Secondly, that a neutrality was ſo to be ordered, that in aſſiſting one of the parties, the other ſhould not be damaged; and that it was a thing well known, that warlike proviſions carried to one of the contending parties, were contraband goods, and liable to ſeizure. In the third place, they could not juſtly complain of the taking their veſſels, ſince the queen had warned them not to import any proviſions to Spain and Portugal, unleſs they would hazard their being ſeized by the Engliſh.

This affair was of little moment: but what paſſed in France this year was much more conſiderable. The ſtep Henry III. had taken, in cauſing the duke of Guiſe to be ſtabbed, ſerved only to throw him into greater trouble. His ſwearing again to the league in the preſence of the ſtates before he diſmiſſed them, ſignified nothing. The leaguers, as they could no longer truſt to his promiſes and oaths, almoſt entirely alienated the whole kingdom from him. Hence he ſaw himſelf forced to call the king of Navarre and the Hugonots to his aſſiſtance, and join with them againſt the league. It is a thing very remarkable, that this prince, who had ſworn to extirpate the Hugonots, and ſolemnly declared he would never keep promiſe with them, ſcarce found any other ſubjects but the Hugonots in whom he could confide. The forces brought him by the King of Navarre, and ten thouſand Switzers, two thouſand Landſquenets, with ſome horſe, which came in ſeaſon, enabled him to beſiege or block up Paris with an army of thirty-eight thouſand men. But juſt as he ſaw himſelf upon the point of compelling the Pariſians to return to their duty, James Clement, a Jacobin monk, ſtabbed him in the belly with a dagger, of which he died in two days. Before he expired, he nominated for his ſucceſſor, the king of Navarre, head of the houſe of Bourbon, who aſſumed the name of Henry IV.

The league refuſed to acknowledge the new king. Nay, he ſaw himſelf deſerted by ſeveral great men of the late king's party; and, in order to retain ſome of the catholic nobility, he was obliged to promiſe them, that he would within ſuch a time be inſtructed in the principles of the Romiſh religion; that is, would turn catholic; for that was the meaning given to theſe words. Mean while, he had neither men nor money, the Switzers and Germans who had ſerved Henry III. threatening to leave him, unleſs he would pay them their arrears, which he was not able to do. In this extremity he had recourſe to Elizabeth, who generouſly promiſed him both men and money. In expectation of theſe ſuccours, he ſtood firm againſt the duke of Mayenne, who had forced him into Normandy, and even attacked him at Arques, but without ſucceſs. Henry thought himſelf in ſuch danger, that he would have taken the advice given him by ſome to fly into England, if the marſhal de Biron had not ſtopped him. At laſt, the Engliſh ſupplies arrived, conſiſting of four thouſand men, under the command of Peregrine lord Willoughby [g], and of twenty-two thouſand pounds ſterling in gold. With this reinforcement he was able to approach Paris, and take one of the ſuburbs of that city. But the duke of Mayenne having entered with his army, he was forced to retire. Mean while, the duke of Mayenne had cauſed the old cardinal de Bourbon to be proclaimed king, and himſelf had aſſumed the title of lieutenant-general of the crown of France. Henry leaving the country about Paris, returned into Normandy, where he reduced ſome places to his obedience, after which he ſent home the Engliſh forces.

Though the king of Denmark had given his eldeſt daughter to the duke of Brunſwick, the king of Scotland perſiſted in his deſign to marry into his family, and demanded his ſecond daughter. Frederick granted his requeſt, but on condition he ſhould cauſe her to be demanded by a ſolemn embaſſy before the 1ſt day of May. But he died in this interval, leaving his ſucceſſor under age. This did not hinder James from thinking ſeriouſly of his marriage with the princeſs Ann, the new king's ſiſter. But when he moved in council the ſending of an embaſſy to Copenhagen, he was told, he would hazard a rupture with the queen of England, if he married without conſulting her. The authors of this advice knew Elizabeth would raiſe obſtacles to the marriage. And indeed, in her anſwer to the king, ſhe tried to make him ſenſible of ſundry inconveniencies if he eſpouſed the princeſs of Denmark; and, to divert him from it, propoſed to him Catherine, the king of Navarre's ſiſter, who was not yet come to the crown of France, promiſing to ſerve him to the utmoſt of her power. Elizabeth's anſwer being laid before the council, there was not a privy-counſellor but what declared againſt the Daniſh match. James was ſo vexed to be thus contradicted, that by means of a truſty ſervant, he cauſed the inhabitants of Edinburgh to raiſe in arms, and threaten to tear the chancellor and privy-counſellors in pieces, if the king's marriage with the princeſs of Denmark was not concluded. Theſe threats terrifying the council, embaſſadors were inſtantly appointed to negotiate the marriage. But withal, care taken to inſert in their inſtructions a clauſe, which put them to a ſtand in the very beginning of their negotiation, and obliged them to ſend home the lord Dingwal to demand fuller powers, or leave to return. This lord arriving at court when the chancellor was abſent, the king himſelf drew the power required by his embaſſadors, whereupon the marriage was ſoon concluded. Preſently after, the new queen was delivered to the embaſſadors to be conducted into Scotland: but a ſtorm ariſing whilſt ſhe was at ſea, drove her upon the coaſt of Norway, where ſhe was forced to land. The wind continued ſo long contrary, that James, impatient to ſee his bride, could not ſtay till it changed. So, embarking in a ſmall veſſel, he went to his queen, and

[c] Six ſhips of war, and about 60,000l. in money. Stow, p. 752.

[d] One hundred and forty-ſix, ſays Stow. He makes the number of the ſoldiers to have been fourteen thouſand, and of the ſailors four thouſand. Ibid.

[e] And all manner of naval ſtores, to equip a new fleet againſt England. Camden, p. 554.

[f] The Engliſh brought home an hundred and fifty pieces of great ordnance, and a very rich booty, ſays Camden, p. 555.

[g] He was accompained by ſir Thomas Wilford, ſir John Burroughs, ſir Thomas Drury, and ſir Thomas Baſkervill. Ibid. p. 556.

This

London: Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

ANNE of Denmark, Queen of King JAMES. I.

Johnson Pinx.t

Goldar sculp.t

At Somerset House

Publishd as the Act directs, Sept.r 23, 1706.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London. Engraved for Harrisons Edition of Rapins History of England.

ROB: DEVEREUX
Earl of Essex
1601.

I. Oliver Pinx.t

T. Woodman & H. Hulsler Sc.t

Published as the Act Directs June 19. 1784.

paſſed the whole winter in Norway and Denmark, from whence he returned not to Scotland till May the next year, bringing his queen with him [h].

[1590] The tranquillity enjoyed by Elizabeth was liable to be diſturbed only from Spain. France was not in condition to create her any uneaſineſs, and the king of Scotland thought only of living peaceably, in expectation of the noble ſucceſſion that was to come to him. Philip II. was therefore the ſole enemy Elizabeth had to fear. But, to ſecure herſelf from all ſurpriſe, ſhe took the moſt juſt though expenſive precautions. She had always a good fleet ready to put to ſea at the firſt notice [i]. The fortified towns and ſea-ports were likewiſe in good condition [k], and this coſt her as much as if ſhe had been in actual war with Spain. But ſhe ſupplied all by her good œconomy, expending no money but what was abſolutely neceſſary. This diſpleaſed her hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had been a little more liberal. But though ſhe knew herſelf taxed with avarice, ſhe thought not proper to alter her conduct. She thereby avoided being troubleſome to the parliament, and when ſhe wanted an extraordinary aid, was ſure to find a ready compliance in the houſe of commons, without any murmurs among the people. This advantage outweighed the ſatisfaction of being called liberal by her courtiers. Beſides, ſhe was perſuaded that what was termed avarice in her, was only good œconomy. The truth is, with the ordinary revenues of the crown, ſhe found means to ſupply the expences of her houſhold, maintain a fleet, pay the public debts, and aſſiſt her neighbours in their diſtreſs, which none of her predeceſſors had ever done. On the contrary, moſt of them, by their miſtaken bounties, had ruined their ſubjects for the pleaſure of enriching a ſmall number of courtiers. Beſides, Elizabeth had a particular reaſon to ſpare the purſes of her ſubjects, in order to gain their affection, the ſtrongeſt ſupport of her throne. Wherefore, one of the chief objects of her care was a due management of her treaſury, with intent to be always able to withſtand the attacks of her enemies both at home and abroad. Her inſpection in the year 1590 into the cuſtoms, notwithſtanding the endeavours that were uſed to divert her from it, occaſioned her raiſing them from fourteen thouſand pounds a year (at which ſum they were farmed by ſir Thomas Smith) to forty-two thouſand, and at laſt to fifty thouſand. But her great œconomy hindered her not from parting with her money when it was neceſſary. Though, in the two foregoing years ſhe had lent about two hundred thouſand crowns to the king of France, ſhe ſupplied him with ſixty thouſand more, becauſe ſhe plainly ſaw of what conſequence the ruin of that prince might be to England. Moreover, the garriſons of the Briel and Fluſhing, beſides the three thouſand men maintained by her in the Low-Countries, coſt her yearly above four hundred thouſand florins [l], becauſe ſhe was forced to advance the money till the ſtates ſhould be able to repay her. In fine, ſhe paid alſo conſiderable penſions to ſeveral perſons of the court of Scotland, whoſe buſineſs it was to acquaint her with all that paſſed there, and to keep the king well affected to England, as he had been for ſome time.

Whilſt Elizabeth enjoyed ſome tranquillity, France was troubled with the wars between the king and the league. In March the king gained the battle of Yvry againſt the duke of Mayenne, after which he inveſted Paris, and even took the ſuburbs. That great city was now reduced to extremity, when the duke of Parma arrived from the Netherlands, and forced the king to raiſe the blockade. That done, he returned without the king's being able to oblige him to fight.

On the other hand, in the duke of Parma's abſence, count Maurice, who had already taken Breda by ſurpriſe, made ſome farther progreſs, which helped to put the affairs of the United Provinces in a better ſituation than before.

The ſame year the duke of Mercœur, of the houſe of Lorrain, became maſter of Bretagne, by the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, who took Hennebond and Blavet. This affair diſturbed Elizabeth, who did not care to have the Spaniards ſo near her, eſpecially as Philip II. might claim Bretagne for his daughter the infanta Iſabella, whoſe mother was daughter of Henry II.

Sir Francis Walſingham ſecretary of ſtate, who had long ſerved the queen with great zeal and ability, died this year, ſo poor that he was buried privately to ſave charges [m]. Thomas Randolph, who I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in ſeveral embaſſies, particularly in Scotland, ſoon followed Walſingham.

[1591] The civil wars of France were then the moſt material affair of Europe. It could no longer be doubted, that Philip II. was thinking either to diſmember that kingdom, or procure it for his daughter Iſabella, grand-daughter to Henry II. notwithſtanding the Salic law. Sixtus V. favoured the project to the utmoſt of his power, under colour of hindering a heretic from being acknowledged king of France. If this deſign was not executed, it muſt be wholly aſcribed to the duke of Mayenne's jealouſy, who did not intend to labour for others. Mean while, Henry IV. was extremely embarraſſed. The forces of the Hugonots alone were not ſufficient to enable him to ſurmount all obſtacles, ſince he had no leſs to do than to conquer the whole kingdom of France, and the catholic nobles in his army ſerved him with reluctance. Nay, they had required him, in return for their ſervice, to be inſtructed, and in ſuch a manner, that the inſtruction ſhould produce in him a change of religion. In this preſſing neceſſity, he could not be without foreign ſuccours, and theſe ſuccours could be had only from Germany or England. It was viſibly the intereſt of Elizabeth and the proteſtant princes to ſupport Henry, not to ſee the king of Spain's power increaſed by the acquiſition of France. But, however, it was not eaſy to perſuade them, that they ought to employ all the forces to maintain a war, of which Henry was to reap all the benefit. They were very ready to ſupply him with troops, but not to pay them. It was his buſineſs to find money. Elizabeth plainly perceived of what conſequence it was to her to preſerve France; but expected that the ſuccours ſhe gave the king, ſhould be employed in driving the Spaniards out of the maritime provinces of Bretagne, Normandy, and Picardy, for that was what moſt nearly concerned her. It was the king's intereſt, on the contrary, to expel his enemies from the center of the kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the borders; and the more, as he thereby put Elizabeth under a continual neceſſity of aſſiſting him. However, to receive aid from Elizabeth, he was to promiſe what Elizabeth required. They agreed therefore upon a treaty, whereby Elizabeth engaged to ſend three thouſand men into Bretagne and Picardy, to hinder the Spaniards from ſettling in thoſe provinces, on condition ſhe ſhould be repaid within a year [n] all her charges in raiſing and keeping the troops. Henry conſented to every thing, not to delay the negotiation, though he was fully convinced of the impoſſibility to perform his promiſe by the time appointed. Preſently after, the three thouſand Engliſh paſſed, part into Bretagne, under the conduct of Norris, and part into Picardy, under the command of ſir Roger Williams.

At the ſame time Henry had negotiated in Germany, a levy of eleven thouſand men, by means of the elector of Brandenburgh and Caſimir prince palatine. But this ſupply not ſufficing, he ſent and demanded a ſecond from Elizabeth, and, to obtain it the more eaſily, gave her to underſtand that with this reinforcement he ſhould be able to undertake the ſiege of Roan. Elizabeth's great deſire to ſee the maritime towns of France out of the power of the leaguers, cauſed her to fall into the ſnare. She made therefore with Henry a new treaty, whereby ſhe engaged to ſupply him with four thouſand men more, and pay them two months, imagining that that time was ſufficient for the ſiege of Roan. When theſe ſupplies were ready, ſhe gave the command to the earl of Eſſex [o], a young nobleman, who had much of her favour, and for whom it was believed ſhe felt ſomething more than a bare eſteem, though ſhe was then fifty-eight years of age. The earl of

[h] This year, on February 4, a new parliament met at Weſtminſter, which was diſſolved March 29. The temporality granted the queen ſubſidies of 2s. 8d. in the pound, and four fifteenths, and a tenth beſides, ſays Stow, p. 751. The clergy gave two ſubſidies of 6s. in the pound, to be paid yearly by two ſhillings in the pound. See Statut.—In this parliament it was enacted, 1. That no perſon, except the party grieved, ſhall be received to inform or ſue upon any penal ſtatute. 2. That no perſon, or body politic or corporate, which hath election or voice in the nomination and choice of any fellow, ſcholar, or any perſon in any church, college, ſchool, hoſpital, or other ſociety, ſhall take any reward, directly or indirectly, for his vote: nor for preſentation or collation to any benefice or dignity. 3. That no perſon ſhall build, maintain, or uphold any cottage, unleſs he lays to it four acres of ground at leaſt. The penalty for building one is 10l. and for upholding it 40s. a month. See Statut. and D'Ewes, p. 419, &c.—This year died Frances counteſs of Suſſex, and ſiſter to ſir Henry Sidney, foundreſs of Sidney-Suſſex college in Cambridge. About the ſame time alſo died ſir Walter Mildmay, chancellor and under-treaſurer of the exchequer, and founder of Emanuel college in the aforeſaid univerſity. Camden, p. 557.

[i] Towards the repairs of which ſhe appointed a yearly ſum of 8970l. ſterling. Camden, p. 558.

[k] This year ſhe fortified Milfordhaven in Wales, and Dunganon in Ireland. Ibid.

[l] She paid 125,000 florins every two months, i. e. 750,000 yearly; beſides 26,000 more to three thouſand horſe and foot, which ſerved in the Netherlands. Ibid. p. 558.

[m] He died April 6, and was buried by night in St. Paul's church. Camden, p. 560. He ſpent his whole time and eſtate in the ſervice of his queen and country; and had the beſt intelligence from all parts that any miniſter ever had. He left only one daughter, who was married, 1ſt, to ſir Philip Sidney; 2dly, to Robert earl of Eſſex; and, 3dly, to Richard Bourk earl of Clanrikard in Ireland. Ibid. This year alſo, on Feb. 21, died Ambroſe Dudley earl of Warwick, without iſſue; and George Talbot the ſeventh earl of Shrewſbury; as alſo ſir James Croftes. Ibid. Stow, p. 760, 761.

[n] Provided the enemy were diſpoſſeſſed by that time. Camden, p. 561.

[o] Sir Thomas Leighton and ſir Henry Kelligrew were appointed as aſſiſtants to him. Ibid. p. 562.

During

Eſſex, greedy of glory, departed from England full of hopes to ſignaliſe himſelf at the ſiege of Roan, but at his arrival in France, found the ſiege had not been ſo much as thought of; that the king was employed before Noyon, and intended to ſend the Engliſh forces into Champagne. Whereupon he returned into England, having firſt given the king his parole of honour to come and join him as ſoon as the ſiege of Roan ſhould be undertaken. He left his troops however in France under the command of ſir Roger Williams.

Elizabeth was extremely offended to be thus deceived. She wrote to Henry, that ſince he had broke his word, he might for the future proceed without her aſſiſtance, and that ſhe intended to recal all her troops, unleſs he immediately performed his promiſe. Elizabeth's letter embarraſſed Henry greatly. He had certain advice that the duke of Parma was preparing to return into France, and in ſuch a juncture the recalling of the Engliſh forces would have been very unſeaſonable. He was forced therefore, in order to ſatisfy Elizabeth, to cauſe Roan to be inveſted by the marſhal de Biron. But he took a freſh occaſion from thence to demand of Elizabeth a new ſupply of five thouſand men, on pretence that the troops already ſent were extremely diminiſhed by ſickneſs and deſertion. At the ſame time the earl of Eſſex, knowing Roan was inveſted, went over to the ſiege [p], contrary to the queen's expreſs orders; ſuppoſing, that ſince he had given the king his parole, nothing could free him from his engagement. Elizabeth was ſo diſpleaſed with the king and the earl, that ſhe returned a very rough anſwer to the French embaſſador, who preſſed her for the five thouſand men demanded by the king his maſter, and left him no hopes of obtaining them. At the ſame time ſhe diſpatched ſir Thomas Leyton, the earl of Eſſex's uncle, with an expreſs order to him inſtantly to return, if he would not be entirely diſgraced. Mean while, Henry hearing the duke of Parma was departed from Bruſſels about the end of November, repaired to his army before Roan to carry on the ſiege, hoping to take the city before the duke of Parma's arrival. Shortly after, he ſent Du Pleſſis Mornay to Elizabeth, to try to obtain the deſired ſupply.

Du Pleſſis, accompanied with the embaſſador in ordinary, being admitted to audience, and telling the queen his buſineſs, ſhe plainly anſwered, ſhe would not be the French king's dupe; neither would ſhe for the future concern herſelf any more with his affairs, nor was he to expect any other aſſiſtance from her than her prayers: That he had demanded a ſpeedy aid for the ſiege of Roan, which ſhe had accordingly ſent him; but inſtead of executing their treaty, he had loſt his time before Noyon, and ſuffered the Engliſh troops to decay, whilſt he was making war in Champagne: That he had given the duke of Parma four months to prepare, and then a ſpeedy ſupply was deſired of her, which would not have been wanted, had things been done in time. To this ſhe added great threats againſt the earl of Eſſex, ſaying, he would have it thought that he ruled in England, but nothing was more falſe, and ſhe would make him the moſt pitiful fellow in the kingdom; that, inſtead of ſending freſh troops into France, ſhe was determined to recal thoſe that were there. Then pretending to be indiſpoſed, ſhe deſired the embaſſadors to be contented with this ſhort audience, hardly giving Du Pleſſis time to return any anſwer to her complaints. But he had taken care beforehand to prepare a memorial which he would have preſented to her, but ſhe bid him give it the lord treaſurer. In ſhort, Du Pleſſis returned without obtaining any thing, and the earl of Eſſex was forced to go back to England, where he found means to appeaſe the queen. Mean while, the duke of Parma having entered France, and being joined by the duke of Mayenne and the young duke of Guiſe, who had eſcaped out of priſon, raiſed the ſiege of Roan. Henry eaſily perceived by Elizabeth's conduct, ſhe would not ſuffer herſelf to be amuſed by his artifices, and for fear of loſing ſo neceſſary an aſſiſtance, laboured ſo effectually to be reconciled with her, that at laſt ſhe ſent him two thouſand freſh men; but it was not till after the raiſing of the ſiege.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the late duke of Norfolk's ſon was gone with ſix men of war to the Azores, to wait for the Spaniſh plate-fleet, homeward bound from America. Having ſtayed ſix months in the Iſle of Flores, he was himſelf almoſt ſurpriſed by Alphonſo Baſſano, who was ſent to convoy home the fleet with fifty-three ſhips of war. He had the good fortune to eſcape the danger by a timely retreat; but one of his ſhips that was not ſpeedy enough, was taken by the Spaniards after a ſharp engagement [q]. The Engliſh made themſelves ample amends for this loſs by ſeveral prizes, and particularly by taking a ſhip richly laden, bound for the Weſt-Indies, in which, it is ſaid, they found two and twenty thouſand indulgences for the Spaniards of America [r].

This year the queen publiſhed two proclamations, the firſt of which prohibited the carrying of any warlike ſtores or proviſions into the king of Spain's dominions. The ſecond, publiſhed in October, expreſly forbid the harbouring any perſon who ſhould come from the Engliſh ſeminaries, at Rome or Rheims, or from a third lately founded by the king of Spain at Valladolid [s].

[1592] The war which was continued in France made Elizabeth very uneaſy, becauſe the Spaniards had got footing in Bretagne, from whence they might readily make ſome attempt upon England. Henry, perfectly knowing her extreme deſire to diſlodge them from that poſt, demanded a farther aid to carry the war into that province. Though Elizabeth had experienced that ſhe could not much rely on his word, becauſe it was not always in his power to make war where he pleaſed, ſhe concluded with him however a new treaty to this effect: That ſhe ſhould furniſh him with four thouſand men, ſome pieces of ordnance, and a certain quantity of ammunition; That he ſhould add to the Engliſh troops four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe: and this army be employed to recover Bretagne: That he ſhould within a year repay all her charges: That he ſhould not make peace with the leaguers till they promiſed to aſſiſt him in driving the Spaniards out of the kingdom: That England ſhould be expreſly included in the peace he ſhould make with Spain. Elizabeth ſincerely performed her engagement, and ſent four thouſand men into Bretagne, under the command of Norris [t]. But Henry, inſtead of joining his troops with the Engliſh, and carrying the war into Bretagne, ordered them to ſerve in Normandy, whether he was moſt preſſed in thoſe parts, or had made treaty only to amuſe the queen. However this be, Elizabeth reſented it extremely to be again deceived. She often wrote to the king, complaining of his proceedings, but to no purpoſe. In her anger, ſhe was going to recal all her troops; but hearing the duke of Parma was preparing to make a third expedition into France, ſacrificed her reſentment to the good of that kingdom, which was in ſome meaſure her own. Indeed the duke of Parma was upon the point of re-entering France; but death, which ſeized him at the ſame time, freed Henry as well as Elizabeth from their uneaſineſs.

Scotland was then diſturbed by Bothwell, who made this year a freſh attempt to become maſter of the king's perſon. As his deſign was diſcovered before it could be executed, he was forced to fly into England. Elizabeth being informed of it, wrote to the king that ſhe would cauſe thoſe who had harboured the fugitive to be ſeverely puniſhed. And yet, when James ſent and required her to deliver him up purſuant to their treaty, ſhe evaded his demand, being well pleaſed to keep that prince always in a ſort of uneaſineſs which ſhould oblige him to regard her.

The riches brought by the Spaniſh fleets from the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies were a continual allurement to the Engliſh, who attempted almoſt every year to take them. Sir Walter Raleigh with that deſign departing this year with fifteen ſail, met near the Azores a ſeven-decked carrack, one hundred and ſixty-five feet long, moſt richly laden, which he took without much difficulty. This prize made him ſome amends for his charges in fitting out his fleet. But the contrary winds hindered him from executing a more important enterpriſe projected againſt America [u].

There was a ſort of prodigy this ſummer at London: the Thames was ſo dried up and the channel ſo ſhallow, that a man might ride over it near London-bridge [w].

[p] During which his brother Walter was ſlain. Stow, p. 762.

[q] Sir Richard Greenvil, in the vice admiral called the Revenge, out of a raſh piece of bravery, would not let his men ſail, and being pent up between the iſland and the Spaniſh fleet, reſolutely attempted to break through; but was taken after a hot fight of fifteen hours. Greenvil himſelf was ſlain. Camden, p. 565.

[r] About this time George Riman, an able ſeaman, and James Lancaſter, made a voyage to the Eaſt-Indies, and had the good fortune to double the Cape of Good Hope. Ibid.

[s] In the year 1593, March 26, the queen granted a commiſſion to thirty-four perſons, to ſearch and find out all ſuſpicious perſons, as well Engliſh as ſtrangers, that had, ſince the 31ſt of the queen, come, or ſhould thereafter repair into the kingdom from beyond ſea; and alſo thoſe that wilfully abſtained from reſorting to church, or depraved and contemned the laws made in that behalf; and finally, all thoſe that were guilty of counterfeiting, clipping, and carrying the coin out of the kingdom. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 201, &c.—November 20, 1591, died ſir Chriſtopher Hatton, lord chancellor of England, and was ſucceeded by ſir John Puckering, who was made only lord keeper. Stow, p. 764, 765.—The 3d of the ſame month, Bren O Royrke lord of Breny O Royrke in Ireland, was executed at Tyburn for treaſon. Stow, p. 764.

[t] Who had been called home to inform the queen of the ſtate of affairs in Bretagne. Camden, p. 569.

[u] This prize was valued at 150,000l. ſterling. Raleigh's deſign was to make himſelf maſter of Panama, or elſe to intercept the Spaniſh fleet. Ibid. p. 569.

[w] It was occaſioned by a very ſtrong weſterly wind, which blew vehemently for

[1593] The parliament meeting in February 1593 [x], paſſed an act which troubled not only the catholics, but even proteſtants who differed in certain points from the church of England, and were called Puritans. By this act, thoſe who neglected to be preſent at divine ſervice, eſtabliſhed by law, were liable to certain penalties [y]; and ſo, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman catholic with impunity, but even a proteſtant without conforming to the church of England. Thus in ſome meaſure were renewed the days of Henry VIII. when it was unlawful to ſwerve ever ſo little from the religion of their ſovereign: with this difference, that under Elizabeth the penalty was not death as in the reign of her father. Nevertheleſs there was in this laſt act ſomething more hard than in thoſe of Henry VIII. That prince, abſolute as he was, contented himſelf with puniſhing ſuch as by ſome overt-act oppoſed the eſtabliſhed religion; but by this new ſtatute, the ſubjects were obliged openly to profeſs the religion of the church of England. Elizabeth, exaſperated againſt the catholics, who had made frequent attempts upon her crown, and even her life, would have been very glad to have cleared the kingdom of them. On the other heard, ſhe could not endure the puritans, looking upon them as obſtinate people, who for very frivolous cauſes bred a ſchiſm in the proteſtant church. Whilſt ſhe was in danger from the queen of Scots, France, and Spain; in a word, whilſt her affairs remained in a ſort of uncertainty, ſhe left the puritans unmoleſted, for fear of uniting them in the ſame intereſt with the catholics. But no ſooner was ſhe firmly eſtabliſhed, but ſhe hearkened to the ſuggeſtions of the clergy, who repreſented the puritans as ſeditious perſons, who rebelled againſt the laws, and by their diſobedience ſhook the foundations of the government. This is not the only time, nor is England the only ſtate, where diſobedience in point of religion has been confounded with rebellion againſt the ſovereign. There is ſcarce a chriſtian ſtate, where the prevailing ſect will ſuffer the leaſt diviſion, or the leaſt ſwerving from the eſtabliſhed opinions, no, not even in private. Shall I venture to ſay it? It is the clergy chiefly who ſupport this ſtrange principle of non-toleration, ſo little agreeable to chriſtian charity. The ſeverity which from this time began to be exerciſed in England upon the non-conformiſts [z] produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and occaſioned troubles and factions which remain to this day, and of which perhaps there will be no end theſe many years.

The ſame parliament taking into conſideration the queen's great expences, both in defending the kingdom againſt the Spaniſh invaſion, and in aſſiſting the French king and the United Provinces, granted her an extraordinary aid of money. But it was inſerted in the act, that ſo large and unuſual a ſupply, granted to a moſt excellent queen, who made ſo good uſe of the public money, ſhould not be drawn into a precedent [a]. The queen coming to the houſe to give the royal aſſent to this act, made a fine ſpeech, wherein ſhe forgot not to extol her love and care of her ſubjects, and her attachment to the proteſtant religion. She ſpoke in lofty terms of the bravery of the Engliſh, and ſhewed how formidable they were to all the nations in Europe [b]. No perſon was ever more maſter of the art of gaining the affection of her people, by expreſſing an uncommon value and tenderneſs for them.

Amidſt all the occaſions the queen had to congratulate herſelf upon her good fortune, ſhe ſtill felt ſome uneaſineſs with reſpect to the tranſactions of Scotland. King James began to be ruled by ſuſpicious perſons, and the queen received advice that the Spaniards, aſſiſted by the catholics, were contriving ſome dangerous plot [c], and were countenanced by the earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol. She heard farther that the king acted not with the vigour neceſſary to prevent their deſigns, and thereby gave cauſe to ſuſpect he was himſelf inclined to innovations. She did not entirely rely on that prince. Beſides his ſuffering himſelf to be always guided by thoſe whom he entruſted with the adminiſtration of his affairs, ſhe was afraid he had been inſpired with the deſire to revenge the queen his mother's death; and that his proteſtations of being ever attached to her intereſt, were only intended to amuſe her. For this reaſon, ſhe ſent the lord Borough to give him advice, and deſire him to inform her of what he knew concerning the plots of the Spaniards and catholics. She wiſhed moreover, he would ſhew himſelf a little more ſevere to thoſe who endeavoured to raiſe troubles in Scotland, and would admit to his council only perſons of known loyalty. James anſwered, he would do what the queen deſired, as far as his own intereſt and the laws of the land would allow. But withal he told the embaſſador, that his revenues being extremely diminiſhed, he expected the queen to furniſh him with means to puniſh thoſe who ſhould dare to diſturb the public peace. He alſo required ſhe ſhould deliver up Bothwell, who had twice attempted his life, and even ſent Robert Melvil to Elizabeth, to demand him expreſly. But ſhe refuſed to ſurrender him, and only baniſhed him out of England, as ſhe was bound by the treaty of league made with the king.

Bothwell not being able to ſtay longer in England, returned into Scotland, and withdrew to his own houſe. Shortly after, his party ſo increaſed, by accidents which it is needleſs to mention, that he had the boldneſs to come into the king's preſence, under colour of begging his pardon. James was ſurpriſed to ſee him, but was more ſo, when he perceived that his whole court, except ſome of his miniſters, were Bothwell's friends. He was therefore forced as it were to grant him a pardon, on condition that he ſhould depart the kingdom, and not return unleſs recalled. Bothwell accepted the condition, and concealed himſelf on the borders of England. But at his departure, he left ſo ſtrong a party in the court, that the king was at laſt obliged to diſmiſs the chancellor, the lord treaſurer, and others whom he moſt truſted. Bothwell was ready to improve this change, but the king broke his meaſures by declaring to the ſtates, he was compelled to pardon him, and by deſiring their aid to free him from his yoke. The ſtates declaring for the king, he recalled his miniſters, and Bothwell's friends were driven from the court.

In this aſſembly of the ſtates, an ordinance was made for ſupporting the proteſtant religion, as eſtabliſhed in Scotland. But as the king and his council were ſuſpected of favouring the plots of the catholics, this ordinance was not deemed ſtrong enough by the people, who thought that in ſuch a juncture, the ſtates ſhould have taken more vigorous reſolutions. However this be, the king's obſtinacy in keeping in the miniſtry and about his perſon, men who ſeemed to have no zeal for the proteſtant religion, gave occaſion to ſuſpect ſome dangerous plot was contriving for its deſtruction.

What paſſed in France made Elizabeth no leſs uneaſy than the king of Scotland's inconſtancy. General Norris was ſtill in Bretagne with the Engliſh forces. He had been promiſed a place in that province for a retreat, and that the duke d'Aumont and Eſpinay ſhould join him; but he was long left there without being thought of. At laſt, Eſpinay being arrived, they made together ſome little conqueſts, too inconſiderable to requite Elizabeth for the maintenance of her troops, which coſt her weekly three thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling [d]. Thus inſtead of employing the Engliſh

for two days together. There had been a very great drought the ſummer before. Stow, p. 765. Camden, p. 570.—October 19, died Anthony Brown viſcount Montacute. Camden, Ibid.

[x] It met Feb. 19, and was diſſolved April 10. D'Ewes, p. 456, &c. Townſhend, p. 31, &c. Whilſt it was ſitting, viz. Feb. 14, Peter Wentworth, eſq; and ſir Henry Bromley, prepared a petition for entailing the ſucceſſion of the crown; for which Wentworth was ſent to the Tower, and Bromley to the Fleet. D'Ewes, p. 470.

[y] In the preamble it is ſaid, That this act was made for the preventing and avoiding ſuch great inconveniencies and perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous practices of ſeditious ſectaries and diſloyal perſons. The act ran, That if any perſon above the age of ſixteen years, ſhall refuſe to repair to ſome church, or forbear to do the ſame for the ſpace of a month, ſhall be committed to priſon, there to remain without bail or mainpriſe, till they ſhall conform---and make ſuch open ſubmiſſion and declaration of their conformity, as by this act is appointed. The offenders againſt this ſtatute, who refuſed to make this ſubmiſſion, were to abjure the realm, and not to return without her majeſty's licence, under the penalty of ſuffering as felons, without benefit of the clergy. This bill met with great oppoſition in the houſe of commons, as the reader may ſee in D'Ewes, p. 474, &c. where the ſpeeches on both ſides are inſerted. There was an act made alſo againſt popiſh recuſants, by which they were confined within five miles of their reſpective dwellings, on forfeiture of all their goods and chattels, together with lands, during life. By another act, all the abbey-lands are confirmed to to the crown and grantees.

[z] Theſe ſeverities were probably occaſioned by the diſturbances cauſed by Hacket, and ſome other enthuſiaſts. However this be, the ſame Hacket, on July 28, 1591, and alſo Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, Daniel Studley, and two more, were executed April 6, 1593, for writing and publiſhing ſeditious books; as was the next year John Penry, for writing a book called Martin Mar-Prelate. See Stow, p. 764—766.

[a] The laity granted three ſubſidies of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands; together with ſix fifteenths and tenths, amounting in all to 280,000l. And the clergy advanced two whole ſubſidies of 4s. in the pound, to be paid in two years. This ſubſidy-bill paſſed with great difficulty the lower houſe, being debated on February 16, March 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, and 19. See the debates in D'Ewes, p. 473, 477, &c. 483. Let it be obſerved here, that a fifteenth and a tenth was a certain tax on every city, borough, and town, not upon every man in particular, but a general ſum, in proportion to the fifteenth part of the wealth of the reſpective places. Subſidy was impoſed on every ſingle perſon, as they are aſſeſſed by poll, according to the value of their goods and lands.

[b] She made this ſpeech the laſt day of the ſeſſion, April 10, 1593.

[c] This plot was, to raiſe a ſubſcription for a large ſum of money in Scotland; and then an army of thirty thouſand Spaniards was to land in that kingdom, about the end of the year 1592, which was to be joined by Bothwell, &c. with a body of troops: and all theſe were to march into England, to revenge the queen of Scot's death. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 190—194.

[d] It appears by a paper in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 194, that the king of France was then indebted to her 52,783l.

to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, Henry uſed them only to keep his enemies in awe, and hinder them from making greater progreſs, whilſt he was warring elſewhere. Elizabeth ſeeing herſelf thus deceived, would have recalled her troops, but was perſuaded by the marſhal d'Aumont, not only to leave them, but even to ſend freſh ſupplies, upon the hopes he gave her that the king would very ſoon make a powerful effort to reduce that province.

The queen's vexation at Henry's proceedings was nothing in compariſon of her concern when ſhe heard he was going to change his religion. At the firſt news, ſhe diſpatched Thomas Wilks to diſſuade him, if poſſible, from that deſign; but at his arrival, Wilks found the thing already done. However Henry thought proper to inform him of the reaſons of his change, that he might acquaint the queen his miſtreſs with the ſame. All he ſaid on the occaſion tended to this [e], that he had changed his religion againſt his will, and after as long a delay as poſſible; but being at laſt convinced he ſhould never be fixed in his throne whilſt a proteſtant, he had determined to embrace the catholic religion; that is, in other words, having put his conſcience in the balance with his crown, he had given it for the latter. After ſo expreſs a declaration of the inſincerity of his converſion, it is no wonder Elizabeth ſhould loſe much of her eſteem for him, and the pope and leaguers not conſider him as a true catholic; or rather, it is ſtrange they ſhould be ſatisfied with an outward profeſſion. Morlant the French embaſſador at London, having told Elizabeth the ſubſtance of the king's diſcourſe to Wilks, ſhe wrote the king the following lines:

"IT is hardly poſſible to expreſs the extreme grief and diſſatisfaction which has ſeized me upon Morlant's repreſentation of things. Good God! what a miſerable world do we live in? Could I, ever have thought, ſir, that any ſecular conſideration could have prevailed with you to diſcard a juſt ſenſe of God and his fear? Or can you ever reaſonably expect that providence will grant this change of your's a happy iſſue? Or could you entertain a jealouſy that the gracious being, who had ſo long ſupported and preſerved you, would fail and abandon you at laſt? It is, believe me, a dangerous experiment, To do evil that good may come. But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better inclination, even the ſpirit of a ſound mind. In the mean time I ſhall not ceaſe to recommend your caſe to God in my daily prayers, and earneſtly to beſeech him that Eſau's hands may not pollute the bleſſings and birth-right of Jacob. The promiſe you make of a ſacred and friendly alliance, I conceive myſelf to have deſired, and even earned as a vaſt expence; but I had not mattered that, had you ſtill kept yourſelf the ſon of the ſame father. From henceforth I cannot look on myſelf as your ſiſter, in reſpect to our common father; for I muſt and ſhall always pay a much greater regard to nature than choice in that relation; as I may appeal to God, whom I beſeech to recover you into the path of a ſafer and ſounder judgment."

Your ſiſter after the old-faſhioned way.
As for the new I have nothing to do with it.
ELIZABETH.

This war is not the only affair Wilks was charged to mention to the king of France. He had orders to complain from the queen, that the late treaty was not executed, and d'Aumont's delay had been very expenſive to the queen. Henry threw all the blame on the marſhal, and poſitively promiſed to march himſelf into Bretagne, when the truce for that province was expired. He added, that in the mean time he would adviſe with his council concerning the place of retreat for the Engliſh troops. But theſe were only empty words. The king's intention was not to employ his forces againſt Bretagne, before he had reduced the reſt of France, but only to uſe the Engliſh troops by way of diverſion to the duke of Mercœur, for fear, when he had made himſelf abſolute maſter of Bretagne, he ſhould aſſiſt the duke of Mayenne. Still leſs did he intend to give a place of retreat to the Engliſh in that province, leſt he ſhould find it very difficult to diſlodge them. Theſe things troubled the queen exceedingly, and certainly had ſhe aided Henry only from a motive of friendſhip and generoſity, as ſhe would have made him believe, ſhe would never have ſuffered ſuch infringements of the treaties. But it was manifeſtly her intereſt to oppoſe the Spaniard's deſigns, who had a mind to become maſter of France, under pretence of maintaining the catholic religion. Henry perfectly knew Elizabeth's policy, and therefore gave her only good words, well knowing ſhe was concerned to aſſiſt him. At length the king of Spain preparing to exert his utmoſt in ſupport of the league, which was declining ſince the king's turning catholic, Elizabeth readily made a league offenſive and defenſive with Henry, whatever reaſon ſhe had to complain of him. This league was concluded and ſigned at Melun in October, and among other articles it was agreed, that a peace ſhould not be made without a mutual conſent.

About this time it was diſcovered in England, that one Heſquet had been ſent by ſome Engliſh fugitives, to perſuade Ferdinand earl of Derby to aſſume the title of king, as great grandſon of Mary daughter of Henry VII [f]. When this was propoſed to the earl, Heſquet added, he might rely on the aſſiſtance of Philip II. but if he refuſed to do what he propoſed, or did not keep the thing ſecret, he might be aſſured he ſhould not live long. The earl of Derby fearing to be inſnared, informed againſt Heſquet, who was taken and hanged. But he died himſelf within four months by a ſtrange poiſon, which made him vomit himſelf to death [g]. His gentleman of the horſe was ſuſpected of the deed, becauſe he rode away the firſt day of his lord's illneſs. The Engliſh fugitives imagined there were ſuch numbers of malcontents in England, that ſome great man's declaring againſt the queen would be ſufficient to raiſe a general rebellion. This is not the only time, that in the like juncture fugitives had flattered themſelves with ſuch vain hopes [h].

The duke of Parma's death had not entirely hindered the expedition deſigned by the Spaniards againſt France. Their army had entered Picardy and taken Noyon, and was returned into Flanders. After Parma's death, the count de Fuentes and D. Diego d'Ibarra were at the head of the council, expecting a new governor. While the adminiſtration of affairs reſted in their hands, they inceſſantly endeavoured to excite troubles in Scotland, by aſſuring the catholics of a powerful aſſiſtance from the king of Spain. [1594] Their project was to ſend a Spaniſh army into Scotland, to aſſaſſinate or poiſon queen Elizabeth, and then invade England with their army from Scotland, which the general conſternation upon her death would render leſs difficult. To execute the deſign upon Elizabeth, they had caſt their eyes on Roderigo Lopez a Jew, and two Portugueſe. Lopez the queen's phyſician had promiſed to poiſon her for fifty thouſand crowns. This plot being diſcovered, the three accomplices confeſſed they had been corrupted by the count de Fuentes and Don Diego d'Ibarra, to undertake ſo execrable a deſign. Lopez however pleaded in his excuſe, that his intention was only to draw money from the king of Spain, and that he had even preſented to the queen a rich jewel received from that prince. But as he had given no intimation of the plot, his excuſe was not allowed. At the gallows he affirmed, "That he loved the queen as well as Jeſus Chriſt." This was a plain indication that he was not unjuſtly condemned.

The day after theſe three villains were executed, a fourth, one Patrick Cullen, an Iriſh fencing-maſter, who had been ſent from the Low-Countries to kill the queen, underwent the ſame fate. Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been ſuborned by Ibarra to commit the ſame crime, were alſo arreſted, and others were diſcovered who had engaged to fire the navy. Elizabeth on this occaſion wrote to the archduke Earneſt, who had been appointed governor of the Low-Countries, to demand the puniſhment of the authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the king of Spain from ſuſpicion, the moſt proper way would be to ſurrender all the fugitive Engliſh in his dominions, or at leaſt thoſe who were concerned in the conſpiracies [i]. But foreſeeing that Antonio Perez, who had endeavoured to excite troubles in Arragon, and was then in England, might likewiſe be demanded, ſhe told the archduke, the king of France had ſent him to his embaſſador at London without her knowledge, and he had never been aſſiſted by her: but all this was to no purpoſe. On the other hand, the earl of Eſſex received Perez into his houſe to learn of him the ſecrets of the Spaniſh monarchy.

It was not only in England that the Spaniards had the mor-

[e] The king's whole diſcourſe to Wilks is to be ſeen in Camden's Annals, Rapin.

[f] Henry Stanley earl of Derby, father of this Ferdinand, died juſt before. Camden, p. 574.

[g] He died, April 16, in the very flower of his youth. There was found in his chamber an image of wax, with hairs thruſt through the belly of it, of the ſame colour with his own, which was thought to be placed there on purpoſe to avoid the ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned. He was ſucceeded by his brother William, who had afterwards a famous trial with Ferdinand's three daughters, for the dominion of the Iſle of Man. Camden, Ibid. Stow, p. 767, &c.

[h] This year queen Elizabeth ordered a garriſon to be kept in the iſles of Scilly, and a fort to be built in the iſland of St. Mary. She alſo fortified the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey. Camden, p. 574.—There died of the plague this year in London 10,675 perſons. Stow, p. 760.

[i] Namely, Hugh Owen, Thomas Throckmorton, Holt the jeſuit, Gifford, and Worthington, &c. Camden, p. 577.

He

tification to ſee their projects miſcarry. In France likewiſe their affairs were in a very ill ſituation ſince Henry's embracing the catholic religion. The cities and great men who had been for the league, returned in crowds to the obedience of the king, and all the people manifeſtly tended to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke. The 22d of March, the city of Paris was ſurrendered to the king by count Briſſac, and the duke of Feria who was there was obliged to take a ſafe-conduct from the king, to retire with his Spaniſh troops to the duke of Guiſe's army. It was then only that Henry ſeriouſly reſolved to drive the Spaniards out of Bretagne, who were in poſſeſſion of many places in that province. The marſhal d'Aumont having been intruſted with the management of the war, made good uſe of the Engliſh troops, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves with that bravery, that the queen was obliged to write to Norris, not to be ſo laviſh of the blood of her ſubjects. Martin Forbiſher, a famous ſea officer, was killed at a ſiege in this war [k]. Some time after, the queen recalled Norris, to ſend him into Ireland.

The affairs of Scotland gave Elizabeth perpetual uneaſineſs. She had intimations from thence, that the Spaniſh faction was powerful at court, that ſomething was contriving againſt the proteſtant religion, and that the king ſeemed to incline to the popiſh party. This filling the queen with ſuſpicions, ſhe reſolved to ſend the lord Zouch into Scotland, as well to be informed of the truth, as to fortify the Engliſh party and inſtruct king James in his true intereſt. The embaſſador repreſented to the king from his miſtreſs, that the late act of the ſtates was not capable to reſtrain the inſolence of the Roman catholics, who affected publicly to exerciſe their religion, and held an almoſt open correſpondence with the king of Spain. James anſwered, that he would proceed againſt the catholics by the eſtabliſhed laws; and if they refuſed a ſubmiſſion to the laws, he would proſecute them with the ſword, provided the queen, who had the ſame intereſt as himſelf, would contribute to the expence of the war. The embaſſador, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, earneſtly preſſed him to procure other laws againſt the catholics more ſevere than the preſent. To this James, with ſome heat, replied, he was not at the queen's command, nor did it belong to her to preſcribe in what manner he ſhould govern his kingdon. After that he demanded Bothwell, who was retired into England.

But Elizabeth was very far from giving him this ſatisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that Bothwell was enabled to enter Scotland at the head of four hundred men, with whom he ſurpriſed the town of Leith. He afterwards publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "That perſons dangerous to the church and ſtate, having by ſome artifice procured admiſſion into the council, gave occaſion by their conduct to believe, they were forming deſigns againſt the evangelical religion: That for ſome time the Romiſh prieſts had been ſeen running from village to village, and celebrating the maſs in the moſt public manner: That they endeavoured to animate the people againſt the Engliſh, in order to kindle a war between the two nations, which could not but prove fatal to Scotland: That to give a check to theſe dangerous conſpiracies, he had, with the concurrence of divers lords and gentlemen, taken up arms to drive theſe pernicious counſellors out of the kingdom, or bring them to an account for their actions: That the thing was the more urgent, as the Spaniards were going to invade the kingdom; and therefore he exhorted the Scots to join with him to prevent greater miſchiefs, and induce the king to favour ſo juſt a deſign." He wrote in the ſame manner to the general ſynod of the kirk aſſembled at Dunbar, and to the Engliſh embaſſadors. When the coherence between Bothwell's manifeſto and the lord Zouche's repreſentation to the king is conſidered, Elizabeth muſt be ſuſpected of being concerned in this undertaking.

Mean time the king having aſſembled ſome forces, prepared to oppoſe Bothwell's deſigns, who declined not however to meet him. But the rebel, having ſome diſadvantage in the firſt engagement, and finding himſelf not ſupported, was ſeized with fear, and retired to the borders. Whereupon Elizabeth forbid any to harbour or conceal him. This was very agreeable to the Scotch king, who was afraid ſhe would think of ſupporting him. Though Bothwell's undertaking miſcarried, it however produced a very good effect. James perceiving the danger he might incur by a breach with Elizabeth, reſolved at laſt to alter his conduct, leſt his vain projects ſhould cauſe him in the end to forfeit the Engliſh crown. He therefore aſſembled the ſtates, and prevailed to have the catholic lords, who had appeared too zealous for the Spaniard, to be baniſhed the kingdom. They made ſome efforts to reſiſt, but were at laſt obliged to obey. Then the ſtates enacted new laws againſt the catholics, and even formed an aſſociation like that in England ſome years before. One Graham Feintry, a zealous adherent of Spain, endeavouring to excite new troubles, was puniſhed with death [l].

[1595] The king of Scotland's change, and the vigor he exerted on this occaſion, deſtroyed the hopes entertained by the catholics of engaging him in their intereſt. They therefore formed new projects to place the crown of England on the head of ſome perſon devoted to their religion, or at leaſt not very zealous for the proteſtant. The Engliſh catholics caſt their eyes on the earl of Eſſex, who, they had obſerved, approved not the laws made againſt them [m]. But the Engliſh fugitives in the Low-Countries were for the Infanta Iſabella, daughter of Philip II. They even publiſhed a genealogy, to ſhew, that the king of Scotland being a heretic, the crown was devolved to the king of Spain, whence they inferred, he had power to diſpoſe of it in favour of his daughter. Nor was this a bare project founded on the paſſion of the Engliſh catholics. It is certain, Philip, though he wanted not employment ſince the king of France had declared war againſt him, intended to make extraordinary efforts to procure his daughter the crown offered her by the Engliſh fugitives. The fame of his preparations was now flown over Europe, and produced miſchievous effects in Ireland, where Hugh O'Neal, earl of Tiroen had rebelled, in expectation of the aſſiſtance promiſed by the Spaniard. This obliged Elizabeth to prepare for the defence of her dominions, and to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to Norris now in Ireland.

Henry IV. had, as I ſaid, declared war againſt Spain, though unadviſedly, if it could have been avoided, conſidering the miſerable ſituation of France. But Philip II. by his continual and powerful ſupport of the league, had ſufficiently declared war againſt Henry, though he pretended to make war not upon but for France. However this be, Henry was indiſpenſably obliged to maintain a war againſt Spain, and therefore believed it would be better to attack Philip directly, than to ſtand upon the defenſive. But as France was drained both of men and money, it was not eaſy for him to ſupport the war alone, and come off with honour. He had therefore recourſe to Elizabeth, as to his laſt refuge in his preſſing neceſſities. And perhaps he was encouraged to break openly with Spain, by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance from England. To that end, he wrote to the queen, that the recalling of Norris and his forces had broke all his meaſures, and he rather expected ſhe would ſend greater ſuccours, ſince he had declared war againſt Spain. Elizabeth anſwered, "That ſhe commended his reſolution to attack the king of Spain's dominions: That this was a good expedient to prevent an invaſion, as ſhe had experienced: That as to the recalling of her troops out of Bretagne, he could not juſtly complain of it, ſince they had not only remained there longer than their treaty required, but even notwithſtanding the manifeſt breach of that treaty and the violation of his promiſe: That he had poſitively engaged to ſurrender to the Engliſh the town or Morlaix, when taken, for a place of retreat: But that this very place, conquered at the expence of Engliſh blood, had been denied to the juſt expectation of the Engliſh, by a fraudulent capitulation of the marſhal d'Aumont, to have none but catholics admitted into it: That he ought not to be ſurpriſed, if ſhe was unwilling to be his dupe any longer, ſince ſhe could rely neither on his promiſes nor his treaties: That beſides, ſhe wanted her forces in Ireland, where there was danger of a general revolt." It is certain, Henry's behaviour to Elizabeth was no encouragement to her to grant him any great aſſiſtance. And therefore, it was only her fear of the Spaniards taking advantage of the weakneſs of France which ſtill kept her attached to Henry's intereſt, for whom ſhe had no longer her former eſteem and regard. It may alſo be ſaid, that ſince his aceeſſion to the throne of France, he had done nothing tending to preſerve Elizabeth's friendſhip.

The queen, in the preſent ſituation of her affairs, not being able to rely much on the king of France, and looking upon all her expence, on his account, as intirely fruitleſs, reſolved to keep her forces and treaſure for the defence of her own do-

[k] He was wounded in the hip at the ſiege of Crodon, and died juſt after his return, with the fleet, to Plymouth. In the ſame ſiege, ſir Anthony Wingfield, and Bruder, Jackſon, and Barker, all brave officers, were ſlain. Camden, p. 578.

[l] This year died William Allen, cardinal, and founder of the Engliſh Roman catholic ſeminaries, at Douay, Rheims, Rome, and in Spain. He was educated at Oriel-college in Oxford, and was proctor of the univerſity in queen Mary's reign, and canon of York. But upon queen Elizabeth's acceſſion, he retired beyond ſea.—This year alſo died Gregory Fienes, the laſt lord Dacres of that ſurname. Camden, p. 580. Bevis Bulmar, gentleman, ſet up this year an engine at Broken-wharf, for conveying the Thames water through the ſeveral parts of the city of London; and by pipes of lead, into each houſe. Stow, p. 769.

[m] Camden's words are: He could never endure the maxim of murdering people for the ſake of their religion.

The

minions, in caſe they ſhould be attacked by the Spaniard. England was properly in danger only from Scotland; but the news ſhe received of the change in king James, freed her from all uneaſineſs. That prince perceiving Philip's aims were levelled as much againſt Scotland as England, ſaw at laſt that the beſt way to break his meaſures, was to live in union with Elizabeth. So, to ſhew that he meant to preſerve that union, he publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding, under ſevere penalties, his ſubjects on the borders to injure the Engliſh; and the queen put forth another to the ſame purpoſe. From this time he lived with Elizabeth in a good underſtanding, which nothing was capable to diſturb, being ſenſible this was the ſureſt way to aſcend one day the throne of England.

Edmund York and Richard Williams, who had been arreſted the laſt year, being tried and convicted of a deſign to murder the queen, were executed in February. They confeſſed, that Ibarra had promiſed them forty thouſand florins, if they accompliſhed their enterpriſe.

Henry IV. after his declaration of war with Spain, formed a deſign of penetrating into the Low-Countries, and making conſiderable conqueſts; but he was ſoon ſenſible his meaſures were not juſt. In April 1595, Ferdinand de Velaſco, conſtable of Caſtile, came into Franche-Comté at the head of eighteen thouſand men, and threatened the duchy of Burgundy. This obliged Henry to lead thither in perſon the beſt part of his army. Whilſt he was thus employed in Burgundy, the count de Fuentes, who commanded in the Netherlands after the death of the archduke Erneſt, entered Picardy, and became maſter of Catelet. Then he beſieged Dourlens, beat the French who came to its relief, and took the town by ſtorm. Henry, upon this mortifying news, ſent Chevalier immediately into England to demand a ſupply of forces for the defence of Picardy, according to his treaty with the queen. In the inſtructions given to his envoy, he ordered him to take care, that this ſupply ſhould be ready in a fortnight after the date: but the Chevalier ſpent twelve days in his voyage. The queen anſwered, ſhe would not fail to ſend a body of troops into Picardy, as ſoon as they could be ready, to defend Calais, Dieppe, and Boulogne. Indeed the ſole motive of her treaty with Henry, was to prevent the Spaniards from becoming maſters of thoſe maritime places; but ſhe had never pretended to defend the inland towns of that province, for which ſhe was little concerned. This was not what the king wanted, having no deſire to put the Engliſh into theſe places. He pretended that, without any diſtinction, the queen ſhould ſend him a body of troops, to aſſiſt him in driving the Spaniards out of all Picardy. At the ſame time, the duputies of the province of Bretagne arrived at London, to demand ſupplies of the queen, without ſpecifying either the number of ſervice, and without offering a place of retreat; but this demand of troops was rejected by the queen.

The Spaniards, after the taking of Dourlens, beſieged Cambray, and became maſters of that important place. Henry ſeeing himſelf thus preſſed, ſent Lomenie, ſecretary of ſtate, to Elizabeth, to demand of her a ſpeedy and powerful aid. He expected, by entering into a league with Elizabeth, to engage her to make war with Spain in the kingdom of France, ſo that it ſhould ſeem, ſhe was obliged to ſend him forces and money whenever he had occaſion, though the treaty contained nothing like it. But Elizabeth had no ſuch intention, being unwilling to ſend her forces into France, when her own dominions were in danger, or ſo make war with Spain that all the profit ſhould be Henry's, and the loſs her's [n]. Therefore ſhe told the embaſſador, ſhe could not comply with his maſter's demand. Lomenie, vexed with the ill ſucceſs of his negotiation, ſpoke to her very haughtily, and charged her with being the cauſe of the loſs of Cambray, by her having not ſent the deſired ſupplies into Picardy. He added, that ſhe ſeemed to rejoice at the misfortunes of France, but ſhe might ſoon repent, and by her conduct be forced to make a diſadvantageous peace with Spain [o]. Theſe menaces, and the haughtineſs wherewith they were ſpoken by Lomenie, intirely offended Elizabeth. Nevertheleſs, as Henry's affairs were in a very ill ſituation, ſhe thought it not proper to deprive him of all hopes of her future aſſiſtance. She anſwered Lomenie however ſuitable to her dignity, but leſs ſharply than ſhe would have done at another juncture. Afterwards, when he demanded a ſecond audience, her anſwer was, that ſhe would acquaint the king of France by her embaſſador [p], with her reaſons for keeping her troops and money.

Elizabeth's refuſal offended Henry's council, in which the leaguers had now too great an influence. Several adviſed him to make a ſeparate peace with Spain, ſince he could hope for no aſſiſtance from Elizabeth. They ſeemed to talk as if ſhe had been obliged to ſend forces to Henry whenever they were demanded, and had violated her engagements. This was doubtleſs what was intended by the league: the French had reckoned to manage her as they pleaſed, but being diſappointed were very angry with her. Beſides, Henry's council being moſtly compoſed of the declared enemies of the proteſtant religion, and of whom ſome had been the moſt zealous leaguers, conſidered Elizabeth not as a friend whom they were hereafter to regard, but as a temporary friend, from whom they were to draw all poſſible advantages. It was not without reaſon that Elizabeth miſtruſted the king of France, who, to obtain his abſolution from the pope, had ſubmitted to terms unbecoming a king, and tending to the ruin of the proteſtants [q], thereby ſhewing he no longer conſidered them as his friends. It was not therefore proper for her to aſſiſt powerfully a friend, who was only ſo in name. Wherefore ſhe left him to manage his affairs as he pleaſed, without giving herſelf any concern. Beſides, ſhe could expect from him only a bare diverſion to the arms of Spain, which probably would laſt no longer than required by the intereſts of France. Henry's conduct gave her no room to expect any thing farther, ſince he had left the Spaniards unmoleſted in Bretagne, though her greateſt danger was from thence. And indeed, in July this year, the Spaniards, who were ſettled in Bretagne, made a deſcent in Cornwal and burnt ſome villages [r]. Though this expedition was inconſiderable, it however obliged Elizabeth to be upon her guard, and demonſtrated the neceſſity of diſlodging the common enemy from that province. But the intereſt of England was not the motive of Henry's actions.

It was not of Elizabeth only that the king of France complained after the loſs of Cambray. He accuſed alſo the ſtates of the United Provinces of violating their alliance with him, in ſuffering a town of that importance to be taken, and threatened to make a ſeparate peace. The ſtates, ſeeing the advantage of a war between France and Spain, appeaſed the king with a round ſum of money, two regiments, and a conſiderable quantity of corn.

This proceeding of the ſtates cauſed Elizabeth to tell them [s], ſince they had money enough to lend the king of France, they were doubtleſs able to pay their debts, and therefore ſhe demanded to be reimburſed of what ſhe had advanced for them. Adding, that unleſs ſpeedy ſatisfaction was given her, by a diſcharge of part of the debt, and an aſſurance of the remainder within ſuch a time, ſhe would take proper meaſures to do herſelf juſtice. The ſtates being thus preſſed, had recourſe to intreaties and ſubmiſſions to appeaſe her. They repreſented, that the ſtate of their affairs did not permit them to ſatisfy her. But as excuſes ſignified little, they urged their treaty with her, by which they were not obliged to repay her, till the end of the war. She replied, that when ſhe aſſiſted them, they were reduced to a deplorable ſtate, and ſhe ſhewed her bounty and generoſity in not requiring a reimburſement till after the peace, becauſe it was not likely they ſhould be able to pay her before. But ſince they were rich enough to lend the king of France money, it was evidently in their power to reimburſe her. That therefore the article of the treaty on which they inſiſted, ought naturally to be thus interpreted, "That they ſhould not be in a condition to repay her before the concluſion of the war." There were great and even warm conteſts upon this ſubject. But at laſt the affair was adjuſted for a time, on theſe conditions: That the ſtates ſhould promiſe for the future to pay the Engliſh forces in their ſervice [t], and to join the queen's fleet with a certain number of ſhips, in caſe ſhe ſhould be attacked by the Spaniards.

Elizabeth had alſo a conteſt to maintain with the Hanſe-towns, who complained to the diet of the Empire that their corn was ſeized by the Engliſh in Portugal, and their privileges infringed, formerly granted them by Edward III. As this affair was more warmly puſhed ſome years after, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere.

This year, ſir Walter Raleigh made, at his own charge, a ſecond expedition into America, from which he reaped no

[n] The expedition to Bretagne had ſtood the nation in 47,248 crowns de ſoleil, and above 2,000,640 more were ſpent upon the forces under the earl of Eſſex, beſides the money lent. Camden, p. 582.

[o] According to Camden, Lomenie ſaid, ſhe would by her conduct oblige the king of France to make peace with Spain, p. 582.

[p] Sir Thomas Edmonds.

[q] See the terms at length in Camden, p. 583.

[r] They came only with four gallies, and burnt St. Paul's church, which ſtood alone in the fields, beſides Mouſehold, Neulin, and Penſance, three poor fiſher towns, without taking or killing one man. Theſe were the only Spaniards that ever ſet foot in England as enemies. Ibid. p. 583.

[s] By ſir Thomas Bodley her envoy to the ſtates. Camden, p. 585.

[t] The charges of which were computed at 40,000l. a year. Beſides that, they promiſed to pay 20,000l. ſterling for ſome years; and upon the concluſion of a peace, a yearly ſum of 100,000l. for four years. Ibid. p. 586.

Sir

great advantage. The queen likewiſe fitted out twenty-ſix ſhips to carry the war into that country, under the command of ſir Francis Drake and ſir John Hawkins [u]. But as the Spaniards had taken great precautions, the Engliſh admirals performed nothing memorable. Nay, they both died in this expedition.

Norris, as I ſaid, was diſpatched into Ireland to command the forces againſt the rebels, at the head of which was the earl of Tiroen. The jealouſy which aroſe between that general and the lord Ruſſel lieutenant of Ireland, was the reaſon the Engliſh made no greater progreſs in that kingdom. The earl of Tiroen even obtained a truce, upon giving hopes he would lay down his arms, and ſubmit to the queen. But this was only a feint to gain time till the arrival of the ſuccours promiſed him from Spain. The war was continued for ſome years; but my deſign is not to relate the Iriſh affairs, which would require a ſeparate hiſtory. Beſides, the manner in which hiſtorians deliver them is ſo confuſed, and the Iriſh names as well of perſons as places are ſo barbarous and hard to remember, that it is difficult to form a clear idea of this war [w].

[1596] Whatever reſolution had been made by Elizabeth to concern herſelf no more with the affairs of France, ſhe was however forced to take other meaſures, by reaſon of the great ſucceſs of the Spaniſh arms in that kingdom. Cardinal Albert of Auſtria, who had ſucceeded his brother Erneſt in the government of the Low-Countries, arrived there the beginning of the year 1596. He immediately made great preparations as if he intended to relieve La Fere, which had been for ſome time blockaded by the French king, and at laſt beſieged in form. But ſuddenly, after throwing ſuccours into the town, the archduke marched to Calais and inveſted it. This place had been formerly of great repute, but whether from the change in the method of beſieging towns, or from being neglected ſince it was recovered by France, is was now of little note. Henry, alarmed at the ſiege, diſpatched Sancy into England to demand ſuccours. The marſhal de Bouillon quickly followed him, and ſo preſſed the queen, that ſhe ordered eight thouſand men to be ready under the command of the earl of Eſſex. But ſhe required, in caſe the ſiege was raiſed by the Engliſh, to have the town delivered to them, ſince it was in effect loſt to France. The marſhal and Sancy evaded this demand, by ſaying, they had no inſtructions upon that ſubject; knowing the king had rather ſee the place in the hands of the Spaniards than reſtored to the Engliſh. So, under pretence that the relief of Calais was too preſſing to allow time to diſcuſs that propoſal, they ſo managed, that the queen gave orders for the embarkation of the troops. But at the ſame time, news came that the place was taken, after a reſiſtance but of twelve days. Then the archduke alſo took Ardres with the ſame eaſe. This was the ſixth place taken from France by the Spaniards within a year. The ſuccours deſigned for Calais not having been ready in time, the new-levied troops were diſmiſſed; but the queen lent money to Henry on the ſecurity of his two embaſſadors.

Mean time, the queen having advice that the king of Spain was preparing to invade England and Ireland, reſolved to prevent him. For that purpoſe, ſhe fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail, with two and twenty Dutch ſhips and ſeven thouſand ſoldiers. Charles Howard commanded as admiral, and the earl of Eſſex was appointed general of the land forces [x].

The fleet ſailed from Plymouth the beginning of June, and kept at a diſtance from the coaſts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, the commanders intending to ſurpriſe Cadiz. It was with great joy that they learned from the maſter of an Iriſh veſſel returning from that port, that every thing there was in the greateſt ſecurity: That the garriſon was weak, and the port full of ſhips of war, galeons, gallies, and merchant-men freighted for the Indies. This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the 20th of June on the weſt-ſide of the iſle of Cadiz, and at their approach the Spaniſh ſhips retired to the Puntals. The next day the Engliſh attacked them with great reſolution [y], but met with ſo warm a reception, that the fight laſted from break of day till noon. At laſt, the Spaniards deſpairing to make a longer defence, reſolved to ſink their ſhips, and eſcape to land. Their admiral-ſhip called the St. Philip was burnt to aſhes, with two others near her, the Spaniards themſelves ſetting it on fire to prevent its falling into the hands of the Engliſh. The St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, and moſt of the others ran aſhore.

During the engagement at ſea, the earl of Eſſex with eight hundred men landed at the Puntals, and marched directly to Cadiz. Three or four hundred paces from the city, he met with five hundred Spaniards, who, when they ſaw him, retired into the town, and were ſo cloſely purſued, that the Engliſh had like to have entered with them. The conſternation was ſo great in the town, that before any meaſures could be taken for its defence, the Engliſh had time to force the gate [z] and throw themſelves into the town. Though they found ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets, yet in half an hour they made themſelves maſters of the market-place. Then the garriſon and inhabitants retired into the caſtle and town houſe, but the ſame or the following day, were obliged to ſurrender. By the capitulation, they were to have their lives on payment of ſeventy thouſand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hoſtage [a]. The town being thus in the power of the Engliſh, the earl of Eſſex turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of ſilver, ammunition, and other valuable things, beſides what the ſoldiers had plundered.

On the other hand, admiral Howard ſent ſir Walter Raleigh to burn the merchant ſhips at Port Real. The admiral was offered two millions of ducats for their ranſom, but rejected the offer, ſaying, he came to burn and not to ranſom the ſhips. Mean time, the duke of Medina found means to unload ſome of theſe ſhips and fire others, to deprive the Engliſh of their riches. Beſides the merchantmen, the king of Spain loſt two galeons, taken by the Engliſh, with above a hundred braſs guns [b], thirteen men of war, eleven ſhips freighted for the Indies, and thirteen others, without reckoning the ſtores prepared for the intended expedition againſt England. The Engliſh eſtimated his loſs at twenty millions of ducats.

The earl of Eſſex propoſed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to ſtay there, provided he might have four hundred men and three months proviſions; but his advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his plunder to England. So the fleet ſet ſail, after burning the town with ſome adjacent villages. While the fleet was ſailing for England, a north wind ariſing, the earl of Eſſex propoſed to ſteer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks; but he was not heard, every one fearing to loſe what he had gained.

The queen received theſe brave men with great marks of eſteem, and expreſſed her acknowledgment of the ſervice they had done her. But the earl of Eſſex met with a mortification on his arrival at court, for having, before his departure, recommended ſir Thomas Bodley to be ſecretary of ſtate, the queen, without regarding his recommendation, had conferred that office on ſir Robert Cecil the lord treaſurer's ſon, who was not his friend. Some days after, he had alſo the vexation to ſee Francis Vere made governor of the Briel [c], though he had ſtrongly ſollicited for another. This convinced him that his credit was declining, and his uneaſineſs at it engaged him in extravagant projects which coſt him his life.

The king of Spain having been for ſome time unable to purſue his deſigns againſt England, Elizabeth renewed her applications to the ſtates of the United Provinces for payment of her arrears. The ſtates, to be excuſed, alleged the ſame reaſons as before, which were no better received. The queen ſaid, it was unjuſt her payment ſhould depend on a peace, which the ſtates might defer as long as they pleaſed. That beſides, the treaty ſhe had made with them contained in expreſs terms, that the war ſhould continue no longer than ſhe ſaw convenient. But the ſtates pretended, this article was inſerted in the treaty only in honour to her. This conteſt held till the report of new preparations in Spain for an invaſion of

[u] Sir Thomas Baſkerville was appointed general of the land forces. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 277. He and captain Troughton had a warm engagement, near Cuba, with the Spaniſh fleet that was come to intercept them; but the Engliſh fleet got clear of them. Camden, p. 585.

[w] This year, on November 19, died, in his confinement in the Tower, Philip Howard earl of Arundel. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 277.—This year alſo died ſir Roger Williams, and ſir Thomas Morgan, two brave officers. Ibid. p. 587.

[x] The fleet was divided into four ſquadrons; whereof the firſt was commanded by the lord admiral Howard, the ſecond by the earl of Eſſex, the third by the lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by ſir Walter Raleigh. The officers of the army (of which the lord admiral and the earl of Eſſex were joint generals) were, ſir Francis Vere lord marſhal, ſir John Wingfield, camp maſter general, ſir Conyers Clifford ſerjeant major, ſir George Carew maſter of the ordnance. The colonels were, Robert earl of Suſſex, ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, ſir Thomas Gerrard, ſir Richard Wingfield, ſir Edward Wingfield captain of the volunteers; Anthony Aſhley was ſecretary at war. Stow, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

[y] This was done by the lord Thomas Howard, ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Southwell, ſir Francis Vere, ſir George Carew, ſir Robert Croſs, &c. Ibid. p. 592.

[z] It was done by ſir Francis Vere. Ibid. p. 593.

[a] The Spaniards were to pay 520,000 ducats (or, according to Stow, 620,000) and to give forty hoſtages. No Engliſhman of note, except ſir John Wingfield, was killed. Ibid.

[b] Twelve hundred pieces of ordnance, ſays Stow, were either taken or ſunk in the ſea, p. 775.

[c] Upon the lord Sheffield's voluntary reſignation. Camden, p. 594.

England cauſed the queen to ceaſe by degrees her ſollicitations. The truth is, the ſtates delayed to pay her, not ſo much out of inability, as to keep her always attached to their intereſt. On the other hand, the queen did not make theſe preſſing inſtances for want of money, but becauſe ſhe would not have her payment depend on the ſucceſs of the affairs of her debtors. They were then able to pay, but ſhe knew not what alterations time might produce.

When the marſhal de Bouillon was ſent into England to demand aid, he had made ſome propoſal of a ſtricter alliance between France and England. But the French king had neglected the affair, becauſe he ſaw Elizabeth upon her guard, and unwilling to furniſh him with either men or money, but upon good grounds. Mean while, the deſigns and preparations of the Spaniard becoming public, Henry believed Elizabeth would be more tractable, and he might treat with her upon better terms. In this belief he diſpatched the marſhal de Bouillon and Sancy into England, to negotiate with the queen a league offenſive and defenſive. The treaty was ſoon concluded, for the queen was afraid the ill ſituation of the king's affairs would force him to a ſeparate peace with Spain. The principal articles of the league were, That the queen ſhould furniſh four thouſand men for the defence of Picardy and Normandy: That the king of France, in caſe the queen was invaded, ſhould find the like number for the defence of England, not to ſerve above fifty miles from the ſea: That neither of the two crowns ſhould make peace without the conſent of the other. By a ſecret article it was agreed, that Elizabeth ſhould this year furniſh no more than two thouſand men [d]. Very probably, Elizabeth concluded this league with France with the ſole view of keeping Henry engaged in the Spaniſh war, by means of the ſupplies ſhe was to ſend him. But it is unlikely ſhe expected the ſame aſſiſtance in caſe of need, becauſe Henry could not himſelf be without the Engliſh auxiliaries. On the other hand, Henry knowing that Elizabeth had conſented to the treaty from the ſole motive of intereſt, ſcrupled not to act on the ſame motive; that is, to uſe the queen's aſſiſtance, till he could with honour diſengage himſelf from a war he had ſo unſeaſonably declared againſt Spain. There are few leagues but what have the like foundation. Wherefore they are commonly ſeen to ceaſe, when the intereſt of one of the parties begins to change. The ſtates of the United Provinces entered into the league, with ſome additional articles which concerned them in particular. But Elizabeth's jealouſy of their attachment to France, retarded ſome time the concluſion of their treaty. She pretended, they ought not to come into it as ſovereigns, but as aſſociated towns which had put themſelves under her protection. But the king of France prevailed with her to deſiſt from that pretenſion.

Philip II. was enraged to be prevented by Elizabeth, and to be unable to defend his own dominions, he who had his whole life been ſo greedy of thoſe of others. So, reſolving neither to deſiſt from his projects, nor ſuffer Elizabeth to enjoy the ſatisfaction of her happy ſucceſs, he determined to make another effort, not only to be revenged of Elizabeth, but alſo to conquer England. Though he had received great damage from the Engliſh, yet as it was only in one of the places where he made his preparations, he ſtill believed himſelf in condition to purſue his deſigns. He therefore aſſembled all the ſhips he had left, freighted many foreign ones, and by that means had a formidable fleet, when Elizabeth thought him intirely unable to act againſt her. This fleet ſailed from Liſbon to take up the land forces at Fariola, and then ſteered directly for England. But a violent ſtorm ariſing in the midſt of the voyage, ſeveral of the ſhips were loſt, and the reſt ſo diſperſed, that the fleet was rendered unſerviceable for this year. Thus Elizabeth had the pleaſure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before ſhe knew of its ſailing. But not to be expoſed again to the like danger, ſhe took care to fortify the places where the Spaniards could moſt eaſily have landed [e], if heaven had not blaſted their projects [f].

[1597] In the beginning of the year 1597, during a moſt ſevere winter, prince Maurice gained a battle againſt the Spaniards at Turnhout. But on the other ſide, in March, Hernando Tellez Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, found means to ſurpriſe Amiens. This accident diſturbed the ſecret negotiations of peace, which by the mediation of the pope were on foot between Henry and Philip. The treaty was now well advanced without Elizabeth's knowledge, notwithſtanding Henry's late treaty with her, of which the principal article was, that no peace ſhould be made without a mutual conſent.

Philip II. relying on a ſeparate peace with France, had reſolved to make an effort againſt Ireland, where he had correſpondents, and even prepared a fleet to execute his deſign. The notice the queen received of it, made her reſolve to prevent him, as ſhe had often done with ſucceſs. For that purpoſe, ſhe equipped a fleet of ſix ſcore veſſels, with ſix thouſand land forces, and gave the command to the earl of Eſſex [g]. The earl's project was to ſail to the Groyne, and deſtroy the armament preparing there, then to wait at the Azores for the Spaniſh fleet returning from the Indies. But contrary winds, ſtorms, and a quarrel betwixt the earl of Eſſex and ſir Walter Raleigh, broke theſe meaſures, and the fleet returned to England without any memorable action. It is needleſs therefore to be more particular concerning an expedition from which Elizabeth received but little advantage. I ſhall only ſay, that whilſt the Engliſh were returning, a fleet from Fariola was ſteering the ſame courſe, in order to make a deſcent in Cornwal. But a tempeſt from the north ſo diſperſed the two fleets, that they could not even get ſight of each other.

The earl of Eſſex being returned to court about the end of October, met with a freſh cauſe of diſcontent. The queen had created admiral Howard, earl of Nottingham, and inſerted in his patent, that it was for his ſervices to his country in 1588, againſt the fleet of Spain, and afterwards in taking the town of Cadiz, jointly with the earl of Eſſex. This patent offended the earl, who thought himſelf affronted by the queen, in her aſcribing any ſhare of the taking of Cadiz to the admiral. Beſides, by this creation the new earl of Nottingham was to take place of him by an act of Henry VIII. which gave the precedence to the lord high ſteward, the lord chancellor, the lord treaſurer, the lord preſident, the lord privy ſeal, the lord chamberlain, the lord high conſtable, the earl marſhal, the lord high admiral, and the lord ſteward, who are called the great officers of the crown, before all the peers of equal degree [h]. But the queen, to ſoften his reſentment, created him earl marſhal of England, which preſerved him the precedence of the lord admiral.

The Hans-towns, as I ſaid, had made great complaints to the diet of the empire, concerning the corn taken from them in Portugal, and their privileges loſt in England. Elizabeth ſent an embaſſador to the diet to anſwer theſe accuſations. He repreſented, That the Hans-towns, by the abuſe of their privileges, had cauſed them to be annulled by an act of parliament in the reign of Edward IV. That afterwards Mary had for a time ſuſpended the execution of that act; but at laſt, even in her reign, thoſe privileges had been entirely aboliſhed, for which he alleged ſeveral reaſons mentioned in Edward's reign. That as to the ſeizure of their ſhips in Portugal, they were freighted with proviſions for the Spaniards, and by the law of nations the Engliſh could ſeize proviſions which were carrying to their enemies, and even confiſcate the ſhips; which, however, were reſtored to the owners. This affair ſeemed ſuppreſſed, and it had not been mentioned for two years, when ſuddenly the emperor, at the ſollicitation of the Hans-towns, prohibited the commerce of the Engliſh merchants, called the Adventurers, with the empire. This obliged the queen to prohibit the commerce of the Hans-towns in England.

Mean time, the king of France was greatly embarraſſed, ſince the Spaniards were become maſters of Amiens, from whence they could make incurſions to the gates of Paris. He reſolved therefore at any rate to recover that place, and formed the ſiege about the end of May. At the ſame time, he ſummoned queen Elizabeth to ſend him four thouſand men, according to their treaty. The queen anſwered, ſhe was ready to ſend the forces, provided he would pay them, becauſe her expences in equipping a fleet, and maintaining an army in Ireland, rendered her unable. Troops without money did not ſuit with Henry, whoſe exchequer was exhauſted. Wherefore, to induce Elizabeth to comply with his demand, he or-

[d] Gilbert Talbot earl of Shrewſbury, was ſent embaſſador to France, to ſee the king ſwear to this treaty; and alſo to preſent ſir Anthony Mildmay to be the queen's embaſſador, in the room of ſir Henry Unton deceaſed; and to inveſt Henry with the order of the garter. Camden, p. 595. See an account of his magnificent reception, in Stow, p. 777.

[e] She cauſed the following caſtles to be fortified: Sandsfort, Portland, Hurſt, Southſea, Calſhot, St. Andrew's, and St. Maudit's. Camden, p. 594.

[f] This year Thomas Arundel of Wardour returned to England, after having done the emperor ſignal ſervice againſt the Turks, and been, as a reward for it, created count of the Holy Empire; the queen was highly offended at Arundel's accepting that title; as the reader may ſee in Camden, p. 595, &c. and Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 284, 289, 301.—Within the courſe of this year died Henry Carey lord Hunſdon; ſir Francis Knolles; as alſo ſir John Puckering lord keeper of the great ſeal, who was ſucceeded by ſir Thomas Egerton maſter of the rolls. Stow, p. 771. Camden, p. 596.

[g] The fleet was divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt commanded by the earl of Eſſex; the ſecond by the lord Thomas Howard; and the third by ſir Walter Raleigh. Charles Blount lord Montjoy commanded the land forces under the earl of Eſſex, ſir Francis Vere was marſhal de camp, ſir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and ſir Chriſtopher Blount field colonel. Camden, p. 597. Stow, p. 783.

[h] The chancellor, treaſurer, preſident of the council, privy ſeal, being barons, ſit above dukes in parliament. The reſt of the great officers ſit after the privy ſeal, above all of their degree only. See Statute 31 Henry VIII. c. 10.

This

dered her to be told, that offers of peace had been made him, with the reſtitution of all his places, except Calais and Ardres, if he would abandon England. He meant to inſinuate, that it was ſolely on her account he had refuſed a ſeparate peace, though in truth, the ſurprize of Amiens was the real cauſe of the diſcontinuance of the treaty, which he would not have begun without her participation, if he had retained the leaſt regard for her. However, the queen, yet ignorant of the ſecret, told him, by her embaſſador, ſhe could never believe that ſo great a prince would violate a ſolemn treaty ſo lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal oaths. She prayed him to look into the treaty, where he would find this article in expreſs terms: "The queen of England ſhall ſend this year four thouſand foot to ſerve the king for the ſpace of ſix months: They ſhall likewiſe ſerve him as long in the following years, if the queen of England's affairs will conveniently permit, in which point the king of France is to take her honour and conſcience for ſecurity." That therefore it was manifeſt, the treaty was not violated by her, as ſhe offered to ſend forces, provided he would promiſe to pay them. All this ended at laſt, in what probably Henry propoſed, which was, that Elizabeth, inſtead of forces, ſhould ſupply him with money. For ſecurity, Henry offered her Calais, provided ſhe would recover it within ſuch a time with her own forces. This was engaging her to make a diverſion more advantageous to France, than the four thouſand men he demanded. It was even uncertain, whether the town could be taken within the limited time, which probably would have been very ſhort. But Elizabeth was not to be thus enſnared, eſpecially as ſhe knew the king of France had rather ſee Calais in the hands of the Spaniards than of the Engliſh. But the retaking of Amiens, which ſurrendered in September, finiſhed this diſpute.

The ſurrender of Amiens renewed the negotiations between France and Spain, which had been interrupted. Henry's conduct on this occaſion did not correſpond with the ſervices he had received from Elizabeth in his moſt preſſing neceſſities. He deferred to acquaint her, that a peace was abſolutely neceſſary for him, till he had privately ſettled the principal articles. He thought, probably, as Elizabeth had only conſulted her own intereſt in their league, he might likewiſe conſider only his own advantage. Such a principle allows the breach of any alliance without ſcruple. He could not however ſo ſecretly tranſact the affair but Elizabeth had notice of his proceedings and deſigns. For that reaſon ſhe called a parliament [i] to demand an aid in ſuch a juncture, intimating, ſhe was going to be abandoned by her ally, though he ſtill pretended not to treat without her. The parliament perceiving the danger of an immediate invaſion, voted an extraordinary ſupply, on condition it ſhould not be drawn into a precedent [k].

[1598] Elizabeth knew Henry was treating with Spain, but was ignorant the peace was now almoſt concluded, and the more, as he had deſired her to ſend embaſſadors to ſettle the points on which they were to treat. She ſent therefore Thomas Wilks, ſir Robert Cecil, and John Herbert, maſter of requeſts. The firſt died preſently after his arrival at Paris. The two others waited on the king at Angers, to know upon what terms the negotiation ſtood with Spain. Henry gave a general anſwer, declaring, he wanted a peace, and that the welfare of his people, which he preferred to all other conſiderations, abſolutely required it. Cecil anſwered, the queen his miſtreſs deſired it no leſs, but wanted to know upon what conditions it was propoſed by the king of Spain, and whether the ſtates of the United Provinces were to be included. Henry replied, the king of Spain offered to reſtore all the places taken in France, Calais not excepted; that this offer could not be rejected, without expoſing his kingdom to utter ruin. Adding, he would ſoon cauſe the king of Spain to grant honourable conditions to the queen and the United Provinces.

This was ſufficient to ſhew the embaſſadors, that the peace between France and Spain was already concluded, and no care taken of Henry's allies. Elizabeth having ſome intelligence of it, ordered her embaſſadors to complain to the king; and the embaſſadors of the ſtates received alſo the ſame orders from their maſters. But Henry, not to hear himſelf reproached, which muſt have been very mortifying to him, appointed commiſſioners to treat with the embaſſadors, inſtead of granting the audience they demanded. The commiſſioners and the embaſſadors being met, Oldenbarnevelt, one of the ſtates embaſſadors, ſpoke boldly of the inſincerity wherewith the king had treated his maſters. He adjured the king, though abſent to declare in his conſcience, if he thought it becoming a prince, to ſeparate from his allies without any provocation. Then, to confound the French commiſſioners, he read aloud the treaty of league, concluding with theſe words: "That ſome kings preferred their private intereſts to their alliances; but that this often proved fatal to them; for when princes have parted with their faith and honour, it is in vain to think of ſupporting themſelves by mere power [l]. The chancellor, who was one of the commiſſioners, anſwered the embaſſador, that what he ſaid deſerved great regard, and ſhould be reported to the king, proteſting, however, that France could not ſubſiſt without peace.

Cecil ſpoke next, and ſaid, That being impowered only to treat of a general peace, ſince the ſtates of the United Provinces were not to be included in the king's treaty with Spain, he could proceed no farther. Then, after a juſtification of Elizabeth's conduct, and a bold cenſure of the French king's, he demanded time to inform the queen of what paſſed. But his demand being eluded, he prayed the commiſſioners to remind the king of the oath he had taken before God and man. He concluded with ſaying, That the queen expected to be repaid the ſums lent the king in his preſſing neceſſities. But whatever the embaſſadors alleged ſignified nothing, ſince the peace between France and Spain was concluded, and nothing was wanting but the formality of having it publicly ſigned by plenipotentiaries, who were to meet at Vervins.

Elizabeth was extremely provoked with the French king's proceedings, and the more, as ſhe ſaw no other cauſe which could oblige him to negotiate a peace without giving her notice, than complaiſance to the pope and the king of Spain. It is certain, Henry might have diſengaged himſelf with ſome appearance of good faith, if he had but pretended an unwillingneſs to treat without his allies, and afterwards, upon the difficulties which ſhould ariſe, had urged the neceſſity he was under of making a peace. But concluding it without their knowledge, he clearly diſcovered, that he preferred the king of Spain's intereſt before that of his antient allies. This was indeed his character. He was ſo impatient to ſee himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of the crown of France, that to compaſs his ends he never ſcrupled to ſacrifice his old friends, who were unable to hurt him, to his moſt mortal enemies, who might ſtill create him diſturbance. He had no perſon about him who dared to cenſure ſuch a conduct; but in Elizabeth he found one of an equal rank, who uſed him with leſs ceremony. She ſent him a letter, in which after other ſevere expreſſions, ſhe told him, "That if in temporal concerns, there was ſuch a thing as a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it was doubtleſs ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantageous terms from Spain, he ought to thank England for them: And that ſolemn oaths, and mutual compacts, were never intended for ſnares, unleſs by the worſt of men." Henry was ſtung with theſe reproaches, but as they admitted of no reply, choſe to take no notice of them. He excuſed himſelf upon the urgent neceſſity which forced him to make peace, and endeavoured to perſuade Elizabeth, that whereas he had hitherto been only a burden to her, he would for the future give her marks of his acknowledgment, in procuring her a ſafe and honourable peace, and in never forſaking her intereſts. But this was only words, which were not much regarded by the queen.

During theſe tranſactions, ſome articles of little moment, which had remained undecided, were finiſhed at Varvins. Mezerai owns, the peace might have been concluded and ſigned in leſs than three weeks, if Henry had not effected to perſuade the public he would not abandon his allies. But all this tended only to obtain for the embaſſadors of England and of the ſtates, an admiſſion to the conferences, without any declaration of what he would do in their favour. But Philip,

[i] This parliament met at Weſtminſter, October 24, 1597, and was diſſolved February 9, 1598. D'Ewes, p. 522.—The acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. An act for the puniſhment of rogues, vagabonds, and ſturdy beggars: By this ſtatute, all the following perſons are to be adjudged rogues and vagabonds: People that go about begging, as poor ſcholars; or on pretence of loſſes by fire or ſhipwreck; collectors for goals; or perſons delivered out of goal, and begging for their fees; ſuch as uſe any ſubtle craft, or unlawful games; fortune-tellers; gypſies; fencers; bear-wards; common players and minſtrels; juglers; tinkers; pedlers and petty chapmen; fellows not working for reaſonable wages, when they are able, and the like. Their puniſhment is to be whipped, and ſent from pariſh to pariſh, by the officer in each, the next ſtraight way to the pariſh where they were born, or laſt dwelt for the ſpace of a whole year. 2. An act for erecting of hoſpitals, houſes of correction, and work-houſes for the poor. 3. One for the increaſe of mariners, and maintenance of the navigation. 4. An act againſt lewd and wandering perſons, pretending to be ſoldiers or mariners, and travelling without teſtimonials from juſtices of peace.

[k] The laity granted three ſubſidies of 2s. 8d. in the pound of goods, and 4s. of lands, with ſix fifteenths and tenths. The clergy gave three ſubſidies to be paid on ſix ſeveral days. Theſe ſeveral ſubſidies were granted without any oppoſition or difficulty. See D'Ewes, p. 569.

[l] Then he propoſed, that if the king of France would lay aſide the thoughts of peace, and beſiege Calais, the ſtates would advance pay for ſeven thouſand men to aſſiſt in it, and furniſh twenty-five men of war; and at the ſame time lay ſiege to ſome other place, to divide the enemies forces. Camden, p. 605.

It

who knew how far he ſhould be ſollicited, remained inflexible, and would never grant a power to his plenipotentiaries to treat either with England or the ſtates. At laſt, after Henry had made all the neceſſary excuſes to clear himſelf to the public, he gave orders to his plenipotentiaries to ſign the treaty, promiſing however his allies, that he would not ratify it till forty days after, as if that time had been ſufficient to make their peace with the Spaniard, who even refuſed to treat with them. Mean while, he exhorted them, whether ſeriouſly or jeſtingly, to embrace the opportunity he was procuring them. This peace was ſigned at Vervins the 2d of May, and ratified by Henry the 12th of June.

It was now incumbent upon the queen and the ſtates to take proper meaſures to ſuſtain the war againſt all the forces of Spain: and, in order to this, Elizabeth ſent Francis Vere to the ſtates to know their reſolution. Mean while, it was debated in council, whether it was proper to make peace or continue the war. The council being divided upon this queſtion, ſeveral reaſons were alleged on both ſides. But the queen, who knew perfectly her intereſt, readily declared for war. She perceived, that in making a ſeparate peace, as it would have been very eaſy, ſhe ſhould oblige the ſtates to put themſelves again under the Spaniſh yoke. In that caſe, ſhe foreſaw, ſhe ſhould ſtand ſingle without any ally, and expoſed to the inſults of Philip, who would never want pretences to quarrel with her, and reſume his former projects againſt England. Nay, it was to be feared, the king of France, incited by the pope and a catholic council, where the ancient leaguers had great influence, would ſuffer himſelf to be engaged in a plot to dethrone her. She was alſo apprehenſive, the king of Scots, in order to aſcend the ſooner the throne of England, would be tempted by promiſes to abandon the intereſts of the proteſtant religion. In a word, by forſaking the ſtates, ſhe expoſed herſelf to the danger of ſeeing the ſtorm fall upon her own head, which ſhe had all her life been labouring to turn upon her neighbours. On the contrary, in ſupporting them ſhe employed the Spaniard, and hindered him from making any conſiderable attempts upon England. Moreover, if by a vigorous war ſhe could oblige Philip to a peace, without any danger to the liberty of the ſtates, ſhe would thereby ſecure friends, who might be very ſerviceable on occaſion.

Theſe were the reaſons which determined the queen to continue the war. But ſhe was very careful to conceal her intentions from the ſtates, and rather ſhewed a great inclination to peace, pretending ſhe was unable to carry on ſo burdenſome a war. She intimated to them, that her intereſt was not concerned, and that Philip's efforts againſt England plainly ſhewed ſhe was in no danger from him. The ſtates not being able to diſſemble like her, becauſe their all was at ſtake, ſhe brought them to acknowledge, that if the war was continued, it was ſolely for the preſervation of their liberty, and therefore it was neceſſary to treat anew upon that foundation. In ſhort, ſhe ſo artfully managed, that they came to a new agreement with her, entirely to her advantage. The ſtates choſe rather to ſubmit to her terms than be forced to make a peace, by which, in that juncture, they muſt have loſt their liberty, their religion, and the fruits of thirty years labour. The articles of the new treaty were [m]:

That the ſtates ſhould give ſecurity to Elizabeth for eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to which all her claims were limited.

That the half of this ſum ſhould be diſcharged by yearly payments of thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, as long as the war ſhould continue; and if, at the end of the war, any thing remained of this half, the annual payments ſhould be but twenty thouſand pounds.

That as to the other half, and the reſtitution of the places which were in the queen's hands, there ſhould be an amicable agreement when the peace was concluded.

That for the garriſons of Fluſhing, the Briel, and other forts, the queen ſhould furniſh eleven hundred and fifty men, to be paid by the ſtates, at the rate of one hundred and ſeventy pounds ſterling a month, beſides utenſils, and other uſeful neceſſaries for ſoldiers in garriſon.

That for the future the queen ſhould be diſcharged of her engagement to furniſh the ſtates with auxiliaries; and that the Engliſh who now ſerved, or ſhould hereafter ſerve in the Low-Countries, ſhould be paid by the ſtates, take an oath to them, and obey the orders of their generals.

That by this means, the authority of the Engliſh deputy, ſtipulated in the former treaty, would be aboliſhed, the queen nevertheleſs reſerving a power to put one perſon into the council of ſtate.

That if, during the war, the common enemy or his adherents ſhould ſet out a fleet to invade England, or the iſles belonging to it, namely, thoſe of Wight, Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, the ſtates ſhould be obliged to aſſiſt her majeſty with a fleet of thirty or forty ſhips of war; and, in caſe of an invaſion, with five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe: That if her majeſty ſhould equip a fleet of fifty or ſixty ſhips to act offenſively, either in Spain, Portugal, or the Weſt Indies, the ſtates ſhould join her with the ſame number of ſhips. And if any Engliſh forces, as ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe at the leaſt, were ſent over into Flanders or Brabant, the ſtates ſhould furniſh out half the ſame number of men.

It is eaſy to obſerve from this treaty, how well the queen knew to improve the preſent circumſtances of the ſtates, and their fear of being forced to make a diſadvantageous peace with Spain, though, for reaſons before mentioned, it was her intereſt to continue the war. Beſides, when this treaty was negotiating, the earl of Tiroen was very formidable in Ireland. In fine, the king of Scotland almoſt openly demanded to be declared the queen's preſumptive heir. He diſperſed written or printed books, in which he pretended to prove that no perſon whatever could deprive him of his right. A letter was even ſhewn to Elizabeth ſubſcribed with his own hand, and addreſſed to the pope [n]. Camden ſays, he had been ſurpriſed into this letter; but that author is too partial in every thing concerning king James to deſerve entire credit. Shortly after, one Edward Squire was apprehended in London, for having undertaken to kill the queen by poiſoning the pummel of her ſaddle. All this ſhews ſhe had no leſs reaſon to fear for herſelf than for the ſtates, and that it was her intereſt to ſupport them, and procure them a peace which ſhould ſecure their liberty.

The death of Philip of Spain, which happened in September this year, ſomething allayed Elizabeth's uneaſineſs. That prince was ſeventy-two years old, and had reigned forty-two, in continual troubles to enlarge the bounds of his monarchy. He caſt his ambitious views upon France, England, and Portugal, and of all theſe grand projects, the laſt only ſucceeded. But he loſt ſeven provinces in the Netherlands, which were well worth the kingdom he acquired. He died a dreadful death, being devoured by lice ſwarming from ulcers with which he had been ſome time afflicted: but he bore his calamity with admirable conſtancy. Some time before his death, he had aſſigned the ſovereignty of the Low-Countries in dower to the infanta Iſabella his daughter, when he married her to archduke Albert. But the conditions annexed to this grant ſhew he had no intention to diſmember thoſe provinces from the Spaniſh monarchy. Beſides the reſervation of homage, and a power to keep garriſons in the citadels of Antwerp and Cambray, he had ſtipulated the reverſion of theſe provinces to the crown of Spain, in default of heirs deſcending from the princeſs his daughter; and it is even pretended he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip III.

This year a troubleſome affair happened at the Engliſh court. The queen conſulting the earl of Eſſex and the admiral [o], concerning a fit perſon to be ſent into Ireland, diſcovered an inclination for ſir William Knolles; but the earl of Eſſex, though his nephew, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, contending for ſir George Carew, in order to remove him from court, as being jealous of him. He ſupported his opinion with great haughtineſs and obſtinacy, and perceiving the queen immoveable, turned his back upon her with ſuch an air of contempt, that, provoked at his inſolence, ſhe gave him a box on the ear [p]. He immediately laid his hand on his ſword, and being prevented from drawing it by the admiral, ſwore, "That he neither could nor would put up with ſo great an indignity; nor would he have taken it from Henry VIII. himſelf were he alive," and inſtantly retired from court. The lord privy ſeal repreſenting to him in a letter, the folly of his menaces, and adviſing him to aſk the queen's pardon, he ſent a long and paſſionate anſwer, wherein he ſpoke very diſreſpectfully of the queen [q]. But at laſt being brought to himſelf by the advice of his friends, he was re-admitted to favour. Few believed this reconciliation ſincere, and the earl's friends were in great fear for him.

[m] It does not appear from whence Rapin has taken this treaty. His abſtract of it is extremely faulty, which is here rectified from the original in Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 340, &c.

[n] This letter is extant in Winwood's Memorials, tom. I. p. 1.

[o] There were none preſent then but the earl of Eſſex, the admiral, ſir Robert Cecil, and Windebank keeper of the privy ſeal. Camden, p. 608.

[p] And bid him go and be hanged. Camden.

[q] Rapin ſays here, by miſtake, that the lord privy ſeal talked with him inſtead of ſending a letter; but the reader may ſee Eſſex's anſwer at length, in Camden, p. 609. vol. ii. Compl. Hiſt.

This

William Cecil baron Burleigh, lord treaſurer, and for many years prime miniſter and confident of the queen, died this year in extreme old age [r]. [1599] The lord Buckhurſt ſucceeded him in his office of treaſurer.

The affairs of Ireland were in ſo ill a ſituation, that a ſpeedy remedy was to be applied, or the kingdom expoſed to the hazard of being entirely loſt. Since the advantages gained by the earl of Tiroen over the Engliſh, the whole province of Munſter had revolted. The natives in every other part of the iſle were in the ſame diſpoſition, flattering themſelves that with the aſſiſtance of the pope and the Spaniards [s], the earl of Tiroen would free them entirely from the Engliſh yoke. The queen, informed of the ſtate affairs, believed no time was to be loſt to reduce the Iriſh to their duty, and ordered her council to conſider in her preſence how to execute her reſolution. The earl of Eſſex ſpoke long upon the ſubject, blaming the conduct of the former lord deputies, who, he ſaid, amuſed themſelves with trifles, inſtead of acting directly againſt the earl of Tiroen, without giving him any reſpite; that by truces granted him from time to time he had reſtored his affairs; and withal, the queen had been put to a needleſs expence, ſince her troops were paid in a truce as well as during the war. This opinion was grateful to the queen, who loved not to be laviſh of her money without occaſion. When a deputy came to be named, moſt of the council were for the lord Montjoy. This was oppoſed by the earl of Eſſex, becauſe that lord had never commanded in chief, and was too much addicted to books; whereas the affairs of Ireland required an active and warlike general. He added, that to put a ſpeedy end to the war in Ireland, the management of it ought to be given to a general of reputation, and who was acceptable to the people. In a word, he ſo plainly pointed out himſelf, that he was choſen to the employ. His friends thought to oblige him, and his enemies hoped that this poſt, and his abſence from the court, would afford them means to ruin him.

What this lord's deſigns were is not known, but for ſome time he had made himſelf ſo popular, and gained ſo far upon the people by his affable behaviour, that he was almoſt adored [t]. He only wanted to gain the affection of the ſoldiery, and probably this was his aim in deſiring to command in Ireland. But as he had enemies intent upon his ruin, it was on this employment they founded their hopes of ſucceſs. On the other hand, his friends in ſerving him too zealouſly did him a diſkindneſs. They affected to publiſh his deſcent from the royal houſe of Scotland, and from that of England by his great-grandmother, who numbered amongſt her anceſtors Edmund de Langley duke of York, and Thomas of Woodſtock, both ſons of Edward III. Hence it was intended to inſinuate, that after the queen's death it would be better to place him on the throne than a foreign prince. A book was alſo dedicated to him, in which the author overthrew the titles of all the pretenders to the crown, except the Spaniſh infantas [u]. His enemies, perceiving he was forming ſome dangerous conſpiracy, took care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they everywhere and on all occaſions extolled his valour, his prudence, and his attachment to the proteſtant intereſt, in order to engage him in meaſures which would more clearly diſcover his deſigns. He had a lively wit, and many amiable qualities, but was too much intoxicated with his own merit, and regarded the reſt of the nobility as very much his inferiors. He was made lord deputy with a very extenſive commiſſion, to continue or end the war as he pleaſed, and even to pardon the earl of Tiroen, and the other rebels, which was an authority never before granted to any of his predeceſſors. But it was inſerted in his commiſſion, that laying aſide all other affairs, he ſhould apply himſelf wholly to purſue and ruin the earl of Tiroen, chief of the rebels. He could not complain of this clauſe, becauſe it was only what was propoſed by himſelf in the council.

About the end of March the earl of Eſſex ſailed for Ireland with an army of 20,000 foot and 1300 horſe [w]. The Engliſh had never before ſeen ſo formidable an army in that iſland. The queen had made this great effort purſuant to the earl's advice, in order to put a ſpeedy end to the rebellion, and terminate the war in one campaign. On his arrival he affected, whether of himſelf or by the advice of his pretended friends, to act directly contrary to his inſtructions. He immediately gave the command of the horſe to his intimate friend the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's expreſs orders, who was offended with that lord for marrying without her permiſſion [x]. Then, inſtead of marching againſt Tiroen, he turned his arms againſt ſome rebels in Munſter, whom he drove indeed into the woods and mountains, but with the loſs of many of his men [y]. This expedition of little importance, detained him in thoſe parts till the end of July. Mean time the queen, informed of his proceedings, wrote to him in an angry ſtile, and reproached him with acting contrary to orders founded upon his own advice, commanding him withal to march into Ulſter againſt Tiroen himſelf. He excuſed himſelf, by ſaying, that the council of Ireland, which knew beſt the affairs of that kingdom, had adviſed him firſt to clear Munſter; and promiſed poſitively to march the firſt opportunity againſt the chief rebel. But ſhortly after, he wrote to the court, that he was obliged to return to Dublin [z], to chaſtiſe ſome Iriſh who infeſted the country, and indeed he ſuppreſſed them. But after this ſecond expedition, his army was ſo diminiſhed that he wrote for a reinforcement, without which, he ſaid he could not perform any great exploits in Ulſter. He began however to march thither, but his vanguard, conſiſting of 1500 men, under the command of ſir Conyers Clifford, fell into an ambuſh and was entirely defeated.

Though it was aſtoniſhing that with ſo fine an army he had done nothing conſiderable, but on the contrary was forced to demand a reinforcement, the queen immediately ſent him ſome freſh troops. But ſoon after, he let the court know that all he could do this campaign was to poſt himſelf on the frontiers of Ulſter with thirteen hundred foot and three hundred horſe. On his arrival in that province, the earl of Tiroen deſired a parley, which he refuſed. The next day, when the armies were near one another, Tiroen ſent Hagan, an officer, to tell him he was ready to ſubmit to the queen, and deſired him to grant him a conference on the banks of a ſmall river [a], where they might confer, each remaining on his own ſide. The earl of Eſſex conſented, and they talked together about an hour, without any witneſs. Two hours after, Tiroen demanded a ſecond conference, in preſence of ſome of the chief officers of the two armies [b]. The earl of Eſſex granted his requeſt, and in this ſecond conference it was agreed that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to treat of a peace the next day. This negotiation ended in a treaty of truce which was ſpeedily concluded. The truce was to continue from ſix weeks to ſix weeks, till May the next year, with this condition, that either party ſhould be at liberty to break it upon giving fourteen days notice.

Mean time, the queen having received the earl of Eſſex's laſt letter, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear ſaying, ſhe ſuſpected him of ill deſigns. She was adviſed to recal him immediately; but ſhe feared to incenſe him too much, whilſt he had the ſword in his hand. Nevertheleſs ſhe wrote to him very ſharply, and reproached him with his contempt of her orders. The letter made ſuch impreſſion on the earl, that he inſtantly reſolved to return into England with the flower of his army, and be revenged of his enemies, flattering himſelf with a general inſurrection in his favour. But the earl of Southampton diſſuaded him from ſo dangerous a reſolution. The queen, informed of this project, countenanced a report that a fleet was preparing in Spain to invade England, and under that pretence raiſed ſix thouſand men. Some time after, ſhe augmented her army, and gave the command to the lord admiral, who was no friend to the earl of Eſſex. But this terror being diſpelled by advices from Ireland, ſhe diſbanded the greateſt part of her forces.

The news of what paſſed in England convincing the earl of Eſſex that he was ſuſpected by the queen, he took a ſudden reſolution to go and juſtify himſelf, without demanding the

[r] This great man was born at Bourn in Lincolnſhire, in 1521, and died this year, on Auguſt 4, and was buried in the church of St. Martin in Stanford. Camden, p. 609. Dugdale's Baron. vol. ii. p. 406. He uſed often to tell the queen, that the treaſury was not her own money, but committed to her care for the ſafety of her people; and therefore it was not to be ſpent in uſeleſs ways, or in ſatisfying the avarice and knavery of her miniſters, but for the benefit and welfare of the ſtate; and that the beſt thing which could poſſibly be done by any perſon, was to do that which tended to the good of his country. Bohun. Charac. of Queen Eliz. p. 96.—This year alſo died the famous poet Edmund Spenſer. Camden.

[s] King James ſent queen Elizabeth notice, that he was informed there were twelve thouſand men preparing in Spain to land in Ireland by the beginning of April this year. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 336.

[t] Sir Robert Naunton ſays, that there were in this young lord, together with a moſt goodly perſon, a kind of urbanity or innate courteſy, which both won the queen, and too much took upon the people:—but then he was noted for too bold an ingroſſer both of fame and favour, p. 64, 65. See Declarat. of his Treaſons, p. 6, &c.

[u] This was the book wrote by Parſons, under the feigned name of Doleman of the Succeſſion.

[w] Which was afterwards made up two thouſand. Ibid. p. 614.

[x] He had married Elizabeth Vernon, daughter of John Vernon, eſq; and of the earl of Eſſex's aunt, without the queen's permiſſion, which men of quality uſed to aſk in ſuch caſes. Ibid. p. 616.

[y] A party of Engliſh, under the command of Henry Harrington, were ſhamefully defeated. Ibid.

[z] To Ophalie near Dublin, to quell the O'Coners O'Moils, who were up in arms. Ibid.

[a] At Balla-clinch, near Louth. Ibid. p. 615.

[b] The Engliſh officers that attended the earl of Eſſex, were, the earl of Southampton, ſir George Bourchier, ſir Warham St. Leger, ſir Henry Danvers, ſir Edward Wingfield, and ſir William Conſtable, Camden.

queen's leave. He was accompained by the earl of Southampton and ſeveral officers, who on their arrival in England diſpoſed of themſelves different ways. He reſerved only ſix men to attend him, and poſted with all diligence in order to be with the queen before ſhe had notice of his arrival; but he found, notwithſtanding his care, he had been prevented. The queen was then at Nonſuch, ten miles from London. She received him without any emotion, and with ſome marks of favour; but after ſome reproaches for his irregular conduct, ſhe commanded him to his apartment till farther orders. After that, being aſked why he made a truce with the earl of Tiroen, which might at any time be broken at a fortnight's warning, ſince he was empowered to conclude a peace? he anſwered, that the earl of Tiroen was ſo unreaſonable in his demands, that they could not be granted[c]; but it was his opinion, that a truce might bring him to more equitable terms. This anſwer did not ſatisfy the queen, who was moreover provoked at his leaving his government without her permiſſion; beſides that, the perſons who attended him into England were very apt to cauſe her to ſuſpect him. Wherefore ſhe committed him to cuſtody at the lord keeper's, to prevent his running into new exceſſes.

In Camden's Annals, there is an apology wrote by the earl himſelf, in which it appears that he very lamely anſwered the accuſation of having neglected to attack the earl of Tiroen, and employed his army in expeditions of little conſequence. He contented himſelf with ſaying, that he had put the Iriſh affairs in ſuch a ſituation, that, during his nine months government, the Engliſh had ſuſtained no damage. But he was not entruſted with an army of twenty thouſand men to ſtand upon the defenſive. As for his return without leave, he mentioned it not. Concerning the perſons who attended him, he ſaid only, that not above ſix came to court with him, but of the reſt who accompained him from Ireland he did not ſpeak. The commiſſion given to the earl of Southampton, contrary to the queen's expreſs orders, he alſo paſſed over in ſilence. The reſt conſiſted wholly in exclamations upon the injuſtice of ſuſpecting him, and in magnifying the merits of his father, and his brother (killed in the queen's ſervice), and his own. At the ſame time his friends and relations loudly complained of the rigour with which he was treated, repreſenting it as exceſſive. Some even plotted to reſcue him by force, but he would not conſent to it.

Mean while, the earl of Tiroen, hearing the earl of Eſſex was arreſted, broke the truce, and did great miſchief to the Engliſh inhabitants in Ireland. He flattered himſelf with a great and ſpeedy aſſiſtance from Spain[d], and the pope, who had made him a preſent of a pretended Phœnix plume. In this expectation, he formed a no leſs project than to drive the Engliſh entirely out of Ireland.

In the mean time, the earl of Eſſex's friends were inciting the people to an inſurrection in his favour, repreſenting him as the moſt accompliſhed lord England ever ſaw ſince the foundation of the monarchy. At the ſame time they inveighed againſt the miniſtry, not without malicious reflections on the queen's conduct, as if ſhe took no care of the Iriſh affairs. This extremely injured the earl, aad increaſed the queen's ſuſpicions of him. As ſhe had provoked him, ſhe eaſily believed he was meditating revenge. Wherefore, in the beginning of October, ſhe aſſembled the council in the Star-chamber, where the earl's conduct was examined, and unanimouſly condemned by all the privy counſellors. Nothing more however was done againſt him, the queen only deſiring to ſatisfy the people that it was not out of caprice that he was under confinement. He remained therefore at the lord keeper's houſe, where he gave himſelf up to devotion, ſpending his time in prayer, and writing letters to his friends in ſo devout a ſtrain, that he was thought to have renounced all worldly vanities[e].

In the cloſe of the year, the archduke Andrew, governor of the Low-Countries in his brother Albert's abſence, who was gone into Spain to marry the infanta, propoſed a peace to Elizabeth. She anſwered, ſhe would freely conſent to it, if the ſtates of the United Provinces were included. This condition put a ſtop to the negotiation at once. The queen ſuſpected the propoſal was made only to amuſe her till a fleet, then preparing in Spain, ſhould be ready to invade England. But this pretended fleet, which gave her ſome uneaſineſs, ended at laſt in a few gallies, put to ſea by Frederick Spinola, a Genoeſe in the king of Spain's ſervice, and carried by him into the harbour of Sluys.

[1600] The earl of Tiroen improved the diſorder created by the earl of Eſſex in the Iriſh affairs. He reduced the whole province of Ulſter to his obedience, and hoped to be ſoon maſter of the whole kingdom. For his encouragement, pope Clement VIII. ſent him a bull, by which he granted to him and his adherents the ſame indulgences as to thoſe who fought againſt the Turks for the recovery of the Holy Land. But Charles Blount lord Montjoy, appointed lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the earl of Eſſex, found means to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels, and give a check to their inſolence.

At the ſame time archduke Albert, called alſo the Cardinal Infant, being returned from Spain, made new propoſals of peace to Elizabeth. Henry IV. ſupported them with all his intereſt, and ſucceeded ſo far that the queen ſent plenipotentiaries to Boulogne, where the peace was to be negotiated: But after the embaſſadors of the two contending crowns had been four months in that place, they parted without ever aſſembling, by reaſon of a diſpute of precedency between England and Spain. After great conteſts on that ſubject, queen Elizabeth had at laſt conſented to an equality, but the Spaniard would not quit his pretenſions. If the plenipotentiaries had met, another obſtacle would have occurred, which would never have been ſurmounted. This was, that the Spaniards were for a ſeparate peace or truce with England, to which Elizabeth doubtleſs would not have conſented. Beſides, the king of Spain pretended that Elizabeth ſhould ſurrender the places mortgaged to her by the ſtates. The Spaniſh embaſſadors having ſounded the Engliſh on theſe two articles, and finding they ſhould never obtain their deſires, uſed the pretence of precedency to break off the negotiation.

The 2d day of July, prince Maurice gained the famous battle of Newport over the archduke. The Engliſh, to the number of fifteen hundred, under the conduct of ſir Francis Vere, diſtinguiſhed themſelves glorioufly; but there remained eight hundred dead upon the ſpot.

Elizabeth being now ſixty-ſeven years old, it was with extreme vexation that the catholics ſaw the Engliſh crown ready to fall on the head of a proteſtant prince. Clement VIII. being deſirous to prevent it to the utmoſt of his power, ſent two briefs into England, one addreſſed to the Romiſh clergy, and one to the people. In theſe briefs they were fordid to acknowledge, after Elizabeth's death, any prince who would not ſwear not only to tolerate their religion, but even to ſupport it with all his power. Theſe briefs were privately conveyed into the nation, and communicated but to few, all dreading the penalties enacted by law.

But at the ſame time ſome found a more ready and effectual way to prevent the king of Scots aſcending the throne of England. The Ruthvens, ſons to earl Goury beheaded in 1584, conſpired againſt him, and inviting him to their houſe at Perth, on ſome pretence, deſigned to murder him, but he eſcaped by a ſort of miracle[f]. The two Ruthvens were killed, and their accomplices condemned to die. Afterwards, by an act of parliament, all who bore the name of Ruthven, were obliged to quit it, that the very name of the family might be aboliſhed.

The earl of Eſſex was ſtill under arreſt at the lord privy ſeal's, where he cloſely applied himſelf to devotion. He wrote from time to time ſuch ſubmiſſive letters to the queen, that he ſeemed to have loſt that extreme haughtineſs ſo prejudicial to him. At laſt the queen, content with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own houſe, under the free cuſtody of ſir Richard Berkley, who was to watch him. Probably he had been ſoon reſtored to favour, the queen clearly diſcovering her ſentiments in that reſpect[g]; but his friends and domeſtics ruined him. They had made ſuch ſtrong cabals among the people, that nothing was talked of but the earl of Eſſex's innocence. Whereas the queen pretended to have treated him with great lenity and moderation, it was given out that he was unjuſtly perſecuted, and even his life attempted on falſe ſuggeſtions. Elizabeth, who was very nice in ſuch a point, and conſidered the people's prejudices againſt her as a great misfortune, reſolved to ſhew the earl had more reaſon to praiſe her moderation than complain of her rigour. To that purpoſe, ſhe ordered him to be brought before the privy council, to which ſhe had added four earls, two

[c] The earl ſaid, that theſe demands were a general amneſty; the reſtoring of the Iriſh to their eſtates then poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; and the free exerciſe of the Romiſh religion all over Ireland. Camden, p. 616.

[d] From whence he had lately received ſome ſupplies of ammunition, money, and proviſions. Ibid. p. 617.

[e] This year died the learned Richard Hooker, maſter of the Temple, and author of the Eccleſiaſtical Polity. Ibid.

[f] Chiefly through the aſſiſtance of ſir Thomas Areſkin and John Ramſey. Spotiſwood, p. 458. Some imagined this conſpiracy was a contrivance of the king's, to get rid of the earl of Goury, who was then held in great eſteem. But Burnet thinks it was a real conſpiracy, and the rather as the earl of Goury, upon the king's death, ſtood next to the ſucceſſion of the crown, as being deſcended from Margaret, daughter of king Henry VII. See Burnet's Hiſt. of his own Time, p. 18.

[g] She proteſted that all ſhe did or deſigned againſt him was for his reformation, not his ruin. Camden, p. 626.

He

barons, and four judges. But ſhe told theſe commiſſioners, it was not her intention to condemn him to any infamous puniſhment, as guilty of treaſon or treachery, but only to convince him of having failed in his allegiance, and ſlighted her orders and inſtructions through exceſs of vanity. The queen's deſign was to ſhew the prejudiced people, that the earl of Eſſex deſerved a ſeverer puniſhment than a few months impriſonment.

When he appeared before his judge, he was firſt accuſed of contemning the queen's orders, in making the earl of Southampton general of the horſe. Secondly, of making knights, contrary to the expreſs words of his patent. Thirdly, of neglecting to purſue the earl of Tiroen, though that was the principal end of his commiſſion. Fourthly, of ſecretly conferring with that rebel. Fifthly, of granting a truce very prejudical to the queen's affairs. Sixthly, of abandoning his government, without vouchſafing to aſk the queen's permiſſion. Some inferences were likewiſe drawn from his diſreſpectful expreſſions in his apology, and from certain dangerous principles contained in a book dedicated to him, concerning the depoſing of Richard II.

After hearing the articles of his accuſation, he kneeled down, and thanked God for all his mercies, and his ſovereign for not ordering him a hearing in the Star-chamber. He declared, he would neither excuſe his faults, either in whole or in part, nor contend with the queen: he acknowledged his guilt, but proteſted upon his honour that his heart had been always free from the leaſt thought of rebellion. However, in continuing to ſpeak, he began to urge ſome excuſes in his own behalf. But the lord keeper interrupted him, by reminding him, that he had taken a good method, but was now ſwerving from it: That in extenuating his faults, he likewiſe extenuated the queen's clemency; and that, in fine, a manifeſt diſobedience was but an ill proof of a good intention. The lord keeper, in preventing him from enlarging on his juſtification, did him a good office. The queen's intention was not to have him rigorouſly tried, but only to ſhew, he had been treated more gently than he deſerved. His confeſſion led him to the ſame end, whereas his juſtification would have obliged his judges to a more ſevere examination. So, whether he underſtood his own intereſt of himſelf, or was warned what to do, he held his peace. After this, the commiſſioners conſulting together, were of opinion, that he ought to be removed from the council-board, ſuſpended from his offices of earl marſhal and maſter of the ordnance, and committed to priſon during the queen's pleaſure. His office of maſter of the horſe was untouched at the queen's expreſs command, who was unwilling to give occaſion to believe ſhe had entirely withdrawn her confidence from him. She even ordered, the ſentence ſhould not be recorded. The earl received this chaſtiſement with ſo much humility [h], that the queen, pleaſed with his deportment, removed Berkley from him, and left him at full liberty. But ſhe adviſed him to be his own keeper, and forbid him the court.

For ſome years the queen had honoured the earl of Eſſex with a particular eſteem and affection. She had given him marks of it on ſundry occaſions; and particularly by the poſts, offices, and commands he had enjoyed. This diſtinction had ſo filled him with pride, that he ſolely aſcribed to his merit theſe extraodinary favours, which were the pure effect of the queen's inclination. For this cauſe, he had not always that regard for her ſhe had reaſon to expect from him, imagining ſhe could not be without his aſſiſtance. In a word, he was a very bad courtier. It is not ſtrange, that ſo imprudent a conduct altered the queen's affection, and yet, it appeared in all her proceedings, that it was not entirely extinguiſhed. Her deſign was only to humble that proud ſpirit, which ſeemed to vie with her, wherein ſhe believed to have now been ſucceſsful. It ſeemed, he was at laſt ſenſible, that humility was the only way to reſtore him entirely to favour, and had reſolved to purſue that method as the ſureſt. Immediately after his ſentence, while he was preparing to retire into the country, he told the queen by the lord Howard, "That he kiſſed the rod and the queen's hand, which had only corrected and not ruined him, but ſhould enjoy no peace, till he ſaw again thoſe eyes which had once ſhined ſo propitiouſly on him: That he had reſolved to atone for his error, and like Nebuchadnezzar, to dwell with the beaſts of the field, eat graſs as an ox, and be wet with the dew of heaven, till it ſhould pleaſe his queen to reſtore him to his ſenſes."

This ſubmiſſion was very agreeable to the queen, and yet ſhe anſwered, ſhe would not be amuſed with vain words; but as he had ſo long abuſed her patience, ſhe would take ſome time to try his humility. This was a plain intimation, that with a little patience he would appeaſe her entirely, and it was in ſome meaſure directing him how to form his conduct. But he was ſo unwiſe as not to improve this advantage, and to follow the intereſted counſels of his domeſtics [i], who adviſed him to petition the queen for the continuation of the farm of the ſweet wines [k], which had been very profitable to him. The queen, to prove his humility, refuſed his petition, knowing it to be in her power to repair the loſs whenever ſhe pleaſed. But, inſtead of receiving the denial with the humility and reſignation he had profeſſed ſince his diſgrace, he diſcovered paſſion and reſentment, which made the queen think he was not yet ſufficiently humbled. Whereupon Cuff, his ſecretary and confident, ſuggeſted to him, that the queen not only intended to humble but beggar him, and render him contemptible to all the world. Cuff was ſeconded by other incendiaries, who at laſt inſpired him with the deſign to reſtore himſelf to favour by force, and deſtroy all his enemies about the queen's perſon. After this reſolution, his houſe was open to all the malcontents. The earl of Southampton, who had withdrawn into the Netherlands, returned to England; and the earl of Eſſex, leaving the country, came to reſide in his houſe at London. When he arrived, Merrick his ſteward kept open houſe for all who thought they had cauſe to complain of the queen or her miniſters, and a great number of ſuſpicious perſons reſorted to his houſe. In ſhort, his whole conduct ſhewed he was meditating ſome dangerous deſign. His enemies improving theſe proceedings, found means to infuſe ſuſpicions into the queen, and to have ſpies placed upon him, who informed the court of what paſſed in his houſe [l].

[1601] It is pretended, his enemies, who had projected his ruin, knowing his pride and haughtineſs, cauſed his friends at court to write to him, not to diſcover ſo much impatience in his diſgrace, but to throw himſelf entirely upon the queen's mercy, as the readieſt way to her favour. Theſe advices drew from him anſwers agreeable to the intentions of his enemies, which being told to the queen, completed his ruin. They were filled with expreſſions denoting his anger and impatience, and even intimating his deſigns. He ſaid, that a ſtorm was fallen upon him when he expected a harveſt: That the queen had reduced him to a private life, which was diſagreeable to him: That he was incapable of ſo vile a ſubmiſſion as was expected from him: That he had been unjuſtly impriſoned: That ſovereigns had not an unlimited power, nor were infallible: That he had been wounded in every pore of his body:" That his enemies triumphed, but ſhould never have the ſatisfaction to ſee him cringe to them. To theſe expreſſions, which were no ſigns of repentance, care was taken to add reports, capable to make him forfeit the queen's favour for ever. She was told he had ſaid, "She was grown an old woman, and no leſs crooked and diſtorted in her mind than in her body." Camden ſeems to intimate, that he deſignedly paſſes over in ſilence things ſtill more offenſive to the queen.

Probably, the earl of Eſſex thought all farther caution needleſs, his project being now formed, though he had laid his meaſure very ill. Thoſe who ſpeak moſt favourably of it, ſay, his project was to ſeize the queen's perſon, and drive his enemies from court, as was practiſed in Scotland with regard to king James. But he ſeems to have had greater deſigns, ſince he courted the king of Scotland's aſſiſtance, perhaps to place him on the throne before the queen's death. It was known, he had wrote to that prince that a plot was formed to deprive him of the ſucceſſion, and give the crown to the infanta of Spain: That for this purpoſe, the projectors, who governed at court, had filled the moſt conſiderable poſts with the infanta's adherents: That ſecretary Cecil, ſon of the late treaſurer, was at the head of the party, and had engaged in it the lord treaſurer Buckhurſt, with the earl of Nottingham the lord admiral: That, the better to execute his project, he had committed the government of the maritime places to his creatures [m], where the Spaniards might moſt conveniently land: That the queen was ſo impaired in her underſtanding, that ſhe was incapable to act of herſelf, and was entirely guided by her miniſters: That he was therefore neceſſarily obliged to proceed openly to defeat this conſpiracy; and to that end, ought ſpeedily to diſpatch embaſſadors to England, to demand

[h] He proteſted, "That he had made an utter divorce with the world; and he deſired her majeſty's favour, not for any worldly reſpect, but for a preparative for a Nunc dimittis; and that the tears of his heart had quenched in him all humours of ambition." Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex, by Francis Bacon, eſq; 1601.

[i] Particularly of Merrick his ſteward, and Cuff his ſecretary. Camden. p. 628.

[k] So all were called, except French and Rheniſh. Ibid.

[l] This year queen Elizabeth erected the Eaſt India company, and endowed it with large privileges. James Lancaſter, who in 1594 had taken Fernambuck in Braſil, was the firſt that was ſent by the company to the Eaſt Indies, with three ſhips. Camden, p. 626.

[m] That in the weſtern parts of England, Raleigh was governor of the iſle of Jerſey; in the eaſtern, the lord Cobham was warden of the Cinque-ports; the lord Burleigh was preſident of the North; and ſir George Carew, preſident of Munſter, in the ſouth of Ireland. Ibid. p. 629.

Sir

a public declaration of his title to the ſucceſſion, and the removal of his enemies, creatures and penſioners of Spain, from the court and council. At the ſame time he furniſhed him with proofs to be uſed by the embaſſadors, to ſhew the truth of the plot. Laſtly, he inſinuated that his embaſſadors ſhould be ſufficiently ſupported. Camden, who wrote in the reign of James I. has not thought proper to tell us, how theſe propoſitions were received by that prince; but it may be judged, they were not diſapproved, ſince embaſſadors were preſently ſent into England, who however came too late. This hiſtorian adds, the earl of Eſſex gained to his party ſome preſbyterian miniſters, and even ſome papiſts, by commiſerating their afflicted condition, under the queen's tyrannical government, and by inſpiring them with hopes of being eaſed. Then he hired the ſwordſmen about London, and placed them near his houſe. After that, he eſtabliſhed a council, compoſed of the earl of Southampton, ſir Charles Davers, ſir Ferdinando Gorges governor of Plymouth fort, ſir John Davis a great mathematician and ſurveyor of the ordnance, John Littleton, a man of great ſenſe and judgment, and equally qualified for the cabinet and camp.

This junto meeting in Drury-houſe, the earl of Eſſex gave them a liſt of certain noblemen whom he believed at his devotion, containing one hundred and twenty earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and deſired them to conſult whether it was moſt proper to ſeize the Palace or the Tower, or both at once. The reſult of their deliberations was, that the queen's perſon and palace ſhould firſt be ſeized, and when ſhe was in their power, the earl ſhould diſmiſs certain perſons from her preſence, and turn them out of their places; but that nothing ſhould be done, till the arrival of the Scotch embaſſadors [n].

Mean time, the great reſort of ſuſpected perſons to Eſſex's houſe [o], ſome words unwarily dropped by the conſpirators, and the reports of the ſpies, confirming the court's ſuſpicions, the council met at the treaſurer's houſe, and ſent one of the ſecretaries [p] to the earl of Eſſex, to require his attendance. But at the ſame time a note was delivered him, adviſing him to take care of himſelf. Whereupon he told the ſecretary he was indiſpoſed, and could not ſtir from his houſe. Immediately after, he conſulted whether he ſhould purſue his firſt project of ſeizing the palace, or attempt to raiſe the city of London, or make his eſcape, ſince his plot was undoubtedly diſcovered. The firſt of theſe projects was deemed impracticable, becauſe the guards had been doubled. The ſecond occaſioned long debates on the uncertainty of the execution, becauſe the diſpoſition of the Londoners was not ſufficiently known. In the mean time one of the conſpirators entered, affirming he came from the city, and that the inhabitants were ready to defend the earl againſt all his enemies. He added, that Thomas Smith, the ſheriff, who commanded a thouſand of the trained-bands, had promiſed to join him. Probably, the perſon who made this falſe report had been induced to it by ſome of the principal conſpirators, who finding the earl begin to relent, was willing to engage him ſo far, that it ſhould not be poſſible for him to recede. This was ſufficient to make the earl reſolve to raiſe an inſurrection in the city, being perſuaded the people were inclined to his cauſe. It was therefore agreed, that the next day the earl, attended by five hundred men [q], ſhould repair to the city, and aſſembling the aldermen and people, require their aſſiſtance. That if the citizens were well diſpoſed, they ſhould be employed to gain acceſs to the queen, or, in caſe of diſappointment, the conſpirators ſhould retire to ſome other part of the kingdom.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the earls of Rutland and Southampton went next morning to Eſſex's houſe, with three hundred gentlemen [r], and immediately the gates were ſhut, and no perſon ſuffered to come in or out. But ſir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the moſt zealous of his party, was permitted on ſome pretence to go out [s]. It was probably he who diſcovered the plot to the court; for ſoon after, the queen ſent to the mayor of London, to order the trained bands to be ready to march upon the firſt notice. At the ſame time ſhe ſent the lord keeper, the earl of Worceſter, and ſir William Knollys [t], to the earl's houſe, who were let in through a wicket without any of their attendants, except the purſe bearer. In the court yard they ſaw the earls of Eſſex, Rutland, and Southampton, ſurrounded with a crowd of armed men, and the lord keeper advancing towards them, told the earl of Eſſex, he was ſent by the queen to know the reaſon of ſo great a concourſe. Then the earl raiſing his voice, told him "he certainly knew that it was deſigned to murder him in his bed [u]: That his hand-writing was counterfeited, in order to have a pretence to deſtroy him: That he had aſſembled his friends for the ſecurity of his life, ſince his enemies could not be ſatisfied without having his blood." The lord keeper anſwering, the queen would do him juſtice, provided he would diſcover his grievances, was interrupted by a voice, crying out, "My lord, you are betrayed, they deſign only to ruin you, we loſe time, let us be gone." Upon this, the earl made a ſign to thoſe ſent by the queen to follow him [w], and while they were croſſing the court, they heard a confuſed noiſe, ſaying, "Kill them, away with the great ſeal, ſecure them in priſon." When they were in the houſe, the earl told them, "if they would have a little patience, he would go and adviſe with the lord mayor and ſheriffs, and return immediately." Upon theſe words, he left them, and, ordering the door to be ſhut, ſet a guard upon them.

Immediately after, he began to march with his company, and entering the city, cried out, "For the queen! for the queen! A plot is laid for my life!" Then he went to the ſheriff's houſe, which was at a diſtance [x], and during his march was not joined by one citizen, though numbers led by curioſity crowded to ſee him paſs. In vain did he cry, "Arm, my friends, or you can do me no good;" not a man ſtirred in his favour. The ſheriff, who ſaw him approaching, withdrew himſelf by a back door to the lord mayor's. The ſheriff's flight convinced the earl he had been deceived, when he was told he might depend on his aſſiſtance. While he was at the ſheriff's, uncertain what to do, he was informed that a herald [y] had proclaimed him a traitor in one of the wards of the city, and that the earl of Cumberland had done the ſame in another. Upon this, he left the ſheriff's houſe, and crying in the ſtreets, "that England was going to be delivered to the infanta of Spain, conjured the inhabitants to take up arms for the prevention of ſo great a misfortune." But ſeeing no man prepare to ſupport him, and hearing withal, that the lord admiral was marching againſt him with a ſtrong party, he reſolved to return to his own houſe. But coming to Ludgate, he found ſir John Laviſon poſted there with a company of ſoldiers to oppoſe his paſſage. He inſtantly ſent Gorges to deſire leave to go through; but being denied, was obliged to return to St. Paul's. Here Gorges repreſented to him, that it would be proper to diſcharge the three counſellors, and having the earl's leave, he freed them immediately, and accompanied them himſelf to Whitehall. Probably, Gorges had betrayed him from the very beginning.

Mean time, the earl perſiſting in his reſolution of returning home, found the ſtreet chained and guarded by ſoldiers [z]. As he ſaw no other way to paſs than by attacking the guard, he ordered Blunt to fall on, and ſeconded him ſword in hand with great reſolution. But he was repulſed and ſhot through the hat [a], and Blunt was taken priſoner. By this reſiſtance, he was forced to go to Queenhithe, and taking boat with a few followers, the reſt being diſperſed, retired to his houſe on the Thames ſide [b]. When he came there, his firſt care was to burn ſome papers, and then fortify his houſe in the beſt manner he could, ſtill expecting to be relieved by the Londoners. Shortly after, the lord admiral inveſted the houſe, both from the ſtreet and the gardens which reached to the river [c]. Then he ſummoned thoſe within to ſurrender, to which they anſwered, they would die ſword in hand. This was the opinion of the lord Sands, who preſſed the earl of Eſſex to fight his way out, repreſenting, it was more honourable to die by the ſword than the ax. And indeed the beſieged ſeemed to be all fixed to that reſolution. But the earl of Eſſex ſuddenly changed his mind, and offered to ſurrender

[n] Sir Chriſtopher Blunt was with a detachment to poſſeſs himſelf of the palace-gate; Davis was to ſeize the hall; Davers the guard-chamber and preſence-chamber; and Eſſex was to ruſh out of the Meuſe, and come and throw himſelf at the queen's feet. Camden. p. 630.

[o] Under pretence of hearing ſermons. Ibid.

[p] Sir John Herbert. Ibid.

[q] Three hundred gentlemen. Ibid. p. 630; and Treaſons of Eſſex.

[r] And among the reſt the lord Sands, Henry Parker lord Monteagle, &c. Treaſons of Eſſex.

[s] He went to ſir Walter Raleigh, who ſent for him, and waited in a boat for his coming. Camden ſays, Gorges was ſuſpected of having at that time diſcovered the whole matter to Raleigh. Camden, p. 631.

[t] And ſir John Popham, lord chief juſtice of England. Ibid. p. 631.

[u] He pretended the lord Cobham, and ſir Walter Raleigh, had formed ſuch a deſign. See Winwood's Mem. tom I. p. 300.

[w] This he did not; he went abruptly from them into the houſe, and they followed him, thinking he would have private conference with them. See Camden, p. 361; and Treaſons of Eſſex.

[x] Near Fenchurch. Camden, Ibid.

[y] And Thomas lord Burleigh. Camden, Ibid.

[z] This was done by the care of the biſhop of London. Ibid. p. 631.

[a] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays in the thigh.

[b] By Temple-bar; where Devereux-court and Eſſex-ſtreet, &c. now ſtand.

[c] The houſe was inveſted on the Strandſide, by the earls of Cumberland and Lincoln; the lords Thomas Howard, Gray, Burleigh, and Compton; ſir Walter Raleigh, ſir Thomas Gerrard, &c. And on the river ſide, by the lord admiral; the lords of Effingham and Cobham; ſir John Stanhope, ſir Robert Sidney, Mr. Fulk Grevil, &c. Treaſons of Eſſex.

The

on theſe three conditions: That they ſhould all be civilly treated; tried according to the laws; and that Aſhton the miniſter ſhould be ſent to him to comfort him in priſon. The lord admiral anſwered, that he engaged for the firſt; that the queen would doubtleſs perform the ſecond; and as to the third, he promiſed his intereſt to obtain it. Aſhton was a preſbyterian miniſter. This done, the earls of Eſſex, Rutland, Southampton, the lords Sands, Cromwell, Monteagle, with Davers and Bromley, were put into boats and conducted to the Tower. The reſt were committed to other priſons. The next day the queen by proclamation thanked the Londoners for their fidelity, warning them withal to have a watchful eye on whatever paſſed in the city, the conſpiracy being, ſhe ſaid, more dangerous than was imagined.

The 13th of February, Thomas Lee, the earl of Eſſex's creature, and intimate friend of the earl of Tiroen, was hanged, for ſaying to a certain officer, that it would be a glorious action for ſix brave fellows to force the queen to releaſe Eſſex and the other priſoners. Two days after, the queen publiſhed a proclamation, ordering all vagabonds to leave the city on pain of death. The court had received information, that a great number of ſuch perſons lay hid in the city to reſcue the earl of Eſſex, when an opportunity offered.

At laſt, ſome of the priſoners having diſcovered the moſt ſecret reſolutions of the conſpirators, the earls of Eſſex and Southampton were tried the 19th of February [d]. They were accuſed of the crimes I have mentioned, and their ſole defence was, that they had done nothing but for their own preſervation; however, they could not prove their lives had been in danger. The earl of Eſſex expreſſed a diſregard of his life, but the earl of Southampton implored the queen's mercy, and deſired the peers to intercede for him. They were both condemned to die as traitors.

The earl of Eſſex after his ſentence ſeriouſly reflected on his paſt conduct, and appeared very penitent. Aſhton greatly contributed, by his exhortations and remonſtrances, to put him into this diſpoſition. But becauſe this preſbyterian miniſter adviſed him to declare whatever he knew, and probably, by that means, the king of Scotland was known to be concerned in the conſpiracy, Camden ſpeaks of it in ſuch a manner as ſhews, he approved not this conduct. "By the impreſſions (ſays he) left upon him by his miniſter, Eſſex could think of nothing but damnation, unleſs he diſcovered the whole ſcene, and confeſſed who were his accomplices." An author who talks in this manner, is eaſily perceived to be ſecretly intruſted in the depoſition of the criminal. However, the earl of Eſſex deſiring to ſpeak with ſome of the privy counſellors, the lord keeper, the lord treaſurer, the lord admiral, and ſecretary Cecil, went to him. He immediately aſked the lord keeper's pardon for detaining him at his houſe, and Cecil's for accuſing him of aſſerting the infanta's title to the crown of England, and was ſincerely reconciled to both. Then he declared, that the queen could not be ſafe whilſt he lived, and deſired he might ſuffer privately in the Tower. He owned, that ſome of his friends and domeſtics were wicked perſons and public peſts, and deſired to ſpeak with Blunt and Cuff, who were immediately ſent for. When he ſaw them, he exhorted both to aſk pardon of God and the queen, and told Cuff that this diſloyalty was owing to his advice. He declared that ſir Henry Nevil, embaſſador to France, was privy to the conſpiracy. This probably occaſioned the recalling of that embaſſador as he was going to Paris, and his being ordered into the cuſtody of the lord admiral. The earl of Eſſex ſaid alſo, that Montjoy lord deputy of Ireland, and ſeveral others in Scotland, France, and the Low-Countries, were acceſſary to the deſign. But the lord Montjoy's behaviour in Ireland had ſo recommended him to the queen, that ſhe took no notice of the earl's depoſition againſt him. In ſhort, the penitent criminal made a full diſcharge of his conſcience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. "Eſſex (ſays Camden) thought a verbal confeſſion too little, and therefore being moved by the diſmal ſcene preſented to his conſcience, by the perſon whom he choſe to guide it, he delivered the ſame in writing under his own hand, which his enemies ſhewing to king James ſome time after, brought the earl and his friends into great diſeſteem with that prince." If king James had not been concerned in the affair, there is no viſible reaſon why Eſſex's declaration ſhould have made him forfeit his eſteem. But according to the earl's project, the embaſſadors of Scotland were now on their way to London, and king James ever after ſpoke of this lord as of one who was his marryr.

The 25th of February was appointed for the earl of Eſſex's execution. That day the queen appeared a little irreſolute. She even ſent an order to the lieutenant of the Tower to countermand his execution: but preſently after, ordered him to proceed. This irreſolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of matter for plays and romances, in which Elizabeth is repreſented as ſtruggling with love and anger, not knowing which of the paſſions ſhe ſhould obey. She was now however in her 68th year, an age wherein the motions of love could not be very violent. But without dwelling on theſe trifles, it ſuffices to ſay, that the earl of Eſſex died like a good Chriſtian, with all the ſigns of a ſerious repentance. His head was not ſeparated from his body till the third ſtroke, but the firſt deprived him of all ſenſe of pain. The marſhal de Biron being told in what manner he died, ridiculed it, and ſaid, ſuch a death was more becoming a prieſt than a ſoldier.

Thus ended the life and projects of the earl of Eſſex; projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Though they ſeem to have tended only to dethrone Elizabeth, and ſet the crown on the head of the king of Scotland; however it is not unlikely that he only uſed that prince's title as a pretence to ruin Elizabeth, and that his confidence in the people's affection inſpired him with greater deſigns. It is certain, the queen had given occaſion to think ſhe had more than a common eſteem for this lord. When he was but one and twenty years old, ſhe forgave him what ſhe had lent his father for his expedition into Ireland; and he was the only perſon to whom ſhe was ever ſo liberal. The earl of Leiceſter dying ſhortly after, ſhe ordered his goods to be expoſed to ſale, for payment of the ſums ſhe had lent him. Before the earl of Eſſex had done her any great ſervice, ſhe made him knight of the garter, and gave him a place in her privy council. She continued afterwards to diſtinguiſh him from all other courtiers, not only by the poſts, offices, and commands ſhe honoured him with, but chiefly by particular marks of her favour, which were viſible to all, and made him to be conſidered as a favourite. Theſe favours produced their uſual effect, that is, rendered him proud and vain. He could not bear that any perſon ſhould be promoted but by his means, and was a ſworn enemy to all who were truſted by the queen. Nay, he grew ſo exceſſively proud, that he pretended to lord it over the queen herſelf, and force her to follow his advice in every thing. This procured him that unfortunate box on the ear, which, doubtleſs, inſpired him with thoughts of a ſignal revenge. For, from that time, he began to meditate projects which proved his ruin, and might have been attended with that of the queen herſelf: ſo careful ought ſovereigns to be, not to affront perſons of honour. His family was originally from Evreux in Normandy, and from thence borrowed its ſirname. It was noble and antient, as may be inferred from his alliances with the beſt families in England, ſome of which were derived from the royal family. Walter his father was however the firſt of his houſe honoured with the title of earl [e].

The earl being dead, his principal accomplices were brought to their trials [f]. In Blunt's examination, Eſſex's written confeſſion was read to him. Blunt, ſeeing it ſigned with the earl's own hand, was ſo confounded that he could only ſay, with his eyes lifted up, "Lord, thou knoweſt from what deſigns I endeavoured to divert him." After that, Lee's confeſſion, who had been executed, was read, in which he ſaid, Blunt had permitted him to ſend to the earl of Tiroen, who told the meſſenger, "that if Eſſex would be guided by him, he would make him the greateſt man in England." Lee had likewiſe depoſed, that the two earls and Blunt were in the ſame plot, and formed the ſame projects. Blunt made a weak defence, as well as Davers, Davis, Cuff the earl's ſecretary, and Merrick his ſteward, and they all received ſentence of death. Blunt ſaid upon the ſcaffold, that for three years he had obſerved the earl was diſcontented, and fired with ambition. That when they were in Ireland, the earl told him his deſign of taking with him the flower of the army; of ſeizing Milfordhaven in Wales; of raiſing men in thoſe parts, and marching directly to London. That he had diſſuaded him from an undertaking ſo dangerous and difficult; but had indeed adviſed him to take a ſelect company of men and ſeize

[d] The lord Buckhurſt was made high ſteward upon this occaſion. See the names of the reſt of the peers (twenty-five in number) in Camden, p. 633; and Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex; as alſo in State Trials.

[e] He was beheaded in the 34th year of his age. Oſborn, and ſome others, affirm, that he was cut off by the intrigues of ſir Robert Cecil, that he might have no competitor in the management of ſtate affairs. Sect. 23, 24. The earl of Eſſex owed his eſtate and barony to his marriage with Cecily daughter of William Bourchier, whoſe grandmother was ſiſter to Edward IV. and her great grandmother, daughter to Thomas of Woodſtock, by one of the daughters of Humphry Bohun earl of Hereford and Eſſex. Hence his great grandfather Walter was made viſcount Hereford by Edward IV. and his father earl of Eſſex by Elizabeth. He left one ſon and two daughters by his wife Frances, daughter of ſir Francis Walſingham. Camden, p. 637.

[f] Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, ſir Charles Davers, ſir John Davis, ſir Gillie Merrick, and Henry Cuff, were tried on March 5, before the lord high admiral, the lord Hunſdon, ſecretary Cecil, ſecretary Herbert, lord chief juſtice Popham, ſir John Forteſcue chancellor of the Exchequer, and divers of the judges. Merrick and Cuff were executed at Tyburn, March 13, and ſir Chriſtopher Blunt, and ſir Charles Davers, beheaded on Tower-hill, March 18. Treaſons of the earl of Eſſex. State Trials, vol. I.

the queen's perſon, and in her name to act afterwards as he ſaw convenient: "But, added Blunt, though it is true, that in all our debates we never thought of embruing our hands in the queen's blood, yet had we ſucceeded, I cannot ſay but her life might have been in danger." He declared, that he died a Roman catholic, but ſuch a one, as ſolely relied on the merits of Chriſt's death and ſufferings.

The queen and council believed it prudent to end the executions with theſe few perſons, by reaſon of the number and quality of the accomplices. The earl of Southampton was kept in priſon, and the reſt were fined, though very few paid their fines. Henry Nevil was only condemned to impriſonment at the queen's pleaſure, though it was proved againſt him that he knew of the conſpiracy, and made no diſcovery [g].

The earl of Mar and the lord of Kinloſs, the Scotch embaſſadors, arrived too late, when the earl of Eſſex was in cuſtody. It is well known with what view the earl of Eſſex had deſired them, but we are ignorant of the inſtructions given them by the king of Scotland concerning the plot. It ſeems, however, it may be inferred from Eſſex's propoſal, and the arrival of theſe embaſſadors at the very time the conſpiracy was diſcovered, that king James was not againſt it. Be this as it will, theſe embaſſadors confined themſelves to congratulate the queen upon the diſcovery of ſo dangerous a plot; to demand the puniſhment of one Valentine Thomas, who, in 1598, had accuſed their maſter of ill deſigns againſt the queen, for which he was now in priſon; to complain that two Engliſh fugitives had been drawn out of Scotland by ſtratagem, who had fled thither for protection; and laſtly, to demand the aſſignment of ſome lands in England for the king their maſter [h]. Elizabeth, without taking notice of what ſhe knew, anſwered, She received very kindly the king's congratulation, and wiſhed that no ſuch thing might ever happen in his kingdom: That ſhe had not put Valentine to death, to ſhew how little ſhe credited his depoſition: That the two fugitives had been artfully recovered by the warden of the march, who was to blame for ſuffering them to eſcape; and that ſhe was aſtoniſhed the king of Scotland ſhould demand them, ſince to protect the ſeditious ſubjects of another prince was teaching his own to rebel: That as to the aſſignment of the lands, ſhe had given a ſufficient anſwer before: However, ſhe would make a yearly augmentation of two thouſand pounds, provided he would ſincerely maintain their mutual friendſhip, without ſuffering himſelf to be influenced by men, who ſought their own private advantage in the public calamities.

The ſiege of Oſtend, begun in July this year, furniſhed ample matter for the affairs of the Netherlands. Sir Francis Vere, the firſt governor, and the Engliſh troops which ſerved under him, ſignalized themſelves, and were a great honour to their nation [i].

Henry IV. came to Calais in Auguſt, as it were to ſee more nearly what paſſed at the ſiege, which made the archduke uneaſy. But this journey was not ſo much to obſerve the ſiege, as to confer more eaſily with Elizabeth on his project againſt the houſe of Auſtria. Mezerai pretends, Elizabeth firſt conceived this deſign, and earneſtly deſired to confer in perſon with Henry, in a veſſel between Dover and Calais. But I can hardly believe, that at her age, and having no children, ſhe would form a deſign of this nature, the execution whereof required much time and expence. I ſtill leſs believe, that ſhe would have expoſed herſelf to the dangers of the ſea to confer with Henry, whom for ſome time ſhe had neither valued nor truſted. It is more likely, this prince meditating then the deſign which he would have afterwards executed, was deſirous to engage Elizabeth in it. The Engliſh hiſtorians only ſay, that the queen hearing of the king's arrival at Calais, ſent ſir Thomas Edmunds to pay her compliments, and that in return, Henry ſent the marſhal de Biron and the count d'Avergne, with duke d'Aumont, who were received very graciouſly. Mezerai adds, that the queen ſhewed theſe French lords the earl of Eſſex's ſkull in her cloſet. But Camden has confuted this ſtory in his Annals, by affirming, the head was buried with the body. He ſays only, that the queen ſpeaking to the marſhal de Biron concerning the earl of Eſſex, told him, that it was her advice to the king of France, never to ſpare the heads of thoſe who attempted to diſturb his tranquility.

The parliament meeting in October [k], great complaints were made in the lower houſe, concerning divers monopolies authorized by the queen's letters patents, which gave private perſons the ſole privilege of ſelling certain commodities, excluſively of all others. The queen being informed, that the commons conſidered theſe monopolies as ſo many breaches of the people's privileges, annulled moſt of theſe grants, and left the reſt to be tried by the laws. This proceeding, even before ſhe had been addreſſed, who ſo pleaſing to the commons, that one hundred and forty of their members were appointed to wait upon her with their thanks. She did not omit this opportunity to teſtify to the houſe her great affection for her people. When ſhe had received the compliment of the members, ſhe returned an anſwer in the following ſpeech:

GENTLEMEN,

"I owe you hearty thanks and commendations for your ſingular good will towards me, not only in your hearts and thoughts, but which you have openly expreſſed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an error proceeding from my ignorance, not my will. Theſe things had undeſervedly turned to my diſgrace (to whom nothing is more dear than the ſafety and love of my people), had not ſuch harpies and horſe-leaches as theſe been made known and diſcovered to me by you. I had rather my heart or hand ſhould periſh, than that either my heart or hand ſhould allow ſuch privileges to monopoliſts, as may be prejudical to my people. The ſplendor of regal majeſty hath not ſo blinded mine eyes, that licentious power ſhould prevail with me more than juſtice. The glory of the name of a king may deceive princes that know not how to rule, as gilded pills may deceive a ſick patient. But I am none of thoſe princes: for I know that the commonwealth is to be governed for the good and advantage of thoſe that are committed to me, not of myſelf to whom it is intruſted; and that an account is one day to be given before another judgment ſeat. I think myſelf moſt happy, that by God's aſſiſtance I have hitherto ſo proſperouſly governed the commonwealth in all reſpects; and that I have ſuch ſubjects, as for their good I would willingly leave both kingdom and life alſo. I beſeech you, that whatever miſdemeanors and miſcarriages others are guilty of by their falſe ſuggeſtions, may not be imputed to me; let the teſtimony of a clear conſcience intirely in all reſpects excuſe me. You are not ignorant, that princes ſervants are oftentimes too much ſet upon their own private advantage; that the truth is frequently concealed from princes, and they cannot themſelves look narrowly into all things, upon whoſe ſhoulders lieth continually the heavy weight of the greateſt and moſt important affairs."

Elizabeth had the good fortune to be believed when ſhe ſpoke in this manner, becauſe in reality the Engliſh in her reign were the happieſt people under the ſun. They ſaw no deſigns upon their liberties, nor any infringement of their privileges encouraged. Juſtice was adminiſtered impartially, and the revenues of the crown, and the ſubſidies granted by parliament for the public occaſions, were not idly conſumed. They had therefore reaſon to think the queen truly loved them, ſince ſhe cauſed them to enjoy ſo great happineſs. Some ſucceſſors of this illuſtrious queen have talked in the ſame manner to their parliaments, nay, it is in great meaſure become cuſtomary; but they have not all gained the ſame credit, becauſe it is not words but deeds that perſuade. This affair did not end in mutual compliments. The commons, willing to ſhew their gratitude to the queen, granted her the largeſt ſubſidy they had ever given her ſince the beginning of her reign [m]. Happy are the kings of England, who by a free

[g] By Winwood's Memorials, it appears, that ſir Henry Nevil was with Eſſex as a ſpy from ſecretary Cecil. Tom. I.

[h] Their buſineſs alſo was to clear king James of the imputations thrown upon him, for dealing with the pope and king of Spain, and for ſuffering his ſubjects to carry proviſions to the Iriſh rebels. Winwood's Mem. tom. I. p. 324.

[i] See an account of the Engliſh ſlain at this ſiege, in Camden, p. 642. Compl. Hiſt. John Carew of Antony, eſq; having one of his arms ſhot off in a ſally, and carried at a great diſtance from him, went and took it up without any concern, as if he had felt no pain, and brought it into the town. Ibid.

[k] It met October 27, and was diſſolved December 19. D'Ewes, p. 597.

[l] Sir Robert Naunton partly aſcribes the cauſe of this mutual love between the queen and her parliaments, to the choice of parliament-men. For, ſays he, I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious diſpute, elections being made of grave and diſcreet perſons, not factious and ambitious of fame; ſuch as came not to the houſe with a malevolent ſpirit of contention, but with a preparation to conſult on the public good, p. 14.

[m] The laity granted her four entire ſubſidies, and eight fifteenths and tenths. And the clergy gave four ſubſidies of four ſhillings in the pound. See Statut. c. 17, 18. The reader may obſerve, that when in 1592 there were granted to the queen three ſubſidies, and ſix fifteenths and tenths, it was eſpecially provided, That it might not hereafter be drawn into a precedent for future times. And yet in the very next parliament, the ſame ſubſidies were granted again; and increaſed in this. From whence it is plain, as Mr Simmonds D'Ewes juſtly obſerves, p. 574, "That whatſoever is once granted by the ſubject, may often be raiſed, but ſeldom falleth."—The acts made in this parliament, where, 1. An act for the relief of the poor; appointing the chuſing of overſeers, and the manner of raiſing money for the relief of the poor. 2. That every pariſh in England ſhall pay a weekly ſum for the relief of ſick, hurt, and maimed ſoldiers and mariners. 3. An act to redreſs the miſ-employment of lands, goods, &c. given to charitable uſes. 4. That perſons cutting and carrying away corn growing, robbing orchards, breaking or cutting up hedges, pales, &c. digging or pulling up fruit-trees, cutting or ſpoiling wood, or underwood, not being felony by law, ſhall be obliged to make ſatisfaction, or be whipped.

London, Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin

WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR.

Goldar sculp.

In the Possession of John Nicoll Esqr.

Published as the Act directs Sept.r 30. 1785.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

and ſincere conduct wiſely preſerve ſuch a correſpondence between them and their parliaments [n]!

The war in Ireland was carried on this year more ſucceſsfully than in the two former. The rebels received however an aid from Spain, under the command of Don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinſale, and became maſter of the town. He inſtantly publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that Elizabeth being lawfully depoſed by the pope, her ſubjects were abſolved from their oath of allegiance, and he was come to deliver Ireland "from the jaws of the devil [o]." But inſtead of making the progreſs he expected, he found himſelf beſieged in Kinſale by the lord deputy. Shortly after, the earl of Tiroen approaching the Engliſh to raiſe the ſiege, was utterly routed, after which the Spaniſh general was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his forces into Spain, having firſt ſurrendered the caſtles he had taken. The capitulation was ſigned the 2d of January 1602. During the reſt of the winter, the lord deputy had ſuch ſucceſs againſt the rebels, that the earl of Tiroen's affairs were reduced to a very ill ſtate.

[1602] Mean while the queen, to divert the Spaniards from making freſh attempts upon Ireland, armed eight large ſhips, with ſome others of leſſer burthen, under the command of ſir Richard Leviſon and ſir William Mounſon. Theſe two commanders being ſeparated, Leviſon met with thirty-eight Spaniſh veſſels coming from the Weſt Indies, and attacked them, but without ſucceſs. Mounſon joining him ſome time after, they went together and aſſaulted a large carack of ſixteen hundred tons, richly laden from the Eaſt Indies, and which lay under the caſtle of Zizambra in Portugal, where ſhe was guarded by eleven gallies commanded by Spinola. Notwithſtanding the difficulty of the undertaking, they attacked the carack, and, after diſperſing the gallies, took that rich ſhip, valued at a million of crowns, and brought her to England, with the loſs only of twelve men.

In September following, Spinola, with ſix gallies he had ſaved, ſailing for Flanders, met in the Channel ſome Engliſh and Dutch ſhips [p], with whom he had a ſharp engagement. Two of his gallies were ſunk, one taken, and with the other three he retired into Sluys.

This ſame year, there was a great conteſt in England between the jeſuits and the ſecular prieſts. Theſe accuſed the jeſuits of being the ſole cauſe of the ſevere laws enacted againſt the catholics, becauſe they had been concerned in all the conſpiracies, and had even ſuborned aſſaſſins to murder the queen. In the height of the quarrel, the queen had intelligence that the jeſuits, and ſuch of the ſecular prieſts as eſpouſed their principles and party, were contriving ſomething againſt the government. Whereupon ſhe baniſhed them the realm by proclamation, forbidding them ever to return to England on pain of death. The other ſecular prieſts, who joined not with the jeſuits, were alſo liable to the ſame penalty, unleſs they would take the oath of allegiance.

It was likewiſe in the courſe of this year that Henry IV. ordered the marſhal de Biron's head to be ſtruck off, for conſpiring with ſome others to diſmember the French monarchy. The marſhal had been his right hand, whilſt his affairs were in an ill ſtate. Bnt ſince the peace with Spain, he thought the beſt way to procure quiet was to gain by favours the French lords, who had moſt oppoſed him. This could not be done without neglecting his old friends, and from thence ſprung the plot whereof the marſhal de Biron was head. His accomplices, as the count d'Auvergne and ſome others, eaſily obtained their pardon. But the marſhal de Bouillon, who was alſo of the number, thought is ſafeſt to withdraw into Germany, from whence he wrote to Elizabeth, deſiring her to intercede for him. The king of France wrote to her alſo, acquainting her with the conſpiracy, and aſking her advice concerning the marſhal de Bouillon. The queen anſwered, ſhe could not adviſe him, till ſhe certainly knew whether the marſhal was guilty. She warned him alſo to take care that it was not a Spaniſh artifice to cauſe him to entertain ſuſpicions of his beſt ſubjects. But Henry, not conſidering the marſhal as ſuch, told the Engliſh embaſſador, that the queen his miſtreſs had a better opinion of him than he deſerved, ſince it was certain he was concerned in the earl of Eſſex's plot, and had not even diſowned it.

The earl of Tiroen's affairs in Ireland daily declined. The lord deputy having cloſely purſued him, without giving him any reſpite, even to the places where he thought himſelf moſt ſafe [q], compelled him at length to caſt himſelf upon the queen's mercy: but he would not receive his ſubmiſſion without an expreſs order from the court. The order coming at laſt, the earl of Tiroen yielded himſelf to the lord deputy [r], who reſolved to carry him into England and preſent him to the queen.

[1603] About the end of January 1603, Elizabeth began to feel the firſt attacks of a diſtemper which brought her at length to her grave. Her being obliged to have the ring ſhe wore on her finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill omen, becauſe ſhe was wont to ſay, with that ring ſhe had been married to her people. As ſhe was now very old, it was eaſily believed ſhe would not recover. Accordingly, ſome time before her death, ſhe had the mortification to ſee herſelf forſaken by moſt of her courtiers, who ſtrove with emulation to court the favour of the king of Scotland her preſumptive ſucceſſor. This threw her into a melancholy, of which it was not poſſible to conceal the cauſe, eſpecially as it was openly talked of ſending for king James before ſhe expired. In the beginning of March ſhe was ſeized with a heavineſs in all her limbs, which rendered her motionleſs, and even cauſed her to ſpeak with great difficulty. This was attended with great frowardneſs, ſo that ſhe could not bear any one near her but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who comforted her, and joined with her in prayer. In ſhort, when it was perceived ſhe was near her laſt hour, the council ſent the lord admiral, the lord privy ſeal, and the ſecretary, to pray her to name her ſucceſſor. She faintly anſwered, "That ſhe had always ſaid, her throne was the throne of kings, and ſhe would have no mean perſon to ſucceed her." The ſecretary repreſenting to her, that theſe words were very obſcure, and the council deſiring ſhe would declare her pleaſure more plainly, "I will (ſaid ſhe) that a king ſucceed me: and who ſhould that be but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scots?" Then being admoniſhed by the archbiſhop to fix her thoughts upon God, "That I do (ſaid ſhe) neither doth my mind wander from him at all." When ſhe could no longer pray with her tongue, ſhe lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven, and giving ſome other ſigns of her confidence in the mercy of God, ſhe expired on the 24th of March, old ſtyle, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fourth of her reign [s].

To diſplay in few words the elogy of this illuſtrious queen, it ſeems to be ſufficient to obſerve, that her name is ſtill of bleſſed memory with the Engliſh, now when flattery cannot be ſuppoſed to have any ſhare in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth baniſhed from England the catholic religion, and reſtored the reformation. This alone was the cauſe that two parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animoſity. The proteſtants, conſidering that this queen was the ſole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been deſtroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themſelves inclined to excuſe her failings. For the ſame reaſon, the Roman catholics look upon her with another eye; nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to paint her in the blackeſt colours, and give her the moſt odious epithets. This makes it impoſſible to give her a character that ſhall pleaſe all the world. I ſhall content myſelf therefore with making ſome reflections which will aſſiſt thoſe who ſeek only truth, to paſs an impartial judgment on this famous queen, free from party-paſſion and prejudice.

Elizabeth had great ſenſe, and a judgment naturally ſound and ſolid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing ſhews her capacity more, than her addreſs in ſurmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, eſpecially when it is conſidered what theſe enemies were, the moſt powerful, the moſt artful, the moſt ſubtle, and the leaſt ſcrupulous in Europe [t]. The bare naming of them is a ſufficient demonſtration. The court of Rome under ſeveral popes, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. kings of France, Cathe-

[n] This year died Henry Herbert earl of Pembroke, huſband of the renowned Mary counteſs of Pembroke, ſiſter of ſir Philip Sidney.—This year alſo died Peregrine Bartie lord Willoughby of Ereſby. Camden, p. 643.

[o] Which are his very words. Ibid. p. 645.

[p] Sir Robert Manſel waited for him with two or three men of war. Ibid. p. 648.

[q] Namely, in Ulſter. The lord Montjoy was chiefly indebted for his good ſucceſs againſt Tiroen, to the bravery and conduct of ſir Henry Docwray, and ſir Arthur Chicheſter, knights; the latter of whom ſucceeded him afterwards in his office of lord deputy. Ibid. p. 651.

[r] He came to the lord deputy at Millefont, which a down-caſt look, and in a habit mean and careleſs. The lord deputy receiving him ſitting in a chair of ſtate, and attended by ſeveral officers; Tiroen fell on his knees, as ſoon as he came to the threſhold, and continued ſome time in that poſture; then, upon a ſign made to him to come near, he made a few nearer approaches, and fell again upon his knees. Camden, p. 652.

[s] She lived ſixty-nine years, ſix months, and ſeven days; and reigned forty-four years, four months, and eight days; and lies buried at Weſtminſter, in Henry VII.'s chapel. Her ſucceſſor king James erected a ſtately monument to her memory, which the reader may ſee in Sandford, p. 519; her epitaphs are alſo in Speed, p. 881.

[t] Pope Sixtus V. uſed to ſpeak of queen Elizabeth, and the king of Navarre, as the only princes that underſtood what it was to govern; and profanely wiſhed, that he might enjoy her but one night, ſaying, they would beget a new Alexander the Great between them. Burnet's Ref. tom. II. p. 417.

She

rine de Medici, the duke of Guiſe, the cardinal of Lorrain, Mary queen of Scots, all the Romiſh clergy, and particularly the jeſuits. Had her forces been proportionable to thoſe of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary. Strength often ſupplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did ſhe withſtand ſo potent, ſo formidable enemies? It was by two or three maxims which ſhe made the rule of her conduct, and from which ſhe never ſwerved: "To make herſelf beloved by her people: To be frugal of her treaſure: To cheriſh diſſenſion amongſt her neighbours." If things are rightly conſidered, ſhe had no other way to ſecure herſelf. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never queſtioned, it is not this I am chiefly to deſcribe. On the contrary, her enemies have taken occaſion from thence to defame her, by repreſenting as vices diſguiſed, what her friends extol as ſo many virtues. They pretend, that her ability conſiſted wholly in an overſtrained diſſimulation, and a profound hypocriſy. In a word, they ſay ſhe was a perfect comedian. For my part, I do not pretend to deny that ſhe made great uſe of diſſimulation, as well to the courts of France and Spain, as in regard to the queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifeſt truth. The court of Rome was the only court ſhe never diſſembled with. I am alſo perſuaded, that being ſo much concerned to gain the love and eſteem of her ſubjects, ſhe affected to ſpeak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderneſs for them, and deſired to have it believed, that ſhe did through an exceſſive love to her people things wherein her own intereſt was moſtly concerned. But the queſtion is to know, whether in her circumſtances her diſſimulation was blameable. What injury was it to her ſubjects to endeavour to perſuade them, ſhe loved them tenderly, ſince ſhe actually and really did whatever was neceſſary to convince them? As to foreigners, it muſt be carefully obſerved, that her diſſimulation and artifices tended not to invade their poſſeſſions, but to preſerve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of crown and life, and ſhe ſaved both by her policy and diſſimulation. Where is the harm of ſuch a conduct? Can the diſſimulation and artifices which aim only at ſelf-preſervation, be without extreme prejudice confounded with the diſſimulation and artifices that tend to ſurpriſe the innocent, and invade the property of others; can theſe, I ſay, be conſidered upon the ſame foot? For my part, I am ſo far from thinking that this ſort of diſſimulation is any blemiſh to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that ſhe was too parſimonious, and upon ſome occaſions ſtuck too cloſe to her maxim, not to be at any expence but what was abſolutely neceſſary. However, in general I maintain, that her circumſtances required her, if not to be covetous, at leaſt not to part with her money but with the greateſt caution, both to preſerve her people's affection, and enable her to withſtand her enemies. After all, whom did ſhe wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad ſhe had laviſhed her treaſure like the king her father in the beginning of his reign. As for the reſt of her ſubjects, inſtead of having cauſe to complain of this pretended avarice, they had reaſon to be pleaſed with it, ſince it conſiſted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as Henry VII. her grandfather had done, but in huſbanding her revenues, and conſequently their own [u].

She is alſo accuſed of not being ſo chaſte as ſhe affected to appear. Nay, ſome pretend there are now in England the deſcendants of a daughter ſhe had by the earl of Leiceſter. But as hitherto no proof of this accuſation has been produced, it may be ſafely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life as after her death.

It is not ſo eaſy to juſtify her concerning the death of the queen of Scots. Here it muſt freely be owned that ſhe ſacrificed equity, juſtice, and perhaps her own conſcience, to her ſafety. If Mary was guilty of her huſband's Murder, as there is reaſon to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to puniſh her. And indeed it was not for that ſhe took away her life; but ſhe uſed that pretence to detain her in priſon, under the deceitful excuſe of making her innocence appear. On this occaſion her diſſimulation was blame-worthy. This firſt injuſtice engaged her afterwards to uſe numberleſs arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's impriſonment perpetual. Hence aroſe at laſt the neceſſity of putting her to death on the ſcaffold. In ſhort, this exceſs of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of diſſimulation to juſtify herſelf, and caſt the blame on the innocent. This doubtleſs is Elizabeth's great blemiſh, which manifeſtly proves to what height ſhe carried the fear of loſing a tottering crown. This continual fear and uneaſineſs is what characterizes her reign, becauſe it was the ſpring of almoſt all her actions. All that can be ſaid for Elizabeth is, that the queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to ſuch a point, that one of the two queens was to periſh, and it was natural that the weakeſt ſhould fall. But this does not excuſe Elizabeth's injuſtice to Mary in detaining her in priſon, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I do not believe her being a true proteſtant was ever queſtioned. But as it was her intereſt to be ſo, ſome have taken occaſion to doubt whether the zeal ſhe expreſſed for her religion was the effect of her perſuaſion or policy. What may have occaſioned this doubt is, that it clearly appears in her hiſtory, that in aſſiſting the proteſtants of France and the Netherlands, as well as thoſe of Scotland, ſhe had only temporal views, namely, her own ſafety and defence againſt impending invaſions. But it cannot thence be inferred, ſhe was not a good proteſtant, or had no religion at all, ſince it is not impoſſible that her religion ſhould agree with her temporal intereſt. All that can be ſaid is, that ſhe happened ſometimes to prefer her temporal before her religious concerns.

She is warmly accuſed of perſecuting the catholics, and putting ſeveral to death. It is true, there were ſome that ſuffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were puniſhed but for conſpiring againſt the queen or ſtate, or for attempting to deſtroy the proteſtant religion in England, and reſtore the Romiſh by violent methods. The catholics, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, though with ſome reſtraint as to the exerciſe of their religion, but with none as to their conſciences. If this may be called perſecution, what name ſhall be given to the ſufferings of the proteſtants in the reign of Mary [w]?

The preſbyterians think alſo they have reaſon to complain of the ſtatute enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conſcience, though they were proteſtants. I ſhall not take upon me to determine whether they had cauſe to complain of this rigour. I ſhall only ſay, that in my opinion they had too much obſtinacy, and their adverſaries too little charity.

To ſum up in few words what may ſerve to form Elizabeth's character, I ſhall add, that ſhe was a good and illuſtrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what ſhe ought to be eſteemed for above all things is, that ſhe cauſed the Engliſh to enjoy a felicity unknown to their anceſtors under moſt of the kings her predeceſſors. This doubtleſs is the teſt, by which we are to judge of thoſe whom God has ſet over us.

BY an indenture of the 2d of Elizabeth, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, of 23 carats 3 grains and a half fine, was coined into 36 pounds by tale; namely, into 24 ſovereigns, at thirty ſhillings a piece, or 48 rials at fifteen ſhillings, or 72 angels at ten ſhillings a piece, or 144 half angels at five ſhillings a piece: and a pound weight of crown gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, was coined into 33 pounds by tale: namely, 33 ſovereigns at twenty ſhillings a piece, or 66 half ſovereigns as ten ſhillings a piece, or 132 crowns at five ſhillings a piece, or 264 half crowns. And a pound weight of the old ſterling ſilver, viz. 11 ounces 2 penny weight fine, and 18 penny weight allay, was coined into 3 pounds by tale, of half ſhillings, groats, quarter ſhillings, half groats, 3 halfpenny pieces, pence, and farthings. In the 19th of her reign, a pound of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into 72 angels, at ten ſhillings a piece, 143 half angels at five ſhillings a piece, or 281 quarter angels, amounting in tale to 36 pounds; and a pound of old ſterling ſilver, into half ſhillings, threepences, 3 halfpenny, or 3 farthing pieces, to make 3 pounds by tale. And in the 25th, into 60 ſhillings, or into 3 pounds by tale. In the 26th, a pound troy of old ſtandard gold, was coined into 48 nobles at fifteen ſhillings a piece, or 24 double nobles at thirty ſhillings a piece, making 36 pounds. In the 35th year of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of 22 carats

[u] She was not ſo covetous, but that four ſubſidies having been granted her in one of her parliaments, and finding that three would do her buſineſs, ſhe by proclamation diſcharged the fourth, and ſo much of the other three as was not levied. Bohun's Charac. of Eliz. p. 158.

[w] The ſecular prieſts themſelves ſhewed in their writings, That in the eleven firſt years of queen Elizabeth's reign, not one papiſt was perſecuted for religion; in ten years after the publication of pope Pius V.'s bull, not above twelve prieſts had been put to death, and moſt of them for treaſon, till the year 1580, when the turbulent and reſtleſs jeſuits firſt ſet foot in England; and yet, in the ten next years after that, not above fifty prieſts were executed, and fifty-five baniſhed. See Camden, p. 649.

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

London Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

This Monumental Inscription is engraven in Roman Capitals.

On a Tablature over the Cornish at the Head of the Tomb

MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ

Elizabethæ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Reginæ R. Henrici VIII. Filiæ R. Hen. VII. Nepti R. Ed. IV. Pronepti Patriæ Parenti, Religionis et bonarum Artium Altrici, plurimarum Linguarum peritæ præclaris tum Animi tum Corporis dotibus, Regiisq; Virtutibus supra Sexum, Principi incomparabili.

Jacobus Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Virtutum et Regnorum Hæres, bene Merenti pie posuit.

On the Basement at the Head.

Regno Consortes } { et Maria Sorores,
et Urna hic obdor- } { in Spe Resurrec-
mimus, Elizabetha } { tionis.

On a like Tablature over the Cornish at the Foot.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM.

Religione ad primævam Sinceritatem restaurata. Pace fundata, Moneta ad justum Valorem reducta Rebellione domestica Vindicata, Gallia malis intestinis præcipiti sublivata, Belgio sustentato, Hispanica classe profligata, Hiberuia pulsis Hispanis, et Rebellibus ad deditionem coactis pacata, reditibus utriusq; Academiæ Lege Annonaria plurimum adauctis, tota diuiq; Anglia ditata, prudentissimeq; Annos XIV. Administrata. Elizabetha Regina Victrix, Triumphatrix, Pietatis Studiosissima, Felicissima, placida Morte Septuagenaria Soluta, mortales Reliquias dum Christo jubente resurgant immortales, in hac Ecclesia celeberrima ab ipsa conservata, et denuo fundata, deposuit.

On the Basement at the Foot.

Obiit XXIV Martii. } { Regni. XLV.
Anno Salutis } { Ætatis. LXX.
M.DC.II. } {

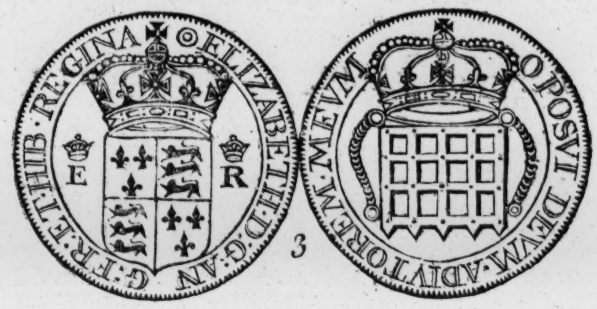
Gravelot del. *Goldar fecit.*

The Monument of QUEEN ELIZABETH in Westminster Abbey

Publisht as the Act directs March 1. 1738.

carats fine, and 2 carats allay, was coined into 33 ſovereigns, at twenty ſhillings a piece, or 66 half ſovereigns, or 132 crowns, or 264 half crowns, making 33 pounds by tale. In the 43d, the pound weight of old ſtandard gold was coined into 73 angels, at ten ſhillings a piece, or 146 half angels, or 292 quarter angels, making 36 pounds 10 ſhillings in tale; and the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine, and 2 carats allay, into 33 ſovereigns and a half, at twenty ſhillings a piece, or 67 half ſovereigns, or 134 crowns, or 268 half crowns, making 33 pounds 10 ſhillings in tale; and the pound weight of old ſtandard ſilver into 3 pounds 2 ſhillings by tale, viz. into crowns, half crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence.

1


3

2

4

5

The corruptions which the laſt year of Henry VIII. had brought into the Engliſh money was not quite rooted out till queen Elizabeth's reign; but her firſt buſineſs was to mark all the baſe pieces, either with a greyhound, portcluſe, lion, harp, roſe, or fleur-de-lis. Her gold coins, as appears from the foregoing indentures, were ſovereigns, half ſovereigns, or rials, nobles, double nobles, angels, half angels, pieces of an angel and a half, and three angels, crowns, and half crowns. The ſovereign has on one ſide the queen's figure in armour, and ruff, hair diſheveled, crowned with the imperial crown of England (conſiſting of the double arch, as borne ever ſince; ll, except Henry VI. having borne it before her with the ſingle arch) ELIZABETH. D G ANG FRA ET HIB REGINA. Reverſe, the arms crowned between E. R. a woolpack The mark, SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EAM. (Fig. 1.) The half-ſovereign has her head as upon the ſhilling. The angel has her titles as before; reverſe, the ſhip and arms, with E. and a roſe. DNI FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. ET. EST. MIRABI. The double roſe-noble, or roſe-rial, which is a noble medal, has on one ſide the queen in her robes and crown, ſcepter, and ball, upon her throne, at her feet a portcluſe, ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a large roſe filling the area, with the arms in the center, A DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTVD. ET. MIRAB. IN. OCVL. NRIS.----Queen Elizabeth's ſilver money are crowns, half crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, groats, threepences, twopences, pennies, penny halfpennies, halfpence and farthings, all of ſilver; for there was no braſs or copper money coined in England before James I. This ſilver money, from the crown to the threepence, is the ſame, viz. ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FRA. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, the arms and POSVI, &c. On the crown and half crown, ſhe appears with the ball and ſcepter (Fig. 2.) which latter never appeared upon the monies from the reign of Henry III. The ſhillings are of ſeveral kinds, ſome with a croſs croſlet, another with a dove or drake upon it, which laſt is ſaid to be in memory of ſir Francis Drake's voyage round the world; a third very fair, mill'd, a ſtar the Mint mark (Fig. 4.) The portcluſe ſhilling and crown piece, both which are very rare, inſtead of the queen's head, have the arms crowned between E. R. and ELIZABETH. D. G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGINA. Reverſe, a portcullice crowned, and POSVI, &c. an annulet the Mint mark. The ſixpences are of different mints, as the ſhillings; ſome with a roſe behind the queen's head, another marked with the Belgick lion upon the queen's breaſt. Of groats there are the drake, ſtar, or mill'd, and croſs croſlet, Mint marks, &c. Of the threepences, ſome have a croſs, others a ſword for the Mint mark; others the ſtar, cinque-foil, pheon, &c. all having the roſe behind the head, and motto as the larger pieces. The twopence has two dots behind the head, E. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA. Reverſe, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. The three halfpenny piece (coined by this queen only) has the roſe without the queen's head, CIVITAS EBORACI. The pennies have the ſame inſcription about the queen's head. Reverſe, the arms, and CIVITAS LONDON. Of theſe there are with the drake, creſcent, croſs croſlet, tun, Figure II. and annulet. They are from ſix grains and a half to ten and a half. The farthings have all the roſe on each ſide, and weigh from three to five grains.---Beſides theſe, Elizabeth coined alſo Iriſh money, namely, ſhillings called Harpers, from the arms of that kingdom, viz. three harps crowned on the reverſe (Fig. 5.)

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XVIII.

The Reign of JAMES I. Containing the Space of two and twenty Years, and three Days.

24. JAMES I.

[1603] ELIZABETH had no ſooner breathed her laſt, but the council met to conſult about the meaſures that were to be taken in the preſent juncture. The queen, who had delayed to name her ſucceſſor till the end of her days, at laſt declared, the king of Scotland was to aſcend the throne of England after her, and it was not doubted but her will agreed with this declaration. So the council deemed it neceſſary, before all things, to be aſſured of it, by peruſing the will, which was immediately opened, and found to confirm what the queen had declared by word of mouth. The king of Scotland had therefore in his perſon a threefold right, which rendered his title indiſputable. The firſt was what is called in England, a parliamentary right, which derived its validity from the act of parliament, ſecuring the crown to Henry VII. and his heirs. The ſecond was hereditary right, for this prince was the neareſt relation, and natural heir to Elizabeth. Theſe two rights were farther ſtrengthened by the queen's will, which made the third. So the council readily judged he ought to be acknowledged for king of England. This reſolution being imparted to the lord mayor of London, the new king was proclaimed by the name of James I. ſix hours after the queen's death.

Though the council had been careful to ſend the king the firſt news of his acceſſion to the crown of England, ſir Robert Carey, the lord Hunſdon's youngeſt ſon, found means to be before them [a]. James, who impatiently expected the news, received it however without altering his countenance; the queen's illneſs having been long enough to afford him time to be compoſed when the news ſhould arrive. Nevertheleſs, he could not forbear lifting up his eyes to heaven; probably to thank God for the favour he had long expected, not without great anxiety. Elizabeth would never poſitively declare ſhe intended to name him for her ſucceſſor. She contented herſelf with keeping him in hopes, but in ſuch a manner, that ſhe ſeemed to reſerve the power of depriving him of the ſucceſſion, if his conduct diſpleaſed her. James's correſpondence with the earl of Eſſex, which, though connived at, was not unknown to the court of England, might give him ſome apprehenſions. Beſides, Elizabeth never loved him, whether becauſe he was ſon to her mortal enemy, or had ſhewn too much impatience to poſſeſs the crown of England; or, in fine, by reaſon of his inclination to the catholics. All theſe reaſons made this prince very uneaſy, in the expectation of a crown which his birth intitled him to, but which, however, he might have loſt, had Elizabeth been pleaſed to take meaſures to deprive him of it. The news of the queen's death could not therefore but be agreeable to him, ſince, by his correſpondence with one of the chief miniſters, he was aſſured ſhe had done nothing to his prejudice.

Preſently after Carey's arrival, came ſir Charles Percy, and Thomas Somerſet, who, by order of the council of England, notified to him the queen's death, and the council's diligence in proclaiming him [b]. Theſe were quickly followed by Sir Thomas Lake, who was ſent by the council to inform him of the ſtate and condition of the realm [c].

Whilſt the news of his acceſſion to the crown was carrying to the king, the Engliſh were reflecting on the alterations which the queen's death was likely to produce. The people in general lamented the loſs of their queen. They had been happy under her, and were not ſure their happineſs would continue in the new reign. A king of Scotland on the throne of England, was to moſt no pleaſing object. Beſides, ſince James was of age, he had given no very advantageous idea of himſelf. His unſteadineſs, his weakneſs for his favourites, his inclination to the catholics, of which, on ſeveral occaſions, he had given viſible marks, were not qualities apt to prepoſſeſs the Engliſh in his favour. It was hoped, however, he would tread in the ſteps of the illuſtrious queen, his immediate predeceſſor, becauſe it was thought he could not follow a better courſe; and what is deſired is eaſily believed. As for the deceaſed queen's miniſters and courtiers, the good and welfare of the realm was what leaſt affected them. Every one was wholly intent upon gaining the favour of the ſucceſſor. Towards the end of the late reign there were two factions at court; the one conſiſting of Eſſex's friends, and the other of his enemies. The firſt was intirely humbled by the death of their head; and the other had ſo far the aſcendant, that they abſolutely ruled in the council. Sir Robert Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſecond ſon of the late lord treaſurer Burleigh, was at the head of this party. But this politic courtier, foreſeeing, that after the queen's death his party could not fail of ſinking, ſince king James conſidered the earl of Eſſex as his martyr, had taken timely meaſures for his ſupport. Before the queen's deceaſe, he had devoted himſelf to the king of Scotland, and held a private correſpondence with him, to inform him of what paſſed at court. By this means, he had ſecured that prince's favour, though it was not without danger of loſing the queen's, had ſhe known his ſecret practices [d]. He was the only man of his party that had gained the new king's favour, which he ſo artfully cultivated, that in the end he became his prime miniſter.

There was alſo another thing which engaged the attention of the Engliſh, namely, the affair of religion. The king's conduct in Scotland gave occaſion for ſundry reflections, which kept people in uncertainty, none knowing poſitively what was to be hoped or feared. James was born of Roman catholic parents, but being taken from his mother in his infancy, had been educated in the proteſtant religion, and always profeſſed it. On the other hand, the religion he had been brought up in, though proteſtant, differed a little from the religion eſtabliſhed in England, if not in doctrine, at leaſt in diſcipline, and ſome other points of external worſhip, which were conſidered by the two churches as very important. In a word, it was the preſbyterian or puritanical religion. In fine, this prince had ſhewn on numberleſs occaſions, that he was far from being an enemy to the Romiſh religion. All this formed a certain contraſt, which bred an univerſal ſuſpenſe. The catholics hoped to meet, under his government, with gentler treatment, and more indulgence than under Elizabeth, nay, they carried their expectations much farther. The preſbyterians flattered themſelves, that James, who had been educated in their religion, would promote the reforming of the church of England upon the plan of that of Scotland, and hoped ſhortly to ſee the downfal of the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy. Finally, the church of England men thought to have reaſon to expect, that the new king would conform to their religion, ſince it was eſtabliſhed by law. But after all, the hopes of the three parties could not but be mixed with fears, ſince the

[a] The lord Hunſdon's father married Ann Boleyn's ſiſter. Sir Robert's brother, George lord Hunſdon, was lord chamberlain of the queen's houſehold, and privy counſellor; and his brother, ſir John, was governor of Berwick. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 397, 398.

[b] The council's letter to him begins with theſe pompous words: Right high, right excellent, and mighty prince, and our dread ſovereign lord, &c. See Spotiſwood, p. 473.

[c] Several other perſons of diſtinction came to pay their reſpects to him, and among the reſt John Peyton (ſon of Sir John Peyton, lieutenant of the Tower of London), whom he knighted, being the firſt on whom he conferred that honour. Stow, p. 818.

[d] The perſon that managed Cecil's correſpondence at the court of Scotland, was Bruce, a younger brother of a noble family in Scotland, who carried the matter with ſuch addreſs and ſecrecy, that all the great men in England, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the queen's ſuſpecting any thing, ſigned in writing an engagement to aſſert and ſtand by the king of Scots right of ſucceſſion. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 8. Cecil was very like to have been diſcovered a little before the queen's death. Being in the coach with her as ſhe was taking the air, on Black-heath, a poſt from Scotland came by. Whereupon the queen ſtopped her coach to receive the packet. Cecil dreading ſome of his ſecret conveyances might be diſcovered, and having a ready wit, haſtily calls for a knife to cut it open. But, juſt as he was going to do ſo, he pretended it had a very naſty ſmell, and ought to be aired before her majeſty ſaw it; which the queen, miſtruſting nothing, and hating ill ſcents of all things, ordered to be done. Wilſon, p. 662. Compl. Hiſt.

London: Engravd for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

JAMES. I. KING of GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE & IRELAND
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Paulus Vansomer Pinx

Goldar Sculp

The Original Painting in the Palace of Hampton Court

Publish'd as the Act directs. July 14. 1787

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

king had not yet declared himſelf. Such were the ſentiments of the Engliſh concerning their new king, whom as yet they knew only by report.

As ſoon as James was informed by the perſons ſent from the council of England that he was proclaimed, he diſpatched Aſton to acquaint the privy counſellors, that he was preparing for his journey, and accordingly he left Scotland the 5th of April, eleven days after Elizabeth's death. The principal Scotch lords, by whom he was attended into England, were the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, and the lord Kinloſs, with ſeveral others of leſs diſtinction, but who afterwards were promoted to Engliſh honours and dignities. He ſpent above a month in his journey from Edinburgh to London [e], where he arrived the 7th of May. He had no ſooner entered England, but the people ſtrove to demonſtrate their reſpect by magnificent entertainments in all the towns he paſſed through. Such were their acclamations, their wiſhes for his proſperity, their praiſes and joy for his arrival, that an honeſt plain Scotchman could not forbear ſaying, "This people will ſpoil a gud king." Meanwhile, the multitudes which flocked from all parts to ſee their new ſovereign, grew at laſt ſo troubleſome to him, that he was forced to ſet bounds to their curioſity by a proclamation. This was very ſurpriſing to the people, who did not underſtand that a little inconveniency ſhould hinder the king from receiving the reſpects of his new ſubjects. But perhaps this was owing to the king's fear, that among the crowd ſome aſſaſſin might lurk, and attempt upon his life. It may be too, he had a mind to accuſtom his ſubjects not to be too familiar with their ſovereign. However, it did not hinder the people from paying him every due reſpect, and expreſſing great ſatisfaction to ſee him paſs, in order to be ſeated on the throne.

At York, moſt of the Engliſh lords came and paid him their homage. Among theſe was ſecretary Cecil, who was now conſidered as out of favour, becauſe he had been Eſſex's ſworn enemy. But great was the ſurpriſe when the king received him with extraordinary marks of eſteem. This gave occaſion to ſuſpect, he had taken care beforehand to gain his favour, and the king's behaviour to him afterwards confirmed the ſuſpicion. Some accuſe this lord of inſpiring the king with the deſign of ſetting himſelf above the laws, and not ſuffering the parliament to ſhare the ſupreme authority with him. At leaſt, it is certain, James's chief care, after his acceſſion, was to maintain the prerogative royal in its utmoſt extent, nay, to carry it higher than any of his predeceſſors. He muſt, at the time I am now ſpeaking of, have conceived a larger notion than had been hitherto formed, of the power of an Engliſh king, ſince when he came to Newark, he ordered a cut-purſe to be hanged by his ſole warrant, and without trial. It cannot be denied that this was beyond the lawful power of a king of England, and directly contrary to the privileges of the Engliſh nation. Probably, care was taken to warn him of the ill effects ſuch illegal acts might produce among the people, ſince he refrained from them ever after.

On the 3d of May he came to Theobald's, ſecretary Cecil's houſe [f], where he ſtaid ſome days. Here the council came to pay their reſpects to him, and here paſſed what was moſt remarkable in his journey till his arrival at London. When he was about to leave Scotland, he ſent Carey to tell the privy counſellors, that his intention was to continue every man in his poſt. However, at his coming to Theobald's, he increaſes their number with ſeveral others, moſt of whom were Scots, his deſign being, as he more plainly ſhewed afterwards, to make but one kingdom of England and Scotland. The new Scotch counſellors were the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume [g], and Sir James Elphinſton his ſecretary. He nominated alſo two Engliſh noblemen, the lords Zouch, and Burleigh, ſecretary Cecil's eldeſt brother. I find likewiſe that at the ſame time, or preſently after, he admitted into his council the earls of Northumberland and Cumberland [h], the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, the one ſon, the other brother to the late duke of Norfolk, of whom the firſt was a ſuſpected, the laſt a known papiſt, but upon the king's arrival he had embraced the proteſtant religion. The king's gratitude to the Howard family, who, for the ſake of the queen his mother, were in diſgrace in the late reign, did not ſtop there. The lord Thomas was made earl of Suffolk, and then lord treaſurer, and the lord Henry was created ſome years after earl of Northampton. Moreover, Philip earl of Arundel, the late duke of Norfolk's eldeſt ſon, having loſt his title by his condemnation, though Elizabeth gave him his life, the king created his ſon Thomas, earl of Arundel and Surrey [i]. Thus the king's regard for the duke of Norfolk's family, plainly ſhewed what he thought of Elizabeth's treatment of that duke and his houſe. It was not in this alone that he expreſſed his reſentment againſt the late queen. Upon all occaſions he affected to ſhew, it was only out of policy that he had, whilſt ſhe lived, concealed his averſion for her. The moſt notable mark he gave of it was, that he neither went into mourning himſelf, nor would admit any perſon to his preſence in a mourning habit.

From the king's arrival in England to his departure from Theobald's, he made about two hundred knights, and ſome days after his coming to London he made many more. As Elizabeth had been ſparing in the diſtribution of honours, with which ſovereigns are wont to reward the merit and ſervices of their ſubjects, her ſucceſſor, on the contrary, beſtowed them with a liberal, or rather profuſe hand. Never had the like number of knights, barons, and earls, been made in any former reign. This occaſioned a ſatirical libel, entitled, "A help for weak memories to retain the names of the nobility [k]." The truth is, James made ſo many knights and peers, particularly in the firſt years of his reign, that ſuch a help was very neceſſary. Indeed it is pretended, the current of honour was ſo ſtopped in Elizabeth's reign, that ſcarce a county had knights enough to make a jury [l].

Beſides the three Howards, Thomas Sackville, lord Buckhurſt and high treaſurer, was made earl of Dorſet; ſir Robert Cecil was at firſt created baron of Effingdon, then viſcount Cranburne, and afterwards earl of Saliſbury; and Philip Herbert, the earl of Pembroke's brother, was made earl of Montgomery. I confine myſelf to theſe, becauſe their names moſt frequently occur in the beginning of this reign [m]. I muſt alſo add, that the earl of Southampton, who had been condemned to die, and the earl of Eſſex's ſon, were reſtored to their eſtates and honours before the king reached London. But the lords Grey, Cobham, Carew [n], and ſir Walter Raleigh, who had been enemies to the earl of Eſſex, were very coldly received by the king. Theſe four courtiers of Elizabeth had not a little contributed to the earl of Eſſex's death, as well as ſecretary Cecil; but Cecil, as I obſerved, had wiſely gained the king's favour. Nothing could more plainly ſhew that the king conſidered the earl of Eſſex as his martyr, as he himſelf called him, than his gracious reception of the earl of Southampton when that lord came to wait on him. This was publicly owning that he approved of theſe two lords conſpiracy, the intent of which was to ſet him on the throne before the queen's death. This gained him credit with the diſintereſted. But from that time he began to liſten to the flatteries of his courtiers, who extolled all his actions to the ſkies, and that continued but too much throughout his whole reign.

[e] At Hitchinbrooke, in Huntingdonſhire, he was more handſomely received and entertained by ſir Oliver Cromwell, than he had been all the way before, ſays Stow, p. 822.

[f] The king bought this houſe afterwards: It belongs now to the duke of Portland. Rapin. The king gave in exchange for it Hatfield-houſe, the ſeat of the preſent earls of Saliſbury.

[g] And ſir George Hume, afterwards earl of Dunbar, and the lord Kinloſs. Stow, p. 822.

[h] Henry Percy, and George Clifford. Rapin ſays, by miſtake, it was the earl of Weſtmoreland.

[i] To avoid confuſion, it will be proper to continue the account of the numerous Howard family.—Thomas Howard, the third duke of Norfolk, married, 1. Anne daughter of king Edward IV. by whom he had Thomas, who died young. 2. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, by whom he had Henry earl of Surrey, beheaded 13 Henry VIII. and Thomas, created viſcount Howard of Bindon, 1 Elizabeth.—The ſaid Henry married Frances, daughter of John de Vere earl of Oxford, and by her had Thomas, the fourth duke of Norfolk (reſtored 1 Mary, and beheaded for attempting to marry the queen of Scots), and Henry made earl of Northampton, 1 James I.—The laſt mentioned Thomas had two wives, 1. Mary, daughter and coheir of Henry earl of Arundel, who was mother of Philip earl of Arundel. 2. Margaret, daughter of Thomas lord Audley, and mother of Thomas, created earl of Suffolk, 1 James I. and of William made lord Howard of Naworth-caſtle, 1 James I.—The aforeſaid Philip, earl of Arundel, had a ſon named Thomas, who was reſtored, 1 James I. This Thomas was father, 1ſt. of Henry. 2. of William, created viſcount Stafford in 1640.—The laſt Thomas was father of Thomas, the fifth duke of Norfolk, 13. Cha. II. and of Henry created earl of Norwich in 1683.—The aforementioned Thomas earl of Suffolk had ſeven ſons; 1. Theophilus, who ſucceeded him; 2. Thomas, created earl of Berkſhire 1629. 7. Edward, made lord Howard of Eſcrick 1629.—The aboveſaid William lord Howard of Naworth-caſtle, was father of Philip, and he of William, who was father of Charles, created earl of Carliſle in 1661. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II.

[k] It was only a ſort of Paſquil poſted up in St. Paul's. Wilſon, p. 665.

[l] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, to ſerve in parliament.

[m] Beſides theſe, he made ſir Robert Sidney baron of Penhurſt, ſir William Knolles baron of Grayes, and ſir Edward Wotton baron of Marley. And afterwards, while preparations were making for his coronation, which was performed the 25th of July, in the heat of a plague, he created ſir Thomas Egerton (lord chancellor) baron of Elleſmere, ſir William Ruſſel baron of Thornaugh, ſir Henry Grey baron of Groby, ſir John Petre baron of Writtle, ſir John Harrington baron of Exton, ſir Henry Danvers baron of Dantſey, ſir Thomas Gerard baron of Gerard-Bromley, ſir Robert Spencer baron of Worm Leighton. Wilſon, p. 664. Camd. Ann. p. 641.

[n] There was no ſuch lord as the lord Carew; ſir George Carew (who had ſerved in Ireland three years, and wrote an account of the memorable paſſages which happened there in that time) was now in favour, and one of thoſe that were ſent to fetch the queen; he was made baron of Chipton, 3 Jac. and earl of Totneſs, 1 Car. I. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 423. Rapin.

See

King James, with good natural parts, had a great ſhare of learning. He was able to form the plan of a good government, the general maxims whereof he perfectly knew. But his averſion to war, his weakneſs for his favourites, certain prejudices he had imbibed, wherein all that approached him helped to confirm him, ever hindered him from putting his theory in practice. He was perſuaded, that the authority of ſovereigns over their ſubjects was unlimited, and that all monarchical governments ought to be abſolute, not conſidering that theſe maxims could not be applied to the government of England, without deſtroying the conſtitution. Moreover he was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of his own merit and capacity. As ſoon as his courtiers diſcovered his genius and character, they failed not to attack him in the moſt ſenſible part. That is, they took all occaſions to applaud his wiſdom, learning, parts, and to talk in the higheſt ſtrain of the regal power. As this pleaſed him infinitely, ſo it was the beſt way to gain his favour. Hence aroſe ſeveral expreſſions little known in the former reigns, but which were common in this. The king was called the Solomon of the age, and ſtiled his Sacred Majeſty, and theſe flattering titles, which he greedily received, confirmed him the more in his prejudices. He had one amongſt the reſt which greatly influenced his whole adminiſtration. And that was, he verily believed he was come to the crown of England ſolely by hereditary right, and could not bear it ſhould be thought he was obliged to queen Elizabeth, or that his title proceeded from any act of parliament. If this had been only a ſpeculative notion, it would not have much diſturbed the Engliſh. But he drew from this principle terrible conſequences, tending to no leſs than arbitrary power, and of courſe to the ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution. From his being king by hereditary right he inferred, that his will ought to be the ſole rule of the government, and conſidered as undeniable truths all the wild aſſertions of certain writers concerning the regal power. This pretended hereditary right, with its conſequences, were the fountain of the diviſions which began in this reign, between the king and parliament, and which continued during the three following reigns. This alſo gave birth to the tory and whig factions, who worry one another to this very day. It is requiſite therefore, for the reader's information, to obſerve, before we proceed, that this hereditary right by which James I. pretended to reign, was not ſo indiſputable as he then did, and as many ſtill do imagine it.

In the firſt place, no law can be produced on which may be founded the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown of England. Secondly, there are many precedents in the Engliſh hiſtory, which ſhew that the parliament aſſumed a power to diſpoſe of the crown, and ſettle the ſucceſſion without any regard to the next heir. In the third place, more kings, ſince the conqueſt, have mounted the throne by virtue of acts of parliament, or ſome other means, than by hereditary right. The four firſt eſpecially, namely, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I. and Stephen, moſt certainly came not to the crown by this right. When was it then that the crown became hereditary? It is their buſineſs who maintain this opinion, to point out the time. In the fourth place, of all the kings from William the Conqueror to James I. there was not one who had leſs right to the crown than Henry VII. before he was confirmed by the parliament [o]. It was therefore from the parliament's confirmation, rather than from Henry the Seventh's hereditary right, that James I. could derive his own title. Laſtly, if ſome inſtances may be produced of kings ſucceeding from father to ſon, and if from thence it be inferred, it was by hereditary right, it will alſo be eaſy to ſhew that this right vaniſhes when traced to the ſource. For example, if it be ſuppoſed that Elizabeth, Mary, Edward VI. and Henry VIII. came to the crown by hereditary right, though there would be much to be ſaid concerning the two queens, the fountain of this right ſprings from Henry VII. who was heir neither of the houſe of York, nor the houſe of Lancaſter. Henry VI. and Henry V. ſucceeded from father to ſon, to Henry IV. who was not the next heir of Richard II. Edward III. could not ſucceed Edward II. his father, who was yet alive, by hereditary right. Edward II. Edward I. and Henry III. from the longeſt hereditary ſucceſſion from father to ſon that occurs in the Engliſh hiſtory; but they derived their right from John Lackland, who certainly was not Richard I.'s next heir. I paſs over in ſilence the former kings, becauſe the thing is too evident to need any farther explication. Thus of twenty-three kings from the conqueſt to James I. above one half at leaſt did not aſcend the throne by hereditary right. As for thoſe who ſucceeded from father to ſon, and may be ſuppoſed to have reigned by hereditary right, they could ſupport their right of ſucceſſion only by acts of parliament, adjudging the crown to ſome one of their anceſtors, contrary to hereditary right. How then can the hereditary ſucceſſion of the crown of England be indiſputably eſtabliſhed? It follows from what has been ſaid, that nothing is more uncertain than the right by which the kings of England reigned from the conqueſt to the time of James I. ſince it is not poſſible to lay down any undoubted principle upon this head. It is much eaſier to combat all the different opinions concerning the ſucceſſion, than to eſtabliſh any one by ſolid and undeniable reaſons. I ſhall add here, in confirmation of what I have ſaid, that the kings who were reckoned the wiſeſt and moſt able, took care to have their titles confirmed by the parliament, when they believed them liable to any objections. So James I. in reſolving to eſtabliſh this pretended hereditary right, was the firſt cauſe of the troubles which afflicted England, and which are not yet ceaſed.

This prince's choice of the miniſters who were to manage the public affairs, greatly conduced to cheriſh his high conceit of his perſonal qualities, and of the regal authority. The firſt was ſir Robert Cecil, afterwards earl of Saliſbury; this lord, who had been Eſſex's ſworn enemy, knowing how much the king was concerned in that earl's diſgrace, found no better way to keep in his favour than by flattering him continually, and making his court to him by talking of kingly government according to his notions. He was accuſed at leaſt of inſpiring him with ſentiments very diſadvantageous to the people and parliament. He was in other reſpects a man of a great genius, conſummate prudence, vaſt capacity, and perfectly acquainted with the ſtate and intereſt of the nation. The earls of Suffolk and Northampton, the one lord chamberlain, and the other lord keeper, were much inferior to the earl of Saliſbury in parts and ability. But it is pretended they were papiſts in their hearts; and as the catholic religion could be reſtored in England but by an arbitrary power, they earneſtly laboured to indulge the king in his notions concerning the regal authority. To theſe three lords the king chiefly committed the management of his affairs. All the reſt of the courtiers followed the ſame method, and emulouſly ſtrove to gain the king's favour by a blind ſubmiſſion to his will.

Shortly after the king's arrival at London, he ſent a numerous train of lords and ladies [p] into Scotland to attend the queen and his children who were ready to come to him. He had three children, namely, Henry nine years old, Elizabeth, and Charles [q]. This laſt being indiſpoſed, was left in Scotland till September the next year.

Whilſt the queen was on her journey, the king remembered he had complained to Elizabeth of Valentine Thomas, who had ſlandered him, and was now in priſon. It is not known wherein the ſlander conſiſted; but whatever it was, about a month after the king's arrival, Thomas was ordered to be brought upon his trial, and received ſentence of death, for conſpiring againſt Elizabeth and ſome of her council [r].

About the ſame time, and before the queen's arrival, the marquis of Roſny came from the king of France, to congratulate the king upon his acceſſion to the crown of England. He had expreſs orders from the king his maſter to appear in mourning with all his train, at his firſt audience; but he was told he would diſoblige the king, who would doubtleſs look upon this affectation as a reproach for not going himſelf into mourning for the queen. The marquis ſays in his Memoirs, That the king being at table, boaſted publicly, that for ſeveral years before Elizabeth's death, it was he properly that governed England, and that no reſolution was taken in the council but by his direction. He would perhaps have been nearer the truth, had he ſaid Elizabeth governed Scotland and himſelf too, without his perceiving it. The French king's deſign was not only to congratulate the king; his chief aim in ſending the marquis of Roſny his favourite, was to hinder James from being gained hy the Spaniards, and to renew his defenſive alliance with Elizabeth, in which the embaſſador ſucceeded to his wiſh.

Count Aremberg, embaſſador from the archduke Albert and the infanta Iſabella, ſovereigns of the Low-Countries, was come to London ſome time before; but was ſick, or feign-

[o] See the reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Rapin.

[p] The earls of Suſſex and Lincoln, the lords Compton and Norris, ſir George Carew, the Counteſſes of Worceſter and Kildare, lady Anne Herbert, daughter of the earl of Pembroke, the lady Scrope and lady Rich, wives of the lords Scrope and Rich, the lady Walſingham. Stow, p. 823.

[q] Henry was born Feb. 19, 1593; Elizabeth, Auguſt 19, 1596; and Charles, November 19, 1600. Sandford, p. 560, &c.

[r] About this time Charles lord Montjoy returned out of Ireland, and brought with him Hugh O'Neal earl of Tyrone, or rather Tiroen, i. e. the Land of Eugenius, being the name of an Iriſh county. The lord Montjoy was honourably received, ſworn of his majeſty's privy council, and afterwards made earl of Devonſhire. Tiroen himſelf, who had been the cauſe of ſo much bloodſhed, was pardoned, and proclamation made that he ſhould be treated by all men with reſpect and honour. Stow, p. 825. Wilſon, p. 604.

ed to be ſo, all the while the marquis of Roſny ſtaid in England. It was not till after the marquis's departure that he deſired the king to ſend one of his privy council to hear the occaſion of his embaſſy. Cecil, whom the king choſe, was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to hear nothing from him but compliments. Probably this embaſſador was ſent into England only to obſerve what paſſed there, and to ſound the new king's intention concerning a peace between England and Spain. James had now ſhewn by his proceedings that he was inclined to peace, ſince without any ſollicitation he had revoked the letters of marque granted by Elizabeth to ſeveral private perſons [s]. Some time after, Taxis came alſo to London from the king of Spain; and having congratulated the king upon his acceſſion to the crown, deſired commiſſioners might be appointed to treat with him of a peace. This negotiation, which was then only begun, ended at length in a treaty of peace, concluded the next year [t].

The plague, which began to break out in December, increaſing at London during the hot weather, the king retired for ſome time to Wilton, the earl of Pembroke's ſeat, near Saliſbury.

Whilſt the court was at Wilton, a conſpiracy, or rather the plan of a conſpiracy, was diſcovered, the authors whereof were Thomas lord Grey of Wilton, Henry Brooke lord Cobham, ſir Walter Raleigh, George Brook, two prieſts Watſon and Clark, and ſome others [u]. The deſign was to place on the throne Arabella Stuart, the king's couſin-german. To that end the lord Cobham was to treat with the archduke at Bruſſels, and to try to obtain ſix hundred thouſand crowns, of which Raleigh was to have ſeventy thouſand. Cobham was alſo to carry Arabella's letters to the archduke, the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, wherein ſhe ſhould promiſe to marry the perſon they ſhould name, and to grant a full toleration to the catholics. It was farther agreed, that the lord Grey [w] ſhould aſk the king's leave to raiſe two thouſand men for the ſervice of Holland, and with theſe troops ſhould ſeize his perſon. But this was only a project, unexecuted in every point, except that ſome of the conſpirators had conferred with count Aremberg. It is thought the count occaſioned this plot to deſtroy Raleigh, who of all England was the man moſt dreaded by the Spaniards, and that afterwards he himſelf informed the king of it [x]. However, the conſpirators being apprehended, were tried at Wincheſter in November following, and condemned to die. Raleigh was found guilty upon the written evidence of one ſingle witneſs, namely, the lord Cobham, even without being confronted, contrary to the expreſs law of the land [y]. Only George Brook however, the lord Cobham's brother, and the two prieſts were executed, the king having ordered the reſt to be ſent back to priſon, but without giving them a pardon. The lord Grey died ſoon after [z], and the lord Cobham obtained his liberty at laſt [a]: but ſir Walter Raleigh remained twelve years in the Tower, where he wrote a hiſtory of the world, much eſteemed in England. I ſhall have farther occaſion to ſpeak of him in the courſe of this reign.

Not long after the diſcovery of the plot, the king and queen were crowned at Weſtminſter with the uſual ſolemnity, on the 25th of July, St. James's day [b]. Immediately after the coronation, the king iſſued out a proclamation expreſly forbidding all perſons, who had any buſineſs at court, to repair thither till winter, by reaſon of the plague which raged then exceedingly, and ſwept away above thirty thouſand [c] in London only. Proclamations were much more frequent in this reign than in the former ones: in the eight or nine firſt months, there were no leſs than twelve.

I juſt mentioned the hopes conceived by the papiſts and puritans of ſome happy change in this new reign. The papiſts could not believe that a prince, who had never expreſſed any hatred of them, ſhould ſuddenly alter his mind, and chuſe to tread in the ſteps of Elizabeth. The puritans imagined that James, having been educated in their religion, and profeſſed it all his life till his arrival in England, would be propitious to them. They expected he would at leaſt reform good part of the faults they found in the church of England. Both were deceived, but the laſt much more than the firſt. Of the catholics, James hated only the jeſuits, and ſuch as were too ſervilely attached to the court of Rome and the prerogatives of the pope. But on the other hand, he ſaw it would not be in his power to grant a full toleration to the other catholics, though he ſhould be inclined to it: for that reaſon he believed it adviſeable not to diſcover too openly his thoughts of them. Thus the catholics, who had expected at leaſt a full toleration of their religion, were very much ſurpriſed when, upon preſenting a petition to the king on that occaſion, they received for anſwer, that he thought himſelf obliged to ſupport what he found eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

The puritans, believing to have more reaſon to hope than the catholics, preſented alſo their petition [d], not only for a toleration, but moreover to pray the king that ſundry articles of the church of England, with which they could not comply, might be reformed. The biſhops failed not ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe the petition, and to intreat the king to leave religion as he found it at his acceſſion to the crown, without any innovation. This was what the king fully intended. When he firſt came into the kingdom, he not only went over to the church of England, but even meant to force the puritans to conform, and to be revenged on them for what the preſbyterian ſynods had made him ſuffer in Scotland. Beſides, the government of the church by preſbyters too much reſembled a commonwealth to be agreeable to a prince ſo ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of monarchy. The government of the church of England was much more conformable to his principles [e]. Mean while, not to appear at firſt too partial, and to make believe he would not be determined without hearing the arguments of both ſides, he appointed a conference between the two parties, wherein he would be moderator himſelf. In the mean time he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding both ſides to remain quiet till matters were regulated as he ſhould judge proper.

[1604] The conference between ſome biſhops and preſbyterian miniſters was held at Hampton-Court, the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January, 1604 [f]. The king let the miniſters ſee immediately what they were to expect: he declared, "That following the example of all Chriſtian princes, who uſually began their reigns with the eſtabliſhment of the church, he had now, at his entering upon the throne, aſſembled them

[s] This revocation was dated the 23d of June. Rapin.

[t] For the more ſolemn reception of embaſſadors, was at this time inſtituted a new officer, by the name of maſter of the ceremonies, with a ſalary of 200l. a year, of whom the firſt was ſir Lewis Lewkenor. Stow, p. 284. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XVI. p. 637.

[u] As ſir Edward Parham (who was acquitted by his jury), Bartholomew Brookeſby, Anthony Copley, and ſir Griffith Markham who was condemned and reprieved with Cobham, Grey, and Raleigh, juſt as they were going to loſe their heads. See Stow, p. 832. Rapin, by miſtake, reckons alſo Carew. See note [p] above.

[w] Not Cobham, as Rapin ſays. See Stow, &c.

[x] The beſt account that can be given of this obſcure affair is this: ſir John Forteſcue, ſir Walter Raleigh, the lord Cobham, and ſome others, deſired that king James might be tied to ſome articles at his acceſſion to the crown, on account of the known feud between the two nations; but by the artful management of the lord treaſurer Buckhurſt, and the ranting proteſtants of the earl of Northumberland, who threatened to bring the king in by the ſword, all articles and conditions to bind him were dropped. However, for this propoſal, Raleigh and the reſt were frowned upon by the king, and at the king's coming to London, forbid their attendance at court. This undoubtedly occaſioned diſcontents among them, and probably might induce them to uſe diſaffected expreſſions, and keep ſuſpicious company. But, "what their treaſon was, as no man could then tell, ſo it is with ſo dark a comment that poſterity will never underſtand the text, or remember any ſuch treaſon. It is true ſome loſt their lives, yet the world was never ſatisfied of the juſtice.—It was then believed an errand trick of ſtate, to overthrow ſome and diſable others, knowing their ſtrong abilities might otherwiſe live to overthrow Cecil earl of Saliſbury, for they were intimate in all his ſecret councils for the ruin of the earl of Eſſex. Saliſbury in this had a double benefit; firſt, in ridding himſelf of ſuch as he feared would be thorns in his ſides; ſecondly, in endearing himſelf to the king, by ſhewing his diligence and fidelity for his ſafety." Oſborn, § 3. Wilſon, p. 663. Weldon. p. 28, &c.

[y] Some affirm, the lord Cobham was perſuaded to ſign a blank, whereon this evidence was afterwards ſet down. Rapin. See Weldon, p. 35. &c. But Goodman, in his Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 78, denies Weldon's account.

[z] The lord Grey remained a priſoner the reſt of his days, but did not die till the year 1614.

[a] But lived many years in miſery, being deprived of his eſtate; which, as Oſborn well obſerves, is a puniſhment contrary to the law of God and nature, who ſaith, "the perſon offending ſhall only die," and no puniſhment deſcend to the innocent children. He died louſy for want of apparel and linen; and had ſtarved, had not one, ſometime his laundreſs in court, relieved him with ſcraps, in whoſe houſe he died, which was ſo mean, that he was forced to creep up a ladder into a little hole to his chamber. A hard fate, for a man who was poſſeſſed before his arraignment of 7000l. a year, and 30,000l. in money. In his perſon ended that noble family, which had flouriſhed for many ages. Sir Griffith Markham was alſo releaſed and retired beyond ſea, where he lived in a mean condition. Weldon, p. 37. Oſborn, § 6.

[b] See the names of the knights of the Bath, made on this occaſion, in Stow, p. 827.

[c] Thirty thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-five, in one year. Stow, p. 833.

[d] This petition was ſaid to be ſigned by a thouſand perſons, and was therefore called the Millenary Petition: though it was ſigned but by eight hundred out of twenty-five counties. See Neal, tom. II. p. 5.

[e] Wilſon ſays, that the king thought if church power were in the hands of many, it would not be ſo eaſy to be managed, as when in the hands of one, who had dependence upon him, and with whom he might better grapple: and therefore the king would often ſay, "No biſhop, no king." p. 665. Coke. p. 35.

[f] The biſhops were Canterbury, London, Wincheſter, Durham, St. David's, Worceſter, Chicheſter, Carliſle, and Peterborough, with eight deans, Dr. Field, and Dr. King. The petitioners were Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spark, Mr. Knewſtubb, and Mr. Chaderton. See Barlow's account of this conference, and Neal, tom. II. p. 5, &c.—Dr. Welwood ſays, that this conference was but a blind to introduce epiſcopacy in Scotland, all the Scotch noblemen then at court being deſigned to be preſent, and others, both noblemen and miniſters, being called up from Scotland by the king's letter to aſſiſt at it. Notes on Wilſon, p. 665. Comp. Hiſt.

for ſettling an uniform order in the ſame, for planting unity, removing diſſentions, and reforming abuſes, which were naturally incident to all politic bodies. And that he might not be miſapprehended, and his deſigns in aſſembling them miſconſtrued, he farther declared, that his meaning was not to make any innovation of the government eſtabliſhed in the church, which he knew was approved of God, but to hear and examine the complaints that were made, and remove the occaſion of them; therefore he deſired the petitioners to begin, and to ſhew what were their grievances." Dr. Reynolds being the ſpokeſman, reduced what he had to ſay to two heads; the firſt whereof related to the doctrine, and the ſecond to the diſcipline of the church. As to the doctrine, he ſaid, the articles of the church of England were in ſome places obſcure, and in others defective. Then he mentioned the articles he ſpoke of, and deſired that they might be ſo explained as to leave no ambiguity, and that what was defective might be ſupplied. Whereupon a diſpute was begun, wherein the king always replied, anſwering the miniſters arguments himſelf, one while with reaſons, another while with authority and threats. The miniſters ſeeing the king become their adverſary, which they did not expect, choſe to be ſilent, and feigned to be ſatisfied. Then the king upbraided their preſumption, ſaying, they ought not to have importuned him for ſuch trifles. Indeed, this was not their great grievance: the government and external worſhip of the church was what troubled them moſt. The points they inſiſted upon were, 1. That ſufficient care was not taken to plant good and learned paſtors in the churches, to the great prejudice of the people. 2. That ſubſcription was required to the Common-Prayer-Book, wherein they ſaw ſeveral things which their conſcience would not ſuffer them to receive. 3. That the clergy were liable to the cenſures of lay-men, by means of the high-commiſſion [g]. 4. They objected againſt the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, the ſurplice, with ſome other things, which they looked upon as ſuperſtitious. There were warm diſputes upon all theſe points, wherein the king took care to reply to the miniſters himſelf, without giving the biſhops time to ſpeak. The king's conduct was ſo agreeable to the biſhops and their friends, that the lord chancellor Egerton, unwilling to miſs ſo fair an opportunity to flatter the king, ſaid aloud, "He had often heard that the prieſthood and royalty were united, but never ſaw it verified till now." Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, carried his flattery ſtill farther, and ſaid, "He verily believed the king ſpoke by the ſpirit of God." After this the king diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and ordered the biſhops and miniſters to meet again in three days at the ſame place.

On the 18th of January, the day appointed by the king, the biſhops were called firſt into his preſence, and delivered to him an explanation of the Liturgy. Then the king queſtioned them about excommunication, the high-commiſſion, the oath ex officio, the ſubſcription to the Common-Prayer-Book; and approving their anſwers, ordered the miniſters to be called in, and the writing preſented by the biſhops to be read before them. The miniſters believing it was in vain to make any reply, kept ſilence. Nay, it is pretended that ſome of them declared their doubts were ſufficiently cleared. However, the king ſuppoſing they had nothing to object, and had reaſon to be ſatisfied with the condeſcenſion that was ſhewn them, exhorted the biſhops to treat with lenity ſuch as were of a contrary opinion, and commanded the miniſters to preſerve the unity of the church, and beware of obſtinacy and diſobedience. "Obedience and humility (added he) are the marks of good and honeſt men; ſuch I believe you to be, but it feareth me that many of your ſort are humorous, and too buſy in the perverting of others. The exceptions taken againſt the Communion Book, as I perceive, are matthers of mere weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be gained with time and by gentle perſuaſions; or if they be indiſcreet, better it is to remove them than to have the church troubled with their contentions, For the biſhops, I will anſwer, that it is not their purpoſe preſently and out of hand to enforce obedience, but by fatherly admonitions and conferences to induce ſuch as are diſaffected. But if any be of an oppoſite and turbulent ſpirit, I will have them enforced to a conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing of a ſurplice, or uſing the croſs in baptiſm, will diminiſh the credit of miniſters that have formerly diſallowed the ſame; for that is juſt the Scottiſh argument, when any thing was concluded that ſorted not with their humour, the only reaſon why they could not obey was, 'That it ſtood not with their credit to yield, having been ſo long of a contrary opinion.' I will none of that, but that a time be limited by the biſhops of every dioceſe to ſuch, and they that will not yield, whatſoever they are, let them be removed: for we muſt not prefer the credit of a few private men to the general peace of the church."

In this manner paſſed the pretended conference, whoſe ſole end was to make the public believe the miniſters were convinced and fully inſtructed; that therefore it was out of pure obſtinacy that they ſtill ſeparated from the church. Hence it was natural to infer, that to conquer their obſtinacy, it was requiſite to uſe ſome ſeverity. And this was what the king plainly intimated, when he ſaid, "he would anſwer for the biſhops, that it was not their deſign immediately to enforce obedience," and when he afterwards added more clearly, "that after ſuch a time, they ſhould be dealt with in another manner." But this conference wrought not the conviction of the puritans; and all the fruit the king reaped by it was, to ſhew them how much they were miſtaken in depending upon his protection.

Whitgift was a mild and peaceable man, who would have been very glad to reclaim the puritans by gentle methods, agreeable to the goſpel, but he died quickly after, on the 29th of February. He was ſucceeded by Richard Bancroft, a prelate of a very different character, who, inſtead of dealing gently with the puritans, never ceaſed incenſing the king againſt them, and doing them all the miſchief he could. Herein he was but too cloſely imitated by the reſt of the biſhops, who found a double advantage in deſtroying the puritans. In the firſt place they made their court to the king, who hated them mortally. Secondly, they preſerved the hierarchy, which the puritans were deſirous to overthrow. The perſecution, which theſe ſuffered whilſt Bancroft was at the head of the clergy, induced many families to withdraw out of the kingdom, to enjoy elſewhere liberty of conſcience, denied them at home [g]. Bancroft is alſo accuſed of having been one of the moſt zealous to inſtil into the king the maxims of arbitrary power.

The 22d of February the king publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all jeſuits and other prieſts having orders from any foreign power, to depart the kingdom [h]. This proclamation was ſo worded, that the king was extremely careful to ſhew, he did not baniſh the jeſuits in hatred to the catholic religion in general, but only on account of their attachment to the doctrine of the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads. This is what the king very diligently obſerved throughout his whole reign. He conſtantly affected to conſider the Romiſh religion ſo far only as it might be contrary to civil government, that is to ſay, with reſpect to the pope's unlimited power. As for the other doctrines, he was very willing to allow the catholics to believe what they pleaſed, provided they renounced the belief of the pope's ſuperiority over kings. He was perſuaded this equity would procure him a peaceable reign; but he had too much reaſon afterwards to be convinced that he was taking wrong meaſures, and yet would never alter his conduct. Moſt of the catholics were not ſatisfied with ſo limited a toleration, and the zealous proteſtants repreſented the king as a papiſt. It is certain, he gave occaſion to think he was inclined to the catholic religion, by his conſtant care to ſhew he was diſpleaſed only with the pope's abſolute power, and valued not the other doctrines, which diſtinguiſhed the two religions. This obliged him to take, in favour of the moderate catholics, ſome ſteps which rendered him very ſuſpicious to many proteſtants [i], whilſt others conſidered his zeal againſt the preſbyterians at an undeniable evidence of his attachment to the proteſtant religion.

The proclamation againſt the jeſuits was ſoon followed by another, enjoining the puritans to conform to the worſhip of the eſtabliſhed church [k]. There was not ſeen here the ſame care to juſtify the king's conduct with reſpect to this ſort of perſecution, The king intimated in the firſt, that he would have regard to the tender conſciences of ſuch catholics as

[g] The high-commiſſion court was inſtituted and founded upon the ſtatute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. and conſiſted of a certain number of commiſſioners, who exerciſed the king's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy. This court, for divers reaſons, was utterly aboliſhed by the ſtatute made 16, 17 Car. I. cap. 10.

[g] Moſt of them went over to Holland. See Neal, tom. II. p. 47. There were but forty-nine miniſters all over England turned out for non-compliance. See Spotiſwood, p. 479.

[h] By the 19th of March. Thoſe that were in priſon were to be ſhipped off at ſome convenient port. Rymer, p. 573. In this proclamation the king acknowledges himſelf perſonally much beholden to the biſhop of Rome for his kind offices and private temporal carriage towards him in many things; and ſays, he is ready to requite the ſame towards him as a ſecular prince.

[i] Biſhop Burnet obſerves, that from the year 1606, to his dying day, he continued always writing and talking againſt popery, but acting for it. Hiſtory of his own time, p. 12.

[k] That is, to the Common-Prayer-Book, which was now reprinted with explanations. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 565, 574, &c. The chief explanations now added were, the whole Rubrick before private baptiſm; all the latter part of the Catechiſm from the Lord's Prayer to the end; prayers in the daily Service and Litany for the reſt of the royal family; thankſgivings for rain, fair weather, plenty, peace, and victory, deliverance from the plague, &c. Rymer, Ibid. p. 566, &c.

There

could not comply with the received doctrines of the church of England. But in this, there was not the leaſt indulgence for the tender conſciences of the puritans. Theſe were all a ſet of obſtinate people, who deſerved to have no favour ſhewn them!

As the parliament was to meet the 19th of March, the king thought it neceſſary to gain the affections of his ſubjects by ſuppreſſing ſome abuſes introduced about the end of the late reign, tending to the oppreſſion of the people. This he did by ſeveral proclamations againſt certain monoplies: againſt protections frequently hindering the courſe of juſtice; againſt ſalt-petre men, who dug up people's houſes, unleſs they were well feed; againſt the king's purveyors, who ſeized any man's horſe and cart, under colour of employing them for the king, and then excuſed them for money. Among theſe proclamations, there was one not ſo acceptable to the people, namely, that againſt hunting, on very ſevere penalties to the offender. This reign was a reign of proclamations. The king and his miniſters would have been glad to have had them regarded as laws; but neither the judges nor people were yet accuſtomed to it.

Shortly after, another appeared, appointing the 5th of Auguſt to be kept as a holy-day. It was ordered, that every year on that day public thanks ſhould be returned God in all the churches, for the king's miraculous deliverance in the year 1600, from the conſpiracy of the Gouries, who made an attempt upon his life[l]. This new holy-day was not univerſally liked. Beſides that the occaſion of it happened to the king before his acceſſion to the crown of England, there were people as well in Scotland as England, who had the malice to affirm it was only a fiction to cover a real conſpiracy of the king againſt the two Ruthvins or Gouries, who were killed on that occaſion. I do not relate this with intent to blemiſh king James's reputation, or to queſtion the deliverance for which he was pleaſed to thank God, but only to ſhew that from the beginning of his reign in England, there were ſome who had no great opinion of him [m].

As the time of the parliament's meeting approached, the king and queen made their entry into London four days before, not having been able to do it ſooner by reaſon of the plague. The king had need that day of all his patience, nothing being more diſagreeable to him than the ſolemnities which drew a crowd of people about him [n]. Herein he differed from queen Elizabeth, who took a pleaſure in ſeeing her people preſs to behold her, and in hearing their acclamations.

James the Firſt's notion of the Engliſh conſtitution was, as I obſerved, very different from what had been hitherto current. If any of his predeceſſors had been of his opinion, they had, at leaſt, taken care to conceal it, or to ſhew it but on extraordinary occaſions. For his part, he did not think fit to follow their example, ſince he omitted no opportunity to diſcover his thoughts. He was perſuaded the privileges of the nation and parliament were ſo many uſurpations, or at beſt, but revocable conceſſions of the crown, and gave frequent occaſion to believe he had formed a deſign to free both himſelf and ſucceſſors from the reſtraint which the laws, cuſtoms, and privileges of the Engliſh nation had laid on his predeceſſors. However, from one end of his reign to the other, he embraced all opportunities to improve his prerogative-royal, to which he ſet no bounds but his will. The firſt public ſtep which diſcovered his ſentiments, was the calling of his firſt parliament, of which I am now going to ſpeak. Both in the writs and the proclamation, he takes upon him to deſcribe what ſort of repreſentatives ſhould be elected, not by way of exhortation, as the former kings had done, but by way of command, and as conditions without which they ſhould not to be admitted into the houſe. This was directly ſtriking at the commons, whoſe privilege of deciding the validity of elections had never been queſtioned.

"We notifye by theis preſentes, that all retornes and certificates of knights, citizens and burgeſſes, oughte and are to be brought to the chauncery, and there to be fyled of record; and if any ſhall be founde to be made contrarie to this proclamation, the ſame is to be rejected as unlawful and inſufficient, and the citie or borough to be fyned for the ſame; and if it be founde that they have commytted any groſſe or wilful default and contempt in their election, retorne or certificate, that then their liberties, according to the lawe, are to be ſeized into our handes as forfeited; and if any perſon take upon him the place of a knight, citizen or burgeſſe, not beinge duely elected, retorned and ſworn according to the lawes and ſtatutes in that behalfe provided, and according to the purport, effect, and true meaning of this oure proclamation, then every perſon ſoe offending, to be fyned and impriſoned for the ſame."———

Thus the king aſſumed a power, not only to enjoin penalties on ſuch as ſhould offend againſt the ſtatutes concerning elections, but alſo to enjoin them by a bare proclamation, the authority whereof he rendered equal to that of the laws. We ſhall ſee preſently this was not done without deſign.

At the opening of the parliament, the king being ſeated on his throne, ſent for the commons as uſual; but as the crowd was great, it happened that ſeveral of the members could not enter. Sir Herbert Crofts, one of the repreſentatives, ſtriving to get in, was rudely thruſt back by one of the king's guards, who knowing him to be what he was, ſaid to him in a jeer, "Goodman burgeſs, you come not here." This affair made ſome noiſe afterwards; but the houſe thought proper to take no notice of it. The commons being entered, the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, which, though very long, deſerves to be inſerted at length, that from ſome certain paſſages may be diſcovered the genius, character, and deſigns of this prince:

"IT did no ſooner pleaſe God to lighten his hand, and relent the violence of his devouring angel againſt the poor people of this city, but as ſoon did I reſolve to call this parliament, and that for three chief and principal reaſons. The firſt whereof is (and which of itſelf, although there were no more, is not only a ſufficient, but a moſt full and neceſſary ground and reaſon for convening of this aſſembly; this firſt reaſon, I ſay, is, that you, who are here preſently aſſembled to repreſent the body of this whole kingdom, and of all ſorts of people within the ſame, may with your own ears hear, and that I out of mine own mouth may deliver unto you, the aſſurance of my due thankfulneſs for your ſo joyful and general applauſe, to the declaring and receiving of me in this ſeat (which God, by my birth-right and lineal deſcent, had in the fulneſs of time provided for me; and that, immediately after it pleaſed God to call your late ſovereign, of famous memory, full of days, but fuller of immortal trophies of honour, out of this tranſitory life. Not that I am able to expreſs by words, or utter by eloquence, the vive image of mine inward thankfulneſs, but only that out of mine own mouth you may reſt aſſured to expect that meaſure of thankfulneſs at my hands, which is according to the infiniteneſs of your deſerts, and to my inclination and ability for requital of the ſame. Shall I ever? nay, can I ever be able, or rather ſo unable in memory, as to forget your unexpected readineſs and alacrity, your ever memorable reſolution, and your moſt wonderful conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawful king and governor? Or ſhall it ever be blotted out of my mind, how at my firſt entry into this kingdom, the people of all ſorts rid and ran; nay rather flew to meet me? Their eyes flaming nothing but ſparkles of affection; their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but ſounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the reſt of their members in their geſtures, diſcovering a paſſionate longing, and earneſtneſs to meet and embrace their new ſovereign. Quid ergo retribuam? Shall I allow in myſelf that which I could never bear with in another? No, I muſt plainly and freely confeſs here, in all your audiences, that I did ever naturally ſo far miſlike a tongue too ſmooth, and diligent in paying their creditors with lip-payment and verbal thanks, as I ever ſuſpected that ſort of people meant not to pay their debtors in more ſubſtantial ſort of coin. And therefore for expreſſing my thankfulneſs, I muſt reſort unto the other two reaſons of my convening of this parliament, by them in action to utter my thankfulneſs: both the ſaid reaſons having but one ground, which is the deeds, whereby all the days of my life I am by God's grace to

[l] There was not only a yearly feaſt for this deliverance (whether real or imaginary); but alſo a weekly commemoration, by a ſermon every Tueſday. Weldon ſays, that the wiſeſt of the Scottiſh nation gave little credit to that ſtory, p. 8. And Dr. Welwood, that being in itſelf ſo improbable a thing, and attended with ſo many inconſiſtent circumſtances, it was diſbelieved at the time it was ſaid to have been attempted, p. 19.

[m] Ereſkin and Ramſey, two of his deliverers, were rewarded with wealth and honour. The firſt was made earl of Kelly, and chief gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king; and the ſecond, beſides the title of earl of Holderneſs, got one of the prime beauties of the kingdom, daughter of the earl of Suſſex. Wilſon, p. 667.

[n] The ſuburbs and city were one continued ſcene of pageantry. There were ſeven triumphal gates or arches erected in the ſtreets through which he was to paſs from the Tower to Whitehall. It ſeems, he endured this day's brunt pretty patiently, being ſure he ſhould never have ſuch another. But afterwards (ſays Wilſon) in his public appearances, the crowds of people made him ſo impatient, that he often diſperſed them with frowns, not to ſay curſes. His private recreations at home, and his hunting exerciſes abroad, both with the leaſt diſturbances, were his delights. Stow, p. 836, &c. Wilſon, p. 667.

expreſs

expreſs my ſaid thankfulneſs towards you, but divided in this, that in the firſt of theſe two mine actions of thanks are ſo inſeparably conjoined with my perſon, as they are in a manner become individually annexed to the ſame. In the other reaſon, mine actions are ſuch, as I may either do them, or leave them undone, although by God's grace I hope never to be weary of the doing of them.

" As to the firſt, it is the bleſſings which God hath in my perſon beſtowed upon you all, wherein I proteſt I do more glory at the ſame for your weale, than for any particular reſpect of mine own reputation, or advantage therein.

" The firſt then of theſe bleſſings, which God hath jointly with my perſon ſent unto you, is, outward peace; that is peace abroad with all foreign neighbours: for I thank God, I may juſtly ſay, that never ſince I was a king, I either received wrong of any other Chriſtian prince or ſtate, or did wrong to any. I have ever, I praiſe God, yet kept peace and amity with all, which hath been ſo far tied to my perſon, as at my coming here, you are witneſſes, I found the ſtate embarked in a great and tedious war; and only by mine arrival here, and by the peace in my perſon, is now amity kept, where war was before, which is no ſmall bleſſing to a Chriſtian commonwealth; for by peace abroad with their neighbours, the towns flouriſh, the merchants become rich, the trade doth increaſe, and the people of all ſorts in the land enjoy free liberty to exerciſe themſelves in their ſeveral vocations, without peril or diſturbance. Not that I think this outward peace ſo unſeparably tied to my perſon, as I dare aſſuredly promiſe to myſelf, and to you, the certain continuance thereof: but thus far I can very well aſſure you, and in the word of a king promiſe unto you, that I ſhall never give the firſt occaſion of the breach thereof; neither ſhall I ever be moved for any particular or private paſſion of mind, or interrupt your public peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the honour of the kingdom, or elſe by neceſſity for the weale and preſervation of the ſame: in which caſe a ſecure and honourable war, muſt be preferred to an unſecure and diſhonourable peace. Yet do I hope, by my experience of the by-paſt bleſſings of peace, which God hath ſo long, ever ſince my birth beſtowed upon me, that he will not be weary to continue the ſame, nor repent him of his grace towards me; transferring that ſentence of king David's, upon his by-paſt victories of war, to mine of peace: 'That that God who preſerved me from the devouring jaws of the bear, and of the lyon, and delivered them into my hands, ſhall alſo now grant me victory over that uncircumciſed Philiſtine.' But although outward peace be a great bleſſing, yet it is as far inferior to peace within, as civil wars are more cruel and unnatural than wars abroad. And therefore the ſecond great bleſſing that God hath within my perſon ſent unto you, is peace within, and that in a double form: Firſt, by my deſcent lineally out of the loins of Henry the Seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the union of the two princely roſes of the two houſes of Lancaſter and York, whereof that king of happy memory was the firſt uniter, as he was alſo the firſt ground-layer of the other peace (the lamentable and miſerable events, by the civil and bloody diſſention betwixt theſe two houſes, was ſo great, and ſo late, as it need not be renewed unto your memories), which as it was firſt ſettled and united in him, ſo is it now reunited and confirmed in me; being juſtly and lineally deſcended, not only of that happy conjunction, but of both the branches thereof in any times before. But the union of theſe two princely houſes is nothing comparable to the union of theſe two antient and famous kingdoms, which is the other inward peace annexed to my perſon.

" And here I muſt crave your patiences for a little ſpace, and give me leave to diſcourſe more particularly of the benefits that do ariſe of that union which is made in my blood, being a matter that moſt properly belongeth to me to ſpeak of, as the head wherein that great body is united. And firſt, if we were to look no higher than to natural and phyſical reaſons, we may eaſily be perſuaded of the great benefits that by that union do redound to the whole iſland; for if twenty thouſand men be a ſtrong army, is not the double thereof forty thouſand, a double the ſtronger army? If a baron enricheth himſelf with double as many lands as he had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teaches us, that mountains are made of motes; and that at the firſt, kingdoms being divided, and every particular town, or little country, as tyrants or uſurpers could obtain the poſſeſſion, a ſigniory part; many of theſe little kingdoms are now, in proceſs of time, by the ordinance of God, joined into great monarchies, whereby they are become powerful within themſelves, to defend themſelves from all outward invaſions, and their head and governor thereby enabled to redeem them from foreign aſſaults, and puniſh private tranſgreſſions within. Do we not yet remember that this kingdom was divided into ſeven little kingdoms, beſides Wales? And is it not now the ſtronger by their union? And hath not the union of Wales to England added a greater ſtrength thereto? Which, though it was a great principality, was nothing comparable in greatneſs and power to the antient and famous kingdom of Scotland. But what ſhould we ſtick upon any natural appearance, when it is manifeſt that God by his almighty providence hath pre-ordained it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt united theſe two kingdoms, both in language, religion, and ſimilitude of manners? Yea, hath he not made us all in one iſland, compaſſed with one ſea, and of itſelf by nature ſo indiviſible, as almoſt thoſe that were borderers, themſelves on the late borders, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know, or diſcern their own limits; theſe two countries being ſeparated neither by ſea, nor great river, mountain, nor other ſtrength of nature, but only by little ſmall brooks, or demoliſhed little walls, ſo as rather they were divided in apprehenſion than in effect; and now in the end and fulneſs of time united, the right and title of both in my perſon, alike lineally deſcended of both the crowns, whereby it is now become alike a little world within itſelf, being intrenched and fortified round about with a natural, and yet admirable ſtrong pond or ditch, whereby all the former fears of this nation are now quite cut off; the other part of the iſland being ever before now, not only the place of landing to all ſtrangers, that were to make invaſion here, but likewiſe moved by the enemies of this ſtate, by untimely incurſions to make enforced diverſion from their conqueſts, for defending themſelves at home, and keeping ſure their back-door, as then it was called, which was the greateſt hindrance and lett that ever my predeceſſors of this nation gat, in diſturbing them from their many famous and glorious conqueſts abroad: 'What God hath conjoined then, let no man ſeparate.' I am the huſband, and all the whole iſland is my lawful wife; I am the head, and it is my body; I am the ſhepherd, and it is my flock. I hope therefore no man will be ſo unreaſonable as to think, that I, that am a Chriſtian king, under the goſpel, ſhould be a polygamiſt and huſband to two wives; that I being the head, ſhould have a divided and monſtrous body; or that being the ſhepherd to ſo fair a flock, (whoſe fold hath no wall to hedge it but the four ſeas), ſhould have my flock parted in two. But as I am aſſured that no honeſt ſubject, of whatſoever degree, within my whole dominions, is leſs glad of this joyful union than I am; ſo may the frivolous objection of any that would be hinderers of this work (which God hath in my perſon already eſtabliſhed) be eaſily anſwered; which can be none, except ſuch as are either blinded with ignorance, or elſe tranſported with malice, being unable to live in a well-governed commonwealth, and only delighting to fiſh in troubled waters: for if they would ſtand upon their reputation and privileges of any of the kingdoms; I pray you, were not both the kingdoms monarchies from the beginning? And conſequently, could ever the body be counted without the head, which was ever inſeparably joined thereunto? So that as the honour and privileges of any of the kingdoms could not be divided from their ſovereign; ſo are they now confounded and joined in my perſon, who am equal and alike kindly head to you both. When this kingdom of England was divided into ſo many little kingdoms, as I told you before, one of them behoved to eat up another, till they were all united in one. And yet can Wiltſhire or Devonſhire, which were of the Weſt-Saxons although their kingdom was of longeſt durance, and did by conqueſt overcome divers of the reſt of the little kingdoms, make claim to priority or place of honour before Suſſex, Eſſex, or other ſhires, which were conquered by them? And have we not the like experience in the kingdom of France, being compoſed of divers duchies, and one after another conquered by the ſword? For even as little brooks loſe their names by their running and falling into great rivers, and the very name and memory of the great rivers ſwallowed up in the ocean; ſo by the conjunction of divers little kingdoms in one, are all theſe private differences and queſtions ſwallowed up. And, ſince the ſucceſs was happy of the Saxon kings, being conquered by the ſpear of Bellona, how much greater reaſon have we to expect a happy iſſue of this greater union, which is only faſtened and bound up by the wedding-ring of Aſtrea? And as God hath made Scotland (the one half of this iſle) to enjoy my birth, and the firſt and moſt imperfect half of my life; and you here to enjoy the perfect and laſt half thereof; ſo cannot I think that any would be ſo injurious to me, no, not in their thoughts and wiſhes, as to cut

aſunder

aſunder the one half of me from the other. But in this matter I have far enough inſiſted, reſting aſſured, that in your hearts and minds you all applaud this my diſcourſe

" Now although theſe bleſſings, before rehearſed, of inward and outward peace be great; yet ſeeing that in all good things, a great part of their goodneſs and eſtimation is loſt, if they have not appearance of perpetuity or long continuance; ſo hath it pleaſed Almighty God to accompany my perſon alſo with that favour, having healthful and hopeful iſſue of my body, whereof ſome are here preſent, for continuance and propagation of that undoubted right which is in my perſon; under whom I doubt not but it will pleaſe God to proſper and continue for many years this union, and all other bleſſings of inward and outward peace, which I have brought with me.

" But neither peace outward, nor peace inward, nor any other bleſſing that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuity thereof, by propagation in the poſterity, is but a weak pillar, and a rotten reed to lean unto, if God do not ſtrengthen, and by the ſtaff of his bleſſing make them durable; for in vain doth the watchman watch the city, if the Lord be not the principal defence thereof; in vain doth the builder build the houſe, if God give not the ſucceſs; and in vain, as Paul ſaith, doth Paul plant, and Apollo water, if God give not the increaſe: for all wordly bleſſings are but like ſwift-paſſing ſhadows, fading flowers, or chaff blown before the wind, if by the profeſſion of true religion, and works according thereunto, God be not moved to maintain and ſettle the thrones of princes. And although that ſince mine entry into this kingdom, I have both by meeting with divers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and likewiſe by divers proclamations, clearly declared my mind in points of religion, yet do I not think it amiſs in this ſo ſolemn an audience, I ſhould now take occaſion to diſcover ſomewhat of the ſecrets of my heart in that matter. For I ſhall never, with God's grace, be aſhamed to make public profeſſion thereof at all occaſions, leſt God ſhould be aſhamed to profeſs and allow me, before men and angels; eſpecially, leſt that at this time men might preſume farther upon the miſknowledge of my meaning, to trouble this parliament of ours than were convenient.

" At my firſt coming, although I found but one religion, and that which by myſelf is profeſſed, publicly allowed, and by the law maintained; yet found I another ſort of religion, beſides a private ſect, lurking within the bowels of this nation. The firſt is the true religion, which by me is profeſſed, and by the law is eſtabliſhed; the ſecond is, the falſely called catholics, but truly papiſts; the third, which I call a ſect, rather than a religion, is the puritans and noveliſts, who do not ſo far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confuſed form of policy and purity, being ever diſcontented with the preſent government, and impatient to ſuffer any ſuperiority, which makes their ſect unable to be ſuffered, in any well-governed commonwealth. But as for my courſe towards them I remit it to my proclamations made upon that ſubject.

" And now for the papiſts, I muſt put a difference betwixt my own private profeſſion of mine own ſalvation, and my politic government of the realm, for the weale and quietneſs thereof. As for mine own profeſſion, you have me your head now amongſt you, of the ſame religion that the body is of: as I am no ſtranger to you in blood, no more am I a ſtranger to you in faith, or in the matters concerning the houſe of God. And although this my profeſſion be according to mine education, wherein, I thank God, I ſucked the milk of God's truth, with the milk of my nurſe; yet do I here proteſt unto you, that I would never for ſuch a conceit of conſtancy, or rather prejudicate opinion, have ſo firmly kept my firſt profeſſion, if I had not found it agreeable to all reaſon, and to the rule of my conſcience. But I was never violent, nor unreaſonable in my profeſſion: 'I acknowledge the Roman church to be our mother church, although defiled with ſome infirmities and corruptions,' as the Jews were, when they crucified Chriſt. And as I am none enemy to the life of a ſick man, becauſe I would have his body purged of ill humours; no more am I enemy to their church, becauſe I would have them reform their errors, not wiſhing the downthrowing of the temple, but that it might be purged, and cleanſed from corruption; otherwiſe how can they wiſh us to enter, if their houſe be not firſt clean? But as I would be lother to diſpenſe in the leaſt point of mine own conſcience, for any worldly reſpect, than the fooliſh preciſion of them all; ſo would I be as ſorry to ſtrait the politic government of the bodies and minds of all my ſubjects to my private opinions; nay, my mind was ever ſo free from perſecution, or thralling of my ſubjects in matters of conſcience, as I hope thoſe of that profeſſion within this kingdom, have a proof ſince my coming, that I was ſo far from increaſing their burthens with Rehoboam, as I have ſo much, as either time, occaſion, or law could permit, lightened them. And even now at this time, have I been careful to reviſe and conſider deeply upon the laws made againſt them, 'That ſome overture might be proponed to the preſent parliament, for clearing theſe laws by reaſon, which is the ſoul of the law) in caſe they have been in times paſt further, or more rigorouſly extended by judges, than the meaning of the law was, or might tend to the hurt as well of the innocent, as of guilty perſons.' And as to the perſons of my ſubjects which are of that profeſſion, I muſt divide them into two ranks, clerics and laics; for the part of the laics, certainly I ever thought them far more excuſable than the other ſort, becauſe that ſort of religion contained ſuch an ignorant, doubtful, and implicit kind of faith in the laics, grounded upon their church, as except they do generally believe whatſoever their teachers pleaſe to affirm, they cannot be thought guilty of theſe particular points of hereſies and corruptions, which their teachers do ſo wilfully profeſs. And again, I muſt ſubdivide the ſame laics into two ranks, that is, either quiet and well-minded men, peaceable ſubjects, who either being old, have retained their firſt drunken in liquor, upon a certain ſhamefacedneſs to be thought curious, or changeable; or being young men, through evil educations, have never been nurſed or brought up but upon ſuch venom, inſtead of wholeſome nutriment: and that ſort of people, I would be ſorry to puniſh their bodies for the error of their minds, the reformation whereof muſt only come of God, and the true ſpirit. But the other rank of laics, who either through curioſity, affectation of novelties, or diſcontentment in their private humours, have changed their coats, only to be factious ſtirrers of ſedition, and perturbers of the commonwealth; their backwardneſs in their religion giveth a ground to me (their magiſtrate), to take the better heed to their proceedings, and to correct their obſtinacy.

" But for the part of the clerics, I muſt directly ſay and affirm, that as long as they maintain one ſpecial point of their doctrine, and another point of their practice, they are no way ſufferable to remain in this kingdom. Their point of doctrine is, that arrogant and ambitious ſupremacy of their head the pope, whereby he not only claims to be ſpiritual head of all Chriſtians, but alſo to have an imperial civil power over all kings and emperors, dethroning and decrowning princes with his foot as pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all kingdoms and empires at his appetite. The other point which they obſerve in continual practice is, the aſſaſſinates and murthers of kings; thinking it no ſin, but rather a matter of ſalvation, to do all actions of rebellion and hoſtility againſt their natural ſovereign Lord, if he be once curſed, his ſubjects diſcharged of their fidelity, and his kingdom given a prey, by that three-crowned monarch, or rather monſter, their head. And in this point I have no occaſion to ſpeak further here, ſaying, 'That I could wiſh from my heart, that it would pleaſe God to make me one of the members of ſuch a general chriſtian union in religion, as laying wilfulneſs aſide on both hands, we might meet in the midſt, which is the centre and perfection of all things. For if they would leave, and be aſhamed of ſuch new and groſs corruptions of theirs, as themſelves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of reformation, I would for my own part be content to meet them in the midway, ſo that all novelties might be renounced on either ſides.' For as my faith is the true, ancient, catholic, and apoſtolic faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and expreſs Word of God; ſo will I ever yield all reverence to antiquity, in the points of eccleſiaſtical policy: and by that means ſhall I ever, with God's grace, keep myſelf from either being an heretic in faith, or ſchiſmatic in matters of policy.

" But of one thing would I have the papiſts of this land to be admoniſhed, that they preſume not ſo much upon my lenity (becauſe I would be loth to be thought a perſecutor), as thereupon to think it lawful for them daily to increaſe their number and ſtrength in this kingdom; whereby, if not in my time, at leaſt in the time of my poſterity, they might be in hope to erect their religion again. No, let them aſſure themſelves, that as I am a friend to their perſons, if they be good ſubjects; ſo I am a vowed enemy, and do denounce mortal war to their errors. And that as I would be ſorry to be driven by their ill behaviour, from the protection and conſervation of their bodies and lives; ſo will I never ceaſe, as far as I can, to tread down their errors and wrong opinions. For I could not permit the increaſe and growing of their religion, without firſt betraying of myſelf and mine own conſcience: Secondly, this

whole isle, as well the part I am come from, as the part I remain in; in betraying their liberties, and reducing them to the former slavish yoke, which both had casten off before I came amongst them: and Thirdly, the liberty of the crown in my posterity, which I should leave again under a new slavery, having found it left free to me by my predecessors. And therefore would I wish all my good subjects that are deceived with that corruption, first, if they find any beginning of instruction in themselves of knowledge, and love to the truth, to foster the same by all lawful means, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them. And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to read and confer with learned men, and to use all such means as may further their resolution; assuring themselves, that as long as they are disconformable in religion from us, they cannot be but half my subjects, be able to do but half service, and I to want the best half of them, which is their souls.

"And here I take occasion to speak to you my lords the bishops; for as you my lord of Durham said very learnedly to day in your sermon, 'Correction without instruction is but a tyranny:' So ought you, and all the clergy under you, to be more careful, vigilant, and diligent, than you have been to win souls to God, as well by your exemplary life as doctrine. And since you see how careful they are, sparing neither labour, pains, nor extream peril of their persons, to pervert (the devil is so busy a bishop), ye should be the more careful and wakeful in your charges. Follow the rule prescribed to you by St. Paul, 'Be ye careful to exhort and instruct, in season, and out of season:' And where you have been any way sluggish before, now waken yourselves up again with a new diligence in this point, remitting the success to to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth, or twelfth hour, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they be to me his lieutenant here.

"The third reason of my convening you at this time, which containeth such actions of my thankfulness towards you, as I may either do, or leave undone, yet shall, with God's grace, ever press to perform all the days of my life. It consists in these two points, in making of laws at certain times, which is only at such times as this, in parliament; or in the careful execution thereof at all other times. As for the making of them, I will thus far faithfully promise unto you, that I will ever prefer the weal of the body, and of the whole commonwealth, in making of good laws and constitutions, to any particular or private ends of mine, thinking ever the wealth and weal of the commonwealth to be my greatest weal, and worldly felicity: a point wherein a lawful king doth directly differ from a tyrant. But at this time I am only thus far to forewarn you in that point, that you beware to seek the making of too many laws, for two especial reasons: first, because "in corruptissimâ republicâ plurimæ leges," and the execution of good laws is far more profitable in a commonwealth, than to burthen men's memories with the making of too many of them. And next, because the making of too many laws in one parliament will bring in confusion, for lack of leisure wisely to deliberate before you conclude: For the bishop said well to day, 'that to deliberation would a large time be given; but to execution a greater promptness was required.' As for the execution of good laws, it hath been very wisely and honourably foreseen, and ordered by my predecessors in this kingdom, in planting such a number of judges, and all sorts of magistrates, in convenient places, for the execution of the same. And therefore must I now turn me to you that are judges, and magistrates under me, as mine eyes and ears in this case: I can say none otherwise to you, than as Ezekias the good king of Juda said to his judges, 'Remember that the thrones you sit on are God's, and neither yours nor mine.' And that as you must be answerable to me, so must both you and I be answerable to God, for the due execution of our offices. That place is no place for you to utter your affections in; you must not there hate your foe, nor love your friend; fear the offence of the greater party, or pity the misery of the meaner; ye must be blind, and not see distinctions of persons; handless, not to receive bribes; but keep that just temper and mid-course in all your proceedings, that like a just balance, ye may neither sway to the right nor left hand. Three principal qualities are required in you, knowledge, courage, and sincerity; that you may discern with knowledge, execute with courage, and do both in upright sincerity. And as for my part, I do vow and protest here in the presence of God, and of this honourable audience, I never shall be weary, nor omit no occasion wherein I may shew my carefulness of the execution of good laws. And as I wish you that are judges, not to be weary in your office, in doing of it, so shall I never be weary, with God's grace, to take account of you, which is properly my calling.

"And thus having told you the three causes of my convening of this parliament, all three tending only to utter my thankfulness, but in divers forms: the first by word, the other two by action; I do confess, that when I have done, and performed all that in this speech I have promised, 'Inutilis servus sum.' Inutile, because the meaning of the word Inutilis in that place of Scripture, is understood, that in doing all that service which we can to God, it is but our due, and we do nothing to God, but that which we are bound to do; and in like manner, when I have done all that I can for you, I do nothing but that which I am bound to do: and am accountable to God upon the contrary. 'For I do acknowledge that the special and greatest point of difference that is betwixt a rightful king, and a usurping tyrant, is in this; that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and prosperity of his people, and that his greatest and principal worldly felicity must consist in their prosperity.' If you be rich, I cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot but be fortunate; and I protest, that your welfare shall ever be my greatest care and contentment. And that I am a servant is most true; that as I am head and governor of all the people in my dominions, who are my natural vassals and subjects, considering them in numbers and distinct ranks; so if we will take the whole people as one body and mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, and not the body for the head, so must a righteous king know himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him: for although king and people be relata, yet can he be no king if he want people and subjects: but there be many people in the world that lack a head; wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour, to be the great servant of the commonwealth; and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity, as I have already said.

"But as it was the whole body of this kingdom (with an uniform assent and harmony), as I told you in the bebeginning of my speech, which did so far oblige me, in goodwill and thankfulness of requital for their alacrity and readiness in declaring and receiving me to that place which God had provided for me, and not any particular persons (for then it had not been the body), so is my thankfulness due to the whole state. For even as in matters of faults, Quod à multis peccatur impunè peccatur; even so in matters of virtuous and good deeds, what is done by the willing consent and harmony of the whole body, no particular person can justly claim thanks, as proper to him for the same; and therefore I must here make a little apology for myself, in that I could not satisfy the particular humours of every person that looked for some advancement or reward at my hand, since my entry into this kingdom. Three kinds of things were craved of me, advancement to honour, preferment to place of credit about my person, and reward in matters of land or profit. If I had bestowed honour upon all, no man could have been advanced to honour; for the degees of honour do consist in preferring some above their fellows: If every man had the like access to my privy or bed-chamber, then no man could have it, because it cannot contain all; and if I had bestowed lands and rewards upon every man, the fountain of my liberality would have been so exhausted and dried, as I would lack means to be liberal to any man: and yet was I not so sparing, but I may without vaunting affirm, that I have enlarged my favour in all the three degrees, towards as many, and more than ever king of England did, in so short a space. No, I rather crave your pardon, that I have been so bountiful: for, if the means of the crown be wasted, I behoved then to have recourse to you my subjects, and be burthensome to you; which I would be lothest to be of any king alive. For as it is true, that as I have already said, it was a whole body which did deserve so well at my hand, and not every particular person of the people: yet were there some who by reason of their office, credit with the people, or otherwise, took occasion both before, and at the same time of my coming amongst you, to give proof of their love and affection towards me. Not that I am any way in doubt, that if other of my subjects had been in their places, and had had the like occasion, but they would have uttered the like good effects (so general and so great were the love and affection of you all towards me): but yet this having been performed by some special persons, I could not without unthankfulness but requite them accordingly. And therefore had I just occasion to advance some

in

in honour, ſome to places of ſervice about me, and by rewarding to enable ſome who had deſerved well of me, and were not otherwiſe able to maintain the ranks I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deſerved before, yet I found them capable and worthy of place of preferment and credit, and not able to ſuſtain thoſe places for which I thought them fit, without my help. Two eſpecial cauſes moved me to be ſo open-handed, whereof the one was reaſonable and honourable, but the other (I will not be aſhamed to confeſs unto you) proceeded of mine own infirmity. That which was juſt and honourable, was, that being ſo far beholden to the body of the whole ſtate, I thought I could not refuſe to let run ſome ſmall brooks out of the fountain of my thankfulneſs to the whole, for refreſhing of particular perſons that were members of that multitude. The other, which proceeded out of mine own infirmity, was, the multitude and importunity of ſuitors. But although reaſon come by infuſion in a manner, yet experience groweth with time and labour: and therefore do I not doubt, but experience in time coming will both teach the particular ſubjects of this kingdom, not to be ſo importune and undiſcreet in craving; and me not to be ſo eaſily and lightly moved in granting, that which may be harmful to my eſtate, and conſequently to the whole kingdom.

"And thus having at length declared unto you my mind, in all the points for the which I called this parliament, my concluſion ſhall only now be, to excuſe myſelf, in caſe you have not found ſuch eloquence in my ſpeech, as peradventure you might have looked for at my hands. I might, if I liſt, allege the great weight of my affairs, and my continual buſineſs and diſtractions, that I could never have leiſure to think upon what I was to ſpeak, before I came to the place where I was to ſpeak: and I might alſo allege, that my firſt ſight of this ſo famous and honourable an aſſembly, might likewiſe breed ſome impediment: but leaving theſe excuſes, I will plainly and freely in my manner, tell you the true cauſe of it; which is, that it becometh a king, in my opinion, to uſe no other eloquence than plainneſs and ſincerity. By plainneſs I mean, that his ſpeeches ſhould be ſo clear, and void of all ambiguity, that they may not be thrown, nor rent aſunder in contrary ſenſes, like the old oracles of the pagan gods. And by ſincerity, I underſtand, that uprightneſs and honeſty which ought to be in a king's whole ſpeeches and actions; that, as far as a king is in honour erected above any of his ſubjects, ſo far ſhould he ſtrive in ſincerity to be above them in all, and that his tongue ſhould be ever the true meſſenger of his heart. And this ſort of eloquence may you ever aſſuredly look for at my hands."

This ſpeech was not received with the applauſes expected by the king. Beſides the exceſſive length, ſeveral things were remarked which gave occaſion for cenſure. In the firſt place, no body could tell what to make of his "actions of thanks inſeparably conjoined in his perſon," and containing two bleſſings, the firſt whereof was confined to theſe two points: 1. That having never had war with any of his neighbours, he inferred from thence that he brought peace with him every where. But it was no great wonder he had not been hitherto in war with his neighbours, ſince Scotland has properly no neighbours but the Engliſh. 2. That without being ſollicited, he had revoked the letters of mark againſt Spain. The other bleſſing of his "actions of thanks," conſiſted in the union in his perſon of the titles of the two houſes of Lancaſter and York. Hence he would have inſinuated, that by his acceſſion to the throne of England, he freed the Engliſh from the dread of ſeeing a renewal of the civil wars occaſioned by the title of the two houſes. But this pretended dread was only a chimera of his own forming. Since Henry VIII. who much more juſtly united in his perſon the rights of the two contending houſes, the dread of a civil war had ſo diſappeared, that it was entirely forgot. As for his efforts to ſhew the great advantages which would accrue to England from the union of the two kingdoms, they were entirely vain, as will hereafter appear. Beſides, his inferences from the arbitrary compariſons of a head with a divided body, a huſband with two wives, a ſhepherd with two flocks, ſeemed ſo little ſolid, that they were turned to ridicule. What he ſaid about religion, was diſpleaſing to all. The catholics were not ſatisfied with his diſtinctions. The puritans were extremely offended, that he ſhould poſitively ſay of them, "They were ever diſcontented with the preſent government, and impatient of any ſuperiority, which made their ſect inſufferable in a well-governed commonwealth." The proteſtants in general remarked in his ſpeech too great condeſcenſion for the papiſts, and even contradiction in what he ſaid about them. On the one hand, he affirmed, he was of the church of England, and his faith grounded upon the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, he was ready to lay aſide all prejudice, and meet the catholics half way. He declared himſelf a mortal enemy to their errors, but took care to intimate, that he confined, as I may ſay, theſe errors to the doctrine of the pope's exorbitant power. Upon the other ſort of "actions of thanks," conſiſting in the making and executing of laws, it was ſaid, that a king of England might extol his condeſcenſion concerning ſome particular law, made to his own detriment, and the nation's benefit: but no king before him ever pretended to lay an obligation upon his people, for giving his aſſent to ſuch laws as were for his own and the kingdom's good. It was alſo obſerved, that he admoniſhed the parliament not to enact too many laws, as if he feared to be obliged to carry his pretended thankfulneſs too far. That as for the few good laws he was willing to admit, all the effects of his thankfulneſs conſiſted in giving the judges a very common and trivial charge. Finally, it was remarked, that this thankfulneſs upon which his whole ſpeech turned, was as imaginary as the cauſe which produced it. In thanking the people of England "for receiving and embracing him as their undoubted and lawful king and governor," he did not mean to declare that the people had made him ſo, but only that being undoubted king by his birth-right, they had received and owned him as ſuch. This was leſſening the obligation, and conſequently the thankfulneſs too. Wherefore it was thought by many, that the king's aim, in this long harangue, was not ſo much to expreſs his thankfulneſs to the Engliſh, as to inſinuate to them, that all he was obliged to them for, was, their not oppoſing his undoubted right: that his chief intention was, to obtain of the parliament the union of the two kingdoms; to prevent any new laws againſt the papiſts, and to have the execution of thoſe already in force left to him. What was only conjectured at firſt, became certain afterwards, as the king's intentions were diſcovered. In this very parliament therefore, a ſuſpicion and jealouſy of the king began to be entertained by the people. This alſo put the houſe of commons upon their guard, and made them carefully weigh the king's words and actions, who, notwithſtanding the maxims laid down in the concluſion of his ſpeech, was a great maſter in the art of chuſing ambiguous expreſſions. This muſt always be remembered, in order to underſtand the events of this reign [o].

The firſt thing the parliament did, was to prepare an act for acknowledging the king's title to the crown of England. James had not required it. On the contrary, in all appearance, by repeating ſeveral times in his ſpeech, that he was undoubted king by birth-right, he deſigned to intimate, he did not want the parliament's confirmation. But if this was his intent, the two houſes did not, or ſeemed not to underſtand it, whether they reſolved to preſerve a privilege hitherto enjoyed, or feared ſuch an omiſſion might occaſion troubles and rebellions. The king on his part thought it not prudent to refuſe the act.

After the parliament had conſidered of ſome other affairs, they appointed commiſſioners to examine the king's propoſal concerning the union of the two kingdoms. But the king had already obſtructed it, by laviſhing riches and honours upon his Scotch courtiers. This convinced the Engliſh, they could not but loſe by a union, whoſe end, as they believed, was to render the Scots partakers of the riches of England, whereas the Engliſh had nothing to expect in Scotland [p]. Hence the king's ſpeech was cenſured, where he ſpoke of Scotland as the one half of the iſland, though the Engliſh were perſuaded, there was a great inequality between England and Scotland. The eager purſuit of the Scots after places, penſions, and rich matches, raiſed the jealouſy of the Engliſh, and rendered them very averſe to the union projected by the king. With theſe diſpoſitions the commiſſioners met to examine the advantages and inconveniences, in order to make their report to the two houſes [q].

Whilſt this affair was in hand, moſt people could not forbear ſhewing diſcontent with regard to religion. The catholics expected greater favours from a prince, whom they imagined in their intereſt. His diſtinctions between the clerics and laics, between thoſe who aſcribed to the pope an unli-

[o] A modern author ſays, this ſpeech diſplays fully king James's character, and proves him to have poſſeſſed more knowledge and greater parts, than prudence or any juſt ſenſe of decorum and propriety. He obſerves, it wants that majeſtic brevity and reſerve which becomes a king in his addreſſes to the great council of the nation. It contains however a remarkable ſtroke of candor, where he confeſſes his too great facility in yielding to the ſollicitations of ſuitors; a fault, which he promiſes to correct, but which adhered to him during the whole courſe of his reign. Hume, p. 11.

[p] It was ſaid, that if the Scots had already impoveriſhed the kingdom, they would by the union bankrupt it. Weldon, p. 58.

[q] There were in all forty-three commiſſioners, lords and commons, who were empowered to meet and treat with certain ſelect commiſſioners to be appointed by the parliament of Scotland. Wilſon, p. 673, &c. Spotiſwood, p. 480.

The

mited power, and ſuch as received not that doctrine, made them fear, the advantages they had promiſed themſelves in this new reign would be very inconſiderable. The preſbyterians were enraged to ſee the king ſo openly prefer the papiſts before them. All the proteſtants in general heard with grief the advances made by the king to the papiſts: eſpecially, the offer of meeting them half way, and the affectation of condemning only a ſingle tenet, gave occaſion to fear, he had indeed the ſentiments he was ſuſpected of in Scotland. "What means, ſaid they, his offer to the papiſts of meeting them half way, upon their renouncing the doctrines repugnant to the regal authority? Where is this half way to be? Does it relate to the hierarchy? But if the pope's authority is not received, there will be no difference between the Engliſh and catholic church. Does he reckon the catholics will have come half way, when they have renounced the pope's exorbitant power? If ſo, we muſt, in order to go the other half, yield them the reſt of the articles, which were the cauſe of our ſeparation." In a word, it was not known how far this offer was to extend, or where to ſtop, ſo obſcure and doubtful was the expreſſion, though he had declared, he would uſe no other eloquence than plainneſs and ſincerity. Moſt of the biſhops, and the zealous church of England-men, were alone pleaſed, becauſe the king ſeemed bent not to ſuffer the puritans, who where no leſs odious to them than the bigotted papiſts. It is certain, their zeal for the church of England was carried a little too far, and the king, by declaring himſelf ſo plainly a ſworn enemy to the puritans, bred a mutual enmity between the two parties, which was but too much cheriſhed, and which, at another time, proved fatal to the eſtabliſhed church. The puritans were ſo offended at this uncharitableneſs for them, and the great condeſcenſion for the papiſts, that they did not ſcruple to charge the king, the biſhops, and the zealous epiſcopalians, with being ſo many popiſh agents. Amidſt theſe diviſions, the Romiſh emiſſaries had but too many opportunities to foment the animoſity of the two parties, and carry it to the utmoſt height, knowing they could not better execute their deſigns than when the kingdom was involved in troubles. It is pretended, at this time many jeſuits, with their ſuperiors permiſſion, were received, ſome as preſbyterian miniſters, others as church of England prieſts; and that under theſe diſguiſes, they ſo ſtretched the principles of the two parties in their writings and ſermons, that the breach was rendered irrepairable.

At the ſame time, thoſe who approached the king's perſon, both Engliſh and Scots, thought only of making their court, in order to obtain his good graces and favours. The jealouſy between the two nations, helped to ſtrain the flattery uſed by the whole court to the king. Every one ſtrove to keep in his eſteem by whatever was moſt grateful to him, and nothing was more ſo than to be extolled for his learning and parts, and to hear the royal authority talked of according to his principles. It was ſome time before the people had a clear knowledge of this prince's genius and character; but when he was once well known, the eſteem at firſt entertained of him very ſenſibly diminiſhed, to which the king himſelf greatly contributed by his ſtrange conduct, as will hereafter appear.

The principal affair for which the king had ſummoned the parliament was, the union of the two kingdoms, though he pretended, his ſole motive was to expreſs his thankfulneſs to the Engliſh. He had ſo good an opinion of his eloquence, that he did not queſtion the ſucceſs of the affair, and the nomination of the commiſſioners for that purpoſe confirmed his belief. So, whether through impatience, or to engage the parliament the ſooner to unite the two kingdoms, he ordered himſelf to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, without ſtaying for the parliament's determination. From thenceforward he would hear no more of the diſtinction of the two kingdoms. St. Andrew's croſs was quartered with St. George's in the flags, and by proclamation the Scottiſh coins were made current in England. This ſhewed the king did not doubt the affair of the union would ſucceed to his wiſh. But he did not yet know the genius and character of the Engliſh. Such as had no ſhare in his bounties, loudly murmured to ſee his Scotch attendants grown ſo rich in a very ſhort ſpace, that the Engliſh could not imitate their magnificence without ruining their eſtates [r]. Several paſquils were daily made upon the occaſion, not much to the advantage of the Scots, nor conſequently to the deſign of the union of the two kingdoms.

There was alſo another thing which did not render the people favourable to the king. This was an occaſion of the diſcontent given to the houſe of commons, and which it will be neceſſary to mention, in order to ſhew this prince's idea of the Engliſh conſtitution, and the juſt cauſe he gave the commons to fear, he deſigned to invade their privileges. Immediately after the opening of the parliament, the commons examining, according to cuſtom, the conteſted elections, there was a debate in the houſe about the return of ſir Francis Goodwin, and ſir John Forteſcue, for knight of the ſhire for the county of Bucks; and upon a full hearing, ſir Francis was declared duly elected. Three days after, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, that there might be a conference about Goodwin's election. The commons, ſurpriſed at ſo extraordinary a meſſage, anſwered, they did not think themſelves obliged to give an account of their proceedings, and therefore could not grant the conference required. The lords replied, the king having been acquainted with what had paſſed in Goodwin's caſe, thought himſelf engaged in honour to have the affair debated again, and had ordered them to confer with the commons upon it. Whereupon the commons, by their ſpeaker, gave their reaſons to the king why they could not admit of that innovation. But all they could obtain was, that inſtead of a conference with the lords, the king commanded them to confer with the judges. This pleaſed them no more than the other. They delivered their reaſons in writing, at the council-chamber, deſiring their lordſhips to intercede for them to the king, not to violate their privileges. The anſwer was, the king abſolutely commanded them to have a conference with the judges [s]. The commons were extremely ſurpriſed at ſo abſolute an order. Mean while, fearing to be accuſed of too eaſily engaging in a quarrel with the king, they thought it more proper to yield than ſtand out; fully bent, however, to adhere to what had been determined in the caſe of the conteſted election. Certainly the king had engaged in a very nice affair, and probably, would not have come off with honour, had he not been diſengaged by Goodwin's moderation. Sir Francis, chuſing to forfeit his right rather than occaſion a quarrel between the king and the commons, deſired the houſe to order the county of Bucks to elect another knight in his ſtead. The king and commons equally accepted of this expedient, which prevented them from coming to extremities; but the king found from hence, that no great account was made of the proclamation upon calling the parliament, whereby he meant to be maſter of the elections.

The commons perceived by this affair, that the king's intention was to ſound them, and that hereafter ſuch incidents might frequently be revived. For which reaſon, on the 16th of June, addreſſing the king concerning certain grievances, they took occaſion to repreſent their privileges, of which they ſuppoſed him not yet fully informed.

This addreſs ſo diſpleaſed the king, that on the 7th of July he prorogued the parliament to the 7th of February, to have time to think of means to humble the commons [t].

It is certain, moſt of thoſe who approached the king, laboured to inſpire him with the deſign of rendering himſelf abſolute, or rather to confirm him in this reſolution, by which they perfectly made their court. Beſides, arbitrary power is as advantageous to miniſters and courtiers, as it is prejudicial to the reſt of the nation. Several authors accuſe the biſhops of having been of the number of the flatterers. Perhaps matters have been a little aggravated. However, many things give occaſion to believe, that the clergy of the church of England were inclined to aſcribe to the king, more power

[r] The Engliſh repined, as Wilſon ſays, to ſee the Scots advanced from blue bonnets to coſtly beavers, wearing inſtead of wadmeal, velvet and ſattin, p. 673.

[s] The king ſaid, he deſired and commanded, "as an abſolute king," that there might be a conference between the houſe and the judges. He had before ſaid, he had no purpoſe to impeach their privilege, but ſince they deſired all matters of privilege "from him and by his grant," he expected they ſhould not be turned againſt him. This caſe of Sir Francis Goodwin was printed by order of the houſe of commons, 1704, on occaſion of the famous debate at that time upon the Ayleſbury election.

[t] This parliament granted the king tunnage and poundage. The tunnage was 3s. on every tun of wine, imported, and on a tun of ſweet wine 6s. and for every awm of Rheniſh 1s. The poundage was 1s. on every twenty ſhillings-worth of goods and merchandiſe imported and exported, excepting woollen manufactures; and tin and pewter alſo excepted, which were to pay 2s. A denizen was to pay, for every ſack of wool, 33s. 4d. for every two hundred and forty woolfells 33s. 4d. and for every laſt of hides and backs 3l. 6s. 8d. But a ſtranger was to pay for every ſack of wool 3l. 6s. 8d. for every two hundred and forty woolfells the ſame; and for every laſt of hides and backs 3l. 13s. 4d. See Statut. c. 33.—There were ſeveral ſtatutes made in this parliament, the chief of which are: 1. An act for the due execution of the laws againſt jeſuits, ſeminary-prieſts, and recuſants. 2. A continuance of the ſtatute 39 Elizabeth, concerning the puniſhment of rogues, vagabonds, &c. By this ſtatute, people that go about the country to ſell glaſſes, are to be adjudged as rogues and vagabonds. 3. An act to reſtrain the inordinate haunting and tipling in inns, alehouſes, &c. 4. A wife act againſt conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil ſpirits. 5. One for the relief of creditors againſt bankrupts. 6. And another againſt brokers, &c. See Statut. 1 James I.

They

than his predeceſſors had hitherto enjoyed. At leaſt, it is certain that from the reign of James I. to this preſent time, many of the clergy have endeavoured to perſuade the people, that they ought to acknowledge in the ſovereign an unlimited authority, and have extended paſſive obedience in England as far as in the moſt arbitrary monarchies.

Bancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a moſt zealous aſſertor of the prerogative royal, was one of the firſt who attempted to go beyond the uſual bounds, by cauſing things to depend on the king's will, which were undeniably within the parliament's juriſdiction. He exhibited to the king and council twenty-five grievances of the clergy [t], which were deſired to be reformed in granting prohibitions, that the king's courts might not have cognizance of what concerned theſe articles. It is ſaid, his intention was to ſhew others the way to apply directly to the king, without regarding the parliament or convocation. But the king was told, in caſe he granted the archbiſhop's requeſt, he would be engaged in inextricable difficulties, becauſe the redreſſing of grievances had ever belonged to the parliament. Whereupon, the king conſulted the judges, who anſwered unanimouſly, he ought to refrain from deciding any thing concerning the archbiſhop's requeſt.

The concluſion of the peace with Spain ſoon followed the prorogation of the parliament. Taxis having informed the king of Spain how the court of England ſtood affected, the conſtable of Caſtile was ſent into the Low-Countries, with orders to paſs into England and conclude the peace. But the conſtable being detained by ſome affairs in the Netherlands, conveyed his power to Taxis and Richardot. Theſe two deputies being come to London [u], agreed upon a treaty, which was not however ſigned till the 18th of Auguſt, after the arrival of the conſtable of Caſtile. Some ſay, this embaſſador purchaſed the peace with large ſums of money, diſtributed among the king's miniſters. But this can only be ſaid by conjecture, thoſe who are intruſted with ſuch ſort of intrigues not being uſed to diſcover them [w]. However, the treaty with the king of Spain was twofold, there being one relating intirely to commerce.

"By the IVth article of the firſt treaty it was agreed, That neither the kings of England nor Spain ſhould directly or indirectly, give aid to the enemies or rebels of either part, of what nature or condition ſoever they were.

"By the Vth, They renounced all former leagues, confederacies, capitulations, and intelligences contrary to that treaty.

"In the VIIth, king James excuſes the delivery of the cautionary towns to the king of Spain; and promiſes to enter into a treaty with the ſtates, wherein he will aſſign a competent time to them, to accept and receive terms for a pacification with the archduke; which if they refuſed, he would from thenceforth think himſelf freed from the former conventions with them."

Theſe, doubtleſs, are the articles which have given occaſion to ſay, the Spaniards bought the peace. It does not however appear, that after the treaty James withdrew his troops from the ſervice of the ſtates, as he ſhould have done by virtue of the IVth article, nor that he fixed a time for the ſtates to make a peace, purſuant to the VIIth. On the contrary, it will be ſeen, that he delivered to them the cautionary towns for a much leſs ſum than was agreed on with Elizabeth. Moreover, Andrew du Cheſne, in his hiſtory of England, ſpeaking of this treaty, relates only four articles; whereof the laſt is directly contrary to the forementioned fourth article. According to that hiſtorian the article ran:

"That as to the ſtates of Holland and Zealand, things ſhould remain as they were, as well with reſpect to the cautionary towns, as to the other articles of the treaties between Elizabeth and the ſtates, without the king of England's being obliged to recal his troops from the Low-Countries; or to forbid his ſubjects to ſerve the ſtates. Moreover, that the commerce, trade, and navigation, between the Engliſh and the ſtates, ſhould continue upon the ſame foot as in Elizabeth's life-time."

This contrariety makes me think, that James, to pleaſe the Spaniard and the archduke, was purſuaded to agree that the fourth article ſhould be inſerted in the treaty in the manner firſt mentioned, in order to induce the ſtates to haſten a peace; and that this ſame article, as related by du Cheſne, was a reſtriction of the firſt, or a ſecret article, which was alone to take place. This is ſo common a thing in treaties, that the conjecture cannot be conſidered as groundleſs, eſpecially as it is confirmed by the event.

The peace with Spain being concluded, the king was perſuaded to grant a monopoly of the trade with Spain and Italy to a company of merchants, and to forbid all his ſubjects, except ſuch as were authoriſed by this company, to traffic in thoſe countries. But in the next ſeſſion of the parliament, the commons taking into conſideration how deſtructive to trade ſuch a monopoly was, repreſented ſo plainly to the king the ill conſequences of it, that the company's patent was revoked, and the trade with Spain and Italy declared free as before.

During the reſt of the year 1604, nothing remarkable paſſed in England. The king led a peaceable life amidſt the flatteries of his court, and very laviſhly beſtowed his favours on his minions. But this liberality bred a great diſcontent in thoſe who had no ſhare in it, and thought themſelves however no leſs worthy than the others. Queen Elizabeth took a very different method, but James did not think fit to be her imitator. Never were honours beſtowed with leſs diſcretion and more profuſion than in this reign. Accordingly, they were no longer conſidered as the reward of merit, but only of adulation [x].

The town of Oſtend, beſieged now three years by the Spaniards, was at laſt forced to capitulate the 20th of September. By the taking of that place the conquerors gained only heaps of ruins, which had coſt them immenſe ſums, and the loſs of numberleſs officers and ſoldiers [y]. Before James concluded the peace with Spain, he ſeemed willing to concern himſelf in the preſervation of Oſtend; but when the peace was made, he thought only of ſtrengthening his new friendſhip with the king of Spain and the archduke, by ſending them embaſſadors.

[1605] The king made choice of his high admiral the earl of Nottingham for embaſſador extraordinary to Spain. The earl departed in March 1605, with a very numerous retinue, conſiſting, according to ſome, of no leſs than ſix hundred and fifty perſons [z].

At the ſame time, the earl of Hertford was ſent in embaſſy to Bruſſels. Whilſt he was at ſea, a Dutch man of war ſailed by, and refuſing to ſtrike, the Engliſh captain, ſir William Monſon, prepared to compel him, but the embaſſador would not give him leave. This was the firſt indignity of that nature received by England from the Dutch, whoſe ſovereignty was not yet ſo much as acknowledged by any potentate in Europe. If James had demanded reparation, doubtleſs, he might eaſily have obtained it, conſidering the then circumſtances of the United Provinces. But very likely, he did not think it worth his while to make a noiſe about an affair of ſo little importance. The Engliſh however murmured at it, and many took occaſion to compare the king's indolence with Elizabeth's ſpirit, who, doubtleſs, would not have been ſo eaſy under ſuch an affront. James gave himſelf no trouble about it, believing, that to avoid all occaſion of rupture with his neighbours was a more effectual way to procure his own and the nation's welfare, than to engage in a war for ſuch a trifle.

The jealouſy the Engliſh began to conceive of the Hollanders, was nothing in compariſon of that cauſed by the king's prodigal favours to the Scots [a]. Moſt hiſtorians ac-

[t] They were called Articuli Cleri. See them in Sir Edward Coke's 2d. Inſtitute.

[u] The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Thomas Sackville earl of Dorſet, Charles Howard earl of Nottingham, Charles Blount earl of Devonſhire, Henry Howard earl of Northampton, and Robert lord Cecil baron of Eſingden. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 580, &c. 586.

[w] Weldon, p. 26, 27, ſays, there was not one courtier of note but what taſted of Spain's bounty, either in gold or jewels; and among them not any had ſo large a proportion as the counteſs of Suffolk, who ſhared in her lord's intereſt, being then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe had, in being miſtreſs to that little great Secretary (little in body but great in policy) the ſole manager of ſtate affairs. So it may be ſaid, ſhe was a double ſharer: And in truth, Audley-End, that famous great ſtructure, had its foundation of Spaniſh gold. He ſays, all Chriſtendom has ſince felt and ſeen the lamentable effect of this diſadvantageous peace.—A peace, ſays Oſborn, more deſtructive to England than a war. He alſo obſerves, that the earl of Northampton was by the Spaniſh gifts enabled to build a noble houſe in the Strand; and there were many others in the kingdom, that had their foundation, if not their walls and roofs, plaiſtered with the ſame mortar. Sect. 4, 5.

[x] This year, in September, the king borrowed ſeveral ſums of money, by privy ſeal, from the wealthieſt citizens in London. And in October, the cuſtoms of merchandiſes, both inward and outward, were raiſed, and let out to farm. Howes's Contin. of Stow, p. 856.—The king, who was a great enemy to tobacco, as appears by his writings againſt it, ordered by a proclamation, dated October 7, that beſides the cuſtom of two-pence in the pound it uſed to pay, there ſhould be an additional duty of 6s. 8d. on every pound imported into the realm. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 601.

[y] Above one hundred and twenty thouſand men are ſaid to be ſlain on both ſides. The town was taken by the marquis of Spinola, for which he was made duke of Santa Severina. Sir Francis Vere, general, and his brother Horatio, had ſhewn great valour in the defence of this place. Stow, p. 856. Howes's Contin.

[z] The Spaniards were aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the embaſſy, and the handſome gentlemen: for it ſeems, the jeſuits reported our nation to be ugly, and like devils, as a puniſhment for caſting off the pope; and they pictured Sir Francis Drake generally half a man half a dragon. So eaſy is it, ſays Wilſon, for thoſe jugglers, when they have once bound up the conſcience, to tie up the underſtanding alſo. Weldon, p. 42. Wilſon, p. 673.

[a] This jealouſy occaſioned many inſolencies; the ſtreets of London ſwarmed night and day with bloody quarrels: and private duels were every where

cuſe the catholics of cheriſhing the jealouſy between the two nations, in order to make an advantage of their diviſions. But without being forced to recur to ſo remote a cauſe, the old enmity between the two kingdoms, and the king's inclination for the Scots, were in my opinion much more natural cauſes of it. The king was no ſtranger to this jealouſy, and uſed ſome endeavours to allay it. He ordered this year in England, Thomas Douglas, a Scotchman, to be hanged, for counterfeiting the king's privy-ſeal to ſeveral princes of Germany. This man falling into the hands of the elector Palatine, who diſcovered the fraud, was ſent into England, where he met with his deſert.

Hitherto the king was undiſturbed, and ſurrounded with plenty; whereas he had ſpent in Scotland the firſt years of his life in troubles and want. Since his acceſſion to the throne of England, he had not been obliged to aſk money of his parliament, becauſe when he came to the crown, he found the deceaſed queen had not yet touched the ſubſidy granted her by the parliament, amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which he had entirely received. This, with his uſual revenues, enabled him to be liberal to his favourites of both nations, who quickly grew very rich. On the other hand, he took a pleaſure in raiſing to honours and dignities ſeveral perſons, who would not have aſpired to them in Elizabeth's reign. In ſhort, he ſaw himſelf inceſſantly flattered by his courtiers, who omitted no opportunities to ſhew how much they admired his wiſdom and all his other virtues. This was a neceſſary method to acquire his favour. To ſay all in a word, he led a very eaſy and peaceable life, in the midſt of plenty and pleaſures, to which ſome pretend he was a little too much addicted [b]. But this prince has had the misfortune to have for hiſtorians, ſuch as loved him not, as on the other hand, he has had the good fortune to have ſome who have endeavoured to praiſe all his actions. So, there is danger of being greatly miſtaken, if an idea of his character is formed upon the commendations or invectives of his hiſtorians. It is better to keep ſolely to the examination of his actions themſelves.

Whilſt every thing ſeemed to procure king James a quiet and peaceable reign, the devil, envying the happineſs of the Engliſh, inſpired ſome of his agents with one of the moſt horrible plots that ever was heard of. I mean the gun-powder treaſon plot, which has made ſo much noiſe in the world, and of which I ſhall relate the particulars, without any aggravation.

Whatever might be the ground of the hopes entertained by the catholics, when they ſaw king James aſcend the throne of England, it is certain they expected great things from him, and at leaſt a full toleration, with liberty of publicly exerciſing their religion. Upon this toleration they built their hopes of reſtoring by degrees their religion in England. But the king's ſpeech to the parliament diſcovered two things: The firſt, that the toleration, which till then had been hardly doubted, was not yet ready to come. The ſecond, that though they ſhould obtain it of the king, it would not be for ſuch as acknowledged the pope's authority in its utmoſt extent. Theſe were the men however that were moſt active and eager to re-eſtabliſh their religion in the kingdom. They deſpiſed a bare liberty of conſcience for the moderate catholics, to which the king ſeemed to confine his favours. They believed it to be the king's intention to divide the catholics, and make two ſects, whereof one, renouncing the doctrine of the pope's ſupremacy, ſhould be tolerated in the kingdom, and the other expelled. This diviſion appeared to them ſo deſtructive to the catholic religion, that they imagined, the king by this artful and political conduct, intended to reconcile to the church of England, ſuch as ſhould imprudently reject the papal authority, as it happened in the reign of Henry VIII.

To prevent the execution of this pretended deſign, which might be very prejudicial to the church of Rome, ſome of theſe zealots conſulted together, and formed a horrible plot, which was afterwards approved by the reſt. The chief of theſe wretches was Robert Cateſby, a gentleman of Northamptonſhire, deſcended from the Cateſbies mentioned in the reign of Edward V. This man having gained Thomas Percy the earl of Northumberland's couſin, John Grant, Ambroſe Rookwood, John and Chriſtopher Wright, Francis Treſham, Guy Fawkes, Sir Everard Digby, Robert and Thomas Winter [c], Thomas Bates, and Robert Keys, choſe five of them to conſult how to reſtore the Romiſh religion in England. Percy, one of the moſt zealous, propoſed killing the king, and offered to perform it. To this Cateſby replied, "Though the king was dead, their cauſe would not be advanced, ſince he would leave ſons, who perhaps would not be more favourable to the catholics. Nay, ſuppoſing the king and his children were removed, there would remain ſo many of the nobles and gentry, that probably it would be very difficult to accompliſh their deſign." He added, "he had thought of a way to deſtroy in an inſtant, almoſt all the principal enemies of the catholic religion, and to throw the kingdom into ſuch a conſternation, that not a man would be able to take proper meaſures to oppoſe the execution of their deſigns." This way was to blow up the parliament houſe [d] whilſt the king ſhould be ſpeaking his ſpeech from the throne to the lords and commons. Then he ſhewed them in what manner the project might be executed, and was applauded by all. However, as ſo deteſtable a plot could not but breed ideas frightful and ſhocking to conſcience, ſome moved to have the lawfulneſs of the project examined by their divines. It is ſaid, that Henry Garnet, Oſwald Teſmond, and John Gerrard being conſulted, approved of the plot as juſt and lawful, ſince it was againſt excommunicated heretics. I cannot warrant this, becauſe I never ſaw their trials. But thus much is certain, they ſuffered death for not diſcovering the conſpiracy of which they were informed; and the king, in an apology publiſhed ſome time after, affirmed that Garnet was legally convicted, and had confeſſed his crime [e].

Be this as it will, the thing being determined, they took an oath of ſecrecy, adminiſtered as it is ſaid by father Garnet [f]. Then Percy, being one of the gentlemen-penſioners, was appointed to hire a houſe adjoining to the upper-houſe of parliament. This paſſed in November or December 1604; and the king was to make his ſpeech to the parliament on the 7th of February. Percy having hired the houſe, the conſpirators began with no ſmall labour to dig in the cellar through the partition-wall, which was very thick [g]. But as the parliament was prorogued to the 3d of October, they had as much time as was neceſſary to finiſh their work. In the beginning of February 1605, they had almoſt digged through the wall, when on a ſudden they heard a noiſe on the other ſide: this threw them into a great fright, being apprehenſive of a diſcovery; but their courage reviving, Fawkes, who paſſed for Percy's footman, was ſent to ſee what had occaſioned their fear. Preſently after he returned, and ſaid, the place from whence the noiſe came was a large cellar under the upper-houſe of parliament, full of ſea-coals, which were now under ſale, and the cellar offered to be let. As nothing could be more favourable to their deſign, Percy immediately hired the cellar, and bought the remainder of the coals: then he ſent for thirty-ſix barrels of powder from Holland, and lodging them at Lambeth, cauſed them to be conveyed in the night into the cellar, and covered with coals and faggots [h].

The plot being thus in a fair way, it was conſidered what was to be done when the king, prince Henry his eldeſt ſon, the lords and commons, ſhould be buried in the ruins of the parliament-houſe. The duke of York, the king's ſecond ſon, being yet very young, was not to be preſent at the parliament, and the princeſs Elizabeth his ſiſter was educated at

fomented betwixt the Engliſh and Scots. Wilſon, p. 674——The Scots complaining at firſt to the king, that they were ſo poor, they underwent the by-word of beggarly Scots; the king replied to them, Content yourſelves, I will ſhortly make the Engliſh as beggarly as you, and ſo end that controverſy. Weldon, p. 57.

[b] Mr. Chamberlain, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, tells him, That the king "finds ſuch felicity in a hunting life, that he has written to his council, and deſires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foreſee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much buſineſs." Winwood's Mem. tom. II. p. 46.

[c] This Thomas Winter ſeems to have been the firſt contriver of the plot, about Eaſter 1604; but Cateſby invented the manner of putting it in execution. See Fawkes's Confeſſ.

[d] That place they made choice of, becauſe the catholic religion having been ſuppreſſed there, they thought it fitteſt, that juſtice and puniſhment ſhould be executed there. Winter's Confeſſ.

[e] This is confirmed by Garnet's anſwer to ſome Engliſh lords, who aſked him, whether he approved that the church of Rome ſhould one day declare him a martyr: "Martyrem me (cried he) O qualem martyrem!" See Caſaubon's letter to Fronto Ducæus the Jeſuit, Caſaub. Epiſt. edit. of 1709. p. 414.

[f] Cateſby, Percy, Wright, Fawkes, and Winter, met behind St. Clement's church, in London, and upon a Primer gave each other the oath of ſecrecy, and afterwards went into the next room, where they heard maſs, and received the ſacrament upon the ſame. Ibid. In their indictment it is ſaid, "that they received the euchariſt by the hands of Garnet, Teſmond," &c. but not the oath. See State Trials.

[g] It was about three yards thick. They that worked in this mine were Percy, Cateſby, Thomas and Robert Winter, John and Chriſtopher Wright, and Fawkes. They began to work December 11, and about Candlemas had worked the wall half through. They all ſeven lay in the houſe, and had ſhot and powder, being reſolved to die rather than yield or be taken. They had provided themſelves with baked meats, to have the leſs occaſion for ſending out; and they went in the night and were never ſeen. Fawkes's and Winter's Confeſſ.

[h] They put in at firſt but twenty barrels, but fearing they might be damp, they added ſixteen more. There were a thouſand billets and five hundred faggots to cover them. Winter's Confeſſ.—In their indictment it is ſaid, they put in thirty barrels and four hogſheads of gun-powder, and laid on them great iron bars and ſtones. State Trials.

a houſe belonging to the lord Harrington in Warwickſhire. It was reſolved therefore that Percy, who had free admittance into the king's palace, ſhould undertake to kill the duke of York [i]; and that others, under colour of a hunting-match, ſhould meet on the ſame day near the lord Harrington's houſe, and ſecure the princeſs Elizabeth. As all this could not be effected without money, Treſham offered two thouſand pounds ſterling, Digby fifteen hundred, and Percy promiſed to ſupply four thouſand. Some moved for foreign aid beforehand, but the motion was rejected: it was reſolved only to demand aſſiſtance of France, Spain, and the archduke, when the plot ſhould be executed. Then, after ſome conſultation, they agreed to ſave the princeſs Elizabeth, and proclaim her queen. To that end they drew up a proclamation, taking care to inſert nothing concerning religion, for fear of alarming the people, till they were ſtrong enough to execute all their deſigns. Finally, they reſolved to ſpread a report after the blow ſhould be given, that the puritans were the authors of it.

The parliament being farther prorogued to the 5th of November, the conſpirators expected the day with the utmoſt impatience, not one being touched with remorſe of the crime they were going to commit. But God, abhorring ſo deteſtable a plot, inſpired one of the conſpirators with a deſire to ſave William Parker lord Monteagle, ſon of the lord Morley. This lord going home about ſeven in the evening, a letter was given him by his ſervant, who received it from an unknown perſon, with a charge to deliver it into his maſter's own hand. The letter was without name or date [k], and expreſſed in theſe words:

"My lord,

"OWT of the love I beare to ſome of your frends, I have a care of your preſervation. Therefore I would adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at the parliament. For God and Man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſſe of this tyme. And thincke not ſlightlie of this advertiſement, but retire yourſelf into your countrey, where you may expect the event in ſafetie. For though there be no appearance of any ſtirre, yet I ſay, they ſhall receave a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurt them. This counceill is not to be contemned, bicauſe yt may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you burne this letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of yt: to whoſe holy protection I commend you."

This letter was delivered to the lord Monteagle ten days before the meeting of the parliament. Though it was unintelligible to him, nay, though he imagined it only an artifice to frighten him, he carried it that very evening to the earl of Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate. The earl ſhewed it to ſome privy counſellors, who underſtood the meaning of it no more than he [l]. However, they reſolved to do nothing till the king's return, who was then at Royſton.

The king returning to London the laſt day of October, the earl of Saliſbury read the letter to him on the morrow, and concluded that it was written by ſome fool or madman; to convince the king, he repeated this ſentence, "The danger is paſt ſo ſoon as you burne this letter;" for, ſaid he, if the danger be paſſed when the letter is burnt, what ſignifies this warning? But the king ordering the letter to be read again, explained the words otherwiſe, and ſaid, "So ſoon as you burne the letter," was to be interpreted, "In as ſhort a ſpace as you ſhall take to burn the letter." Then comparing this ſentence with the foregoing, "That they ſhould receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them," he concluded that ſome ſudden blow was preparing by means of gun-powder [m]. This interpretation being deemed very plauſible, it was reſolved that all the rooms and cellars adjoining to the parliament-houſe ſhould be ſearched, to ſee whether there was any powder concealed. This ſearch was however deferred till the day before the meeting of the parliament, in a belief that the nearer the execution was, the more ſigns would be found. The earl of Suffolk lord chamberlain went himſelf to ſearch, without noiſe or hurry [n]. When he came to the cellar where the powder was, and ſaw the coals and faggots with which it was covered, he aſked Whyneard, the keeper of the wardrobe, who attended him, to what uſe he had put the cellar? Whyneard anſwered, Mr. Percy had hired it, and very probably the coals and wood were the gentleman's fuel for winter. At the ſame time the chamberlain perceiving a man ſtanding in a corner, aſked who he was, and being told he was Mr. Percy's ſervant, did not ſeem to take any farther notice [o]. This affected negligence made the conſpirators think there would be no farther ſearch, ſince nothing was found in the cellar to create any ſuſpicion, and they prepared to execute their plot the next day.

The earl of Suffolk having made his report to the council, it was thought if there was any powder concealed, it was in the large cellar, under the faggots and coals. But as the parliament was to meet on the morrow, it was reſolved not to ſearch under the wood till midnight, in hopes to find in or about the cellar ſome perſons from whom information might be had. Purſuant to this reſolution, ſir Thomas Kneyet, gentleman of the privy-chamber and juſtice of peace for Weſtminſter, going to the cellar about midnight, found at the door a man in a cloak and boots, whom he immediately apprehended [p]. This was Guy Fawkes, who paſſed for Percy's ſervant [q]. Then cauſing the wood and coals to be removed, they found underneath thirty-ſix barrels of powder. After this diſcovery, Fawkes being ſearched, there was found upon him a dark lantern, a tinder-box, and three matches [r]. The villain, inſtead of being diſmayed, boldly told them, if he had been taken within the cellar, he would have blown up himſelf and them together. The king being acquainted with the diſcovery [s], ordered the priſoner to be examined concerning the circumſtances of the plot. He confeſſed the deſign was to blow up the king and parliament, and expreſſed great ſorrow it was not done, ſaying, it was the devil and not God that was the diſcoverer. He obſtinately refuſed all that day to name any of his accomplices, but on the morrow, being ſhewed the rack, confeſſed all he knew.

The opening of the parliament, which was to be the ſame day, being deferred, and the news of the conſpiracy beginning to ſpread in London, Cateſby, Percy, Winter, and the two Wrights, fled by ſeveral ways to their companions, who were to ſecure the princeſs Elizabeth. Theſe were ready to execute their deſign the moment they ſhould hear of the ſucceſs of the mine at Weſtminſter. As they did not queſtion it would ſucceed to their wiſh, and believed they had nothing more to manage, they had the night before broke open a ſtable and carried away twelve horſes [t]. This action had alarmed ſir Richard Verney ſheriff of the county, who had drawn the people together to ſeize the robbers. Preſently after came the conſpirators that fled from London, and told their companions the plot had miſcarried; whereupon they reſolved to keep together, to endeavour to make the catholics riſe, and to put themſelves at their head; but all their efforts ended only in raiſing about a hundred horſe [u].

Mean while, the ſheriffs of the neighbouring counties [w] having ſent notice to one another, called the people to arms, and purſued the conſpirators from place to place, till at length the villains were forced to take harbour at Holbeach [x], where the ſheriff ſummoned them to ſurrender. They anſwered, he had not a ſufficient force to compel them, and prepared to defend themſelves, or fight their way through; but in opening a barrel of powder to charge their muſkets, it took fire and blew up part of the houſe [y]. This accident conſtrained them

[i] He, and another gentleman, were to enter into the duke's chamber without ſuſpicion; and having about a dozen others at ſeveral doors to expect his coming, and two or three on horſeback at the court-gate to receive him, he was to carry the duke ſafe away, as ſoon as the parliament houſe was blown up. Winter's Confeſſ.

[k] And in an unknown and ſomewhat unlegible hand. Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[l] However, he obſerved it correſpond with ſome informations he had received from abroad, that the papiſts, both at home and abroad, were making preparations for ſome combination amongſt them againſt the parliament-time, for enabling them to deliver a petition to the king for toleration of religion; which ſhould be delivered in ſuch order, and ſo well backed, as the king ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſts. Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[m] Cecil, in a letter of his to ſir Charles Cornwallis, ſpeaks as if it was he and the lord chamberlain that firſt made the diſcovery. See Winwood, tom. II. p. 171.

[n] It is the lord chamberlain's buſineſs to ſee that all places are in a readineſs where the king is to come in perſon.

[o] The lord Monteagle, curious to know the event, was with the lord chamberlain, and hearing Percy named, immediately gueſſed the letter came from him, there being great friendſhip between them. Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[p] In caſe nothing ſhould be found, Whyneard was to pretend he miſſed ſome of the king's ſtuff or hangings, which were in his keeping, and that the ſearch was for them. Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[q] Under the name of John Johnſon.

[r] All this was but about twelve hours before the helliſh project was to be put in execution.

[s] About four o'clock in the morning. Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[t] There were but ſeven or eight. The ſtable belonged to one Benock, a rider of great horſes. Ibid.

[u] They never amounted to fourſcore. See Diſcourſe of the Treaſon.

[w] Particularly ſir Richard Walſh, ſheriff of Worceſterſhire. Ibid.

[x] A houſe belonging to Stephen Littleton, in Staffordſhire. Winwood's Mem. tom. II. p. 173.

[y] As they were mending the fire in their chamber, a ſpark of fire happened to fall upon two pounds of powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; and it blowing up, ſo maimed the faces of ſome of the principal rebels, and the hands and ſides of others, that they opened the gate. A great bag of powder was blown up without taking fire. See king James's Works, p. 244.

to open the gate and try to eſcape. Some were killed immediately by the people who ſurrounded them: Cateſby, Percy, and Winter, ſtanding back to back, fought deſperately, till the two firſt were killed with one ſhot, and the other taken a live after receiving ſeveral wounds. Digby, Rookwood, Grant, and Bates, yielded or were taken in trying to eſcape. Treſham, who ſtaid at London with Robert Winter brother of Thomas Winter and Littleton, was diſcovered and apprehended with his two companions. All the priſoners were ſent to the Tower, and ſtrictly examined. Thomas Winter confeſſed himſelf guilty, and wrote his confeſſion with his own hand. Digby extenuated his crime, becauſe having expected the king would grant a free toleration to the catholics, and not ſeeing any likelihood of their obtaining it, he was driven by deſpair to engage in the plot. Treſham ſaid at firſt that father Garnet the jeſuit was privy to the conſpiracy, but afterwards denied it by his wife's inſtigation, as it is pretended, affirming he had not ſeen him for ſixteen years: but Garnet, who was apprehended after Treſham's death, confeſſed he had frequently conferred with him within ſix months. The earl of Northumberland was ſent to the Tower, on ſuſpicion of being concerned in the plot. This ſuſpicion was grounded upon his being captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners, and admitting into it his couſin Percy, without adminiſtring to him the oath of ſupremacy, though he knew his religion. The affair being afterwards brought into the ſtar-chamber, the earl was fined in thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, deprived of all his poſts, and impriſoned during the king's pleaſure.

The ſeſſion of the parliament began not till the 9th of November, though it was fixed to the 5th. The king made a long ſpeech, repreſenting the heinouſneſs and conſequences of this horrible plot, and magnifying the mercy of God in the miraculous diſcovery. But withal he took great care to clear the catholic religion, and to obſerve that this abominable plot was to be aſcribed to ſuch only as were truly papiſts, and imbrued with the deteſtable principles mentioned in his firſt ſpeech to the parliament. He affirmed, there were not many of theſe, and it would be extremely injurious to accuſe the catholics in general of following ſuch extravagant maxims.

"For (added he) although it cannot be denied that it was only the blind ſuperſtition of their errors in religion that led them to this deſparate device; yet doth it not follow that all profeſſing the Romiſh religion were guilty of the ſame: for as it is true that no other ſect of heretics, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no, not even thoſe of Calicute, who adore the devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their religion, that it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the Romiſh catholics call it) to murder princes or people for quarrel of religion; yet it is true on the other ſide, that many honeſt men, blinded peradventure with ſome opinions of popery, as if they be not found in the queſtions of the real preſence, or in the number of their ſacraments, and ſome ſuch ſchool queſtion; yet do either not know, or at leaſt not believe, all the true grounds of popery, which is indeed the myſtery of iniquity. And therefore do we juſtly confeſs, that many papiſts, eſpecially our forefathers, laying their only truſt upon Chriſt and his merits, at their laſt breath, may be and oftentimes are ſaved; deteſting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no ſalvation to any papiſt."

And then concluding that part of his diſcourſe, he declared, "As upon the one part many honeſt men ſeduced with ſome errors of popery, may yet remain good and faithful ſubjects; ſo upon the other part none of thoſe that truly know and believe the whole grounds of popery, can ever prove either good Chriſtians or faithful ſubjects."

This ſpeech was much applauded by the courtiers, who admired its wiſdom, juſtice, and equity, and remarked the king's greatneſs of ſoul, who at the very time he had ſo much reaſon to complain of the catholics, took care to juſtify their religion, and hinder the innocent from being confounded with the guilty. But the reſt of the people were not of the ſame opinion. They conſidered with grief and aſtoniſhment the tender regard the king expreſſed for the catholics in general, under pretence of a diſtinction which was thought imaginary, or at leaſt very uſeleſs, by reaſon of the difficulty of diſcerning thoſe who held the maxims condemned by the king, from thoſe who were willing to renounce them. They obſerved alſo the difference the king put between the Romiſh religion and that of the puritans: the firſt hindered not its profeſſors from being faithful ſubjects; but the laſt was not to be tolerated in any well-governed commonwealth, as he expreſſed himſelf in his former ſpeech. Here, to turn the hatred of the good proteſtants upon the puritans, he is not content with deteſting an opinion indifferent in itſelf, and which had no relation to the ſtate, but even thinks it worthy of fire, either temporal or ſpiritual, for he does not ſay which, whilſt he calls the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation a mere ſchool-queſtion. It was alſo ſaid, that if upon this ſame opinion, he had been pleaſed to diſtinguiſh the puritans who did not, from ſuch as did damn all the catholics, this diſtinction would have been as well grounded as that between the catholics and papiſts. In ſhort, it was obſerved, that he affected to aſcribe to the puritans alone this opinion worthy of fire, which he might much more juſtly have imputed to the Roman catholics, as all the world knew. It cannot be denied, that throughout the whole courſe of his reign, this prince ſhewed an extreme fondneſs for the Roman catholics. This will ſtill more plainly appear in the ſequel, ſince what I have hitherto related may be deemed doubtful marks of his ſentiments, and capable of admitting a favourable conſtruction.

As ſoon as he had ended his ſpeech, the king prorogued the parliament to the 21ſt of January: ſo that it evidently appeared he had cauſed them to meet for one ſingle day, on purpoſe to ſhew his thoughts of the conſpiracy, and the manner in which he would have it examined, that is, with reſpect to ſuch only as were concerned in it.

The lords Mordant and Sturton, ſuſpected of being privy to the plot, were fined, the firſt ten thouſand marks, the other ſix thouſand, though there was no other proof againſt them, but their not coming to the parliament. They were ſentenced by the ſtar-chamber, which was then the terror of the great men, and which for the leaſt offence, condemned the parties accuſed in exorbitant fines to the king's uſe[z].

[1606] The diſcovery of the powder-plot was univerſally aſcribed to the king's penetration, who alone diſcovered the meaning of the letter to the lord Monteagle [a]. Nay, ſome of his flatterers did not ſcruple to ſay, he could never have found out the myſtery, without the immediate aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt [b].

The king of Spain's and the archduke's embaſſadors teſtified their joy for this deliverance, by bonfires before their doors, and fountains of wine to the mob. This was not perhaps a very proper way to remove the ſuſpicions of the Engliſh, who were apt to believe the Spaniards were concerned in the horrible plot[c]. It was remembered that when the conſtable of Caſtile was in England, he ſaid publicly, in caſe the king refuſed to tolerate the catholics, there would be found perſons capable of any attempt. Nay, after the plot was diſcovered, the archduke refuſed to deliver ſome of the accomplices who had eſcaped into the Netherlands[d], and ſent the chief of them to Spain, where he was very well received. It is certain however, theſe embaſſadors were not accuſed by the depoſitions of the criminals. Nay, the king publicly declared, he was ſure no foreign prince was privy to the plot. Indeed, all the princes, as well catholic as proteſtant, expreſſed their abhorrence of ſo damnable a deſign, and congratulated him upon his deliverance.

The parliament meeting on the 21ſt of January, the king appointed commiſſioners to try the conſpirators. He had till now delayed to give the people the ſatisfaction to ſee theſe villains puniſhed. But perceiving if he did not do it of himſelf, the parliament would not fail to petition him, he reſolved to give them over to juſtice. There were but eight

[z] January 6, this year, prince Charles was created duke of York. What perſons were made knights of the Bath on that occaſion, ſee in Winwood's Mem. tom. II. p. 43; and Howes's Contin. of Stow, p. 856. About this time began coaches to come into common uſe. Howes, p. 876.

[a] The king gave the lord Monteagle, the firſt diſcoverer of the treaſon, two hundred pounds a year, in fee-farm rents, and five hundred pounds a year during life, as a reward for his good ſervice. Wilſon, p. 676.

[b] After all, it is ſaid, that the letter to the lord Monteagle was an artifice of Cecil's, and that the firſt intimation of the powder-treaſon came from the king of France, who received it from the jeſuits of his faction, to the end he might ſhare in our ruins. The reaſons why the moſt chriſtian king did advertiſe our court of the plot were, firſt, becauſe he found that nothing was to be feared from one of king James's complexion. Another (a weak one, though ſtrongly preſt by the miniſters) was, the favours received from hence during the league. But the moſt probable was, the advantage the king of Spain was likely to make of it, by reaſon he had an army then ready in Flanders to land in the huge miſt ſo black a cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the nation, the kingdom of England, being in the pope's own judgment, too great an addition to that of Spain. Oſborn, p. 437, &c. Welwood, p. 19. Mr. Winwood tells the earl of Saliſbury, in a letter to him, that he was informed "the papiſts did not ſo much ſeek after the life of the king, as the life of the earl of Saliſbury." See Winwood's Mem. tom. II. p. 264.

[c] The king of Spain ſent an agent on purpoſe to congratulate king James's great preſervation. A flattery ſo palpable, as the pope could not refrain laughing in the face of cardinal d'Oſſat, when he firſt told him of it: It being notorious, that when king James came to the crown of England, none ſought his deſtruction more cordially than the Spaniards, till a continued tract of experience had fully acquainted him with his temper, and the impoſſibility of purſuading him to form any league with France or other chriſtian prince againſt him. Oſborn, p. 438.

[d] Particularly Hugh Owen, See Statut. 3. Jac. c. 2.

Sir

executed the 31ſt of January [e], though the number of the guilty was much greater. Some time after, Oldcorn, a jeſuit, ſaying openly, that the ill ſucceſs of the conſpiracy did not render it the leſs juſt, was ſent to priſon, condemned, and executed. Henry Garnet, provincial of the Engliſh jeſuits, having alſo been arreſted, was ſentenced to die as a traitor, upon the depoſitions of thoſe that were already executed. Some ſay, he only confeſſed, he had heard of a conſpiracy to reſtore the catholic religion in England, but was ignorant of the circumſtances. Others pretend, the plot was revealed to him only in confeſſion, and he was not obliged to diſcover it. The king, as I ſaid, publicly declared afterwards Garnet was legally convicted [f]. The jeſuits have been pleaſed to honour theſe men with the title of martyrs, as if they had ſuffered only in hatred to their religion. But king James's humour and character will not permit it to be thought, that he put men to death only becauſe they were catholics.

Whilſt the parliament was conſidering the powder-plot, it was ſuddenly rumoured that the king was ſtabbed at Oking with a poiſoned knife. This rumour inſtantly threw the people into the utmoſt conſternation, imagining it was the effect of ſome freſh conſpiracy. But the alarm was ſoon over. Two hours after came a certain advice that the king was alive, and he even returned to London that very day, and publiſhed a proclamation to quiet the people. The Spaniſh embaſſador diſtinguiſhed his affection for the king, by preſenting ſir Lewis Lewkenor with a gold chain [g] for bringing him the news of his ſafety.

Mean while, the parliament ſeriouſly applied themſelves to prevent the deſigns of the popiſh recuſants, that is, of ſuch as refuſed to acknowledge the king's independent authority. For the more eaſy diſcovery of ſuch perſons, the two houſes agreed to draw up an oath, which all ſubjects, without exception, ſhould be obliged to take. This oath was called the oath of allegiance, that is, of ſubmiſſion and obedience to the king, as ſovereign, independent of any other power upon earth. It differed from the oath of ſupremacy, as it concerned only the king's temporal ſovereignty, and his independence of the pope; whereas the other, enacted in the reign of Henry VIII. obliged the ſubjects to acknowledge the king for ſupreme head of the church of England. So, every catholic could ſafely take this new oath, unleſs he was one of thoſe who thought, that to be a true catholic it was neceſſary to believe, the pope had power to depoſe kings and give away their dominions. Nay, the king was extremely careful not to have any clauſe inſerted in the oath that might give juſt offence to the catholics. The commons having put in the rough draught of the oath, "That the pope has not power to excommunicate the king:" He ſaid, theſe words might offend his good catholic ſubjects, and it ſufficed to aſſert, the pope's excommunication could not authoriſe ſubjects to riſe againſt their ſovereign. Here follows the oath which has been, and ſtill is ſpoken of by many, without well knowing what it is.

"I A. B. do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſs, teſtify, and declare in my conſcience before God and the world, that our ſovereign lord king James, is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his majeſty's dominions and countries: and that the pope neither of himſelf, nor by any authority of the church or ſee of Rome, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the king, or to diſpoſe of any of his majeſty's kingdoms, or dominions, or to authoriſe any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to diſcharge any of his ſubjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majeſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majeſty's royal perſon, ſtate, or government, or to any of his majeſty's ſubjects within his majeſty's dominions. Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, that, notwithſtanding any declaration or ſentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the pope, or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his ſee, againſt the ſaid king, his heirs or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their perſons, their crown and dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence, or declaration, or otherwiſe, and will do this my endeavour to diſcloſe and make known to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt him or any of them. And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the pope, may be depoſed and murthered by their ſubjects or any other whatſoever. And I do believe, and in conſcience am reſolved, that neither the pope, nor any perſon whatſoever, hath power to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof; which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I do plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſs words by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation, or mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a chriſtian.

So help me God."

It is eaſy to ſee this oath contained nothing repugnant to the eſſential articles of the Romiſh faith, and concerned only the unlimited power, which by ſome is aſcribed and by others denied to the pope. Accordingly, moſt of the Engliſh catholics, with the archprieſt Blackwel their ſuperior, made no ſcruple to comply with it. Nay, when Urban VIII. ſent them a brief, dated October 31, 1606 [h], forbidding them to take the oath, they thought the brief was forged by their enemies, to draw them into a non-compliance. But the pope ſpoke more fully the next year, and by a ſecond brief plainly told them, if they took the oath they forfeited all hopes of ſalvation. At the ſame time, cardinal Bellarmine under the feigned name of Tortus, wrote a book againſt the oath, and a letter to the archprieſt Blackwel, to admoniſh him to repent, as if in taking the oath he had committed the moſt heinous offence. This occaſioned king James's apology for himſelf, publiſhed ſome time after, with a preamble, addreſſed to all chriſtian princes, wherein he cleared himſelf from the falſe imputation of being a perſecutor of the catholics. He began the apology with juſtifying queen Elizabeth's conduct to the Romaniſts, after which he added the following words:

"But now having ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the manes of my late predeceſſor, I may next with St. Paul juſtly vindicate mine own fame, from thoſe innumerable calumnies ſpread againſt me, in teſtifying the truth of my behaviour toward the papiſts: wherein I may truly affirm, that whatſoever was her juſt and merciful government over the papiſts in her time, my government over them ſince hath ſo far exceeded her's in mercy and clemency, as not only the papiſts themſelves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildneſs, as they did directly expect and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelves liberty of conſcience, and equality with other of my ſubjects in all things; but even a number of the beſt and faithfulleſt of my ſaid ſubjects were caſt in great fear and amazement of my courſe and proceedings, ever prognoſticating and juſtly ſuſpecting that ſour fruit to come of it, which ſhewed itſelf clearly in the powder treaſon. How many did I honour with knighthood, of known and open recuſants? How indifferently did I give audience and acceſs to both ſides, beſtowing equally all favours and honours on both profeſſions? How free and continual acceſs had all ranks and degrees of papiſts in my court and company? And above all, how frankly and freely did I free recuſants of their ordinary payments? Beſides, it is evident, what

[e] Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates, were executed at the weſt end of St. Paul's church, January 30; and the next day, Thomas Winter, Ambroſe Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Guy Fawkes, ſuffered the puniſhment of traitors, in the Old Palace-yard at Weſtminſter. State trials, vol. I. The attainders of them, and reſt of their accomplices, were confirmed in this parliament. See Statut. 3. Jac. c. 2.

[f] Garnet owned upon his trial, that Cateſby told him of the plot only in general terms, and Teſmond, "ſubſigillo confeſſionis," proteſted he had diſſuaded it, and prayed againſt it, and made no queſtion but God heard his prayer. He had, it ſeems, by the cunning of his keepers, divers conferences with Hall, his brother prieſt, in the Tower, which were over-heard by ſpies ſet on purpoſe. Being charged with this, "he proteſted upon his ſoul and ſalvation, there had no ſuch conferences paſſed. But being confronted with Hall, he was driven to confeſs. And being aſked how he could ſalve this leud perjury? He anſwered, "ſo long as he thought they had no proof, he was not bound to accuſe himſelf, but when he ſaw they had proof, ſtood no longer in it." And then fell into a large defence of equivocations. See Winwood's Mem. vol. II. p. 26.—He was arraigned at the Guild-hall in London, March 28, and hanged at the weſt-end of St. Paul's, May 3. State Trials, vol. I.

[g] Of ſixſcore pounds. Winwood's Mem. vol. II. p. 205.

[h] It is dated the 10th of the kalends of October 1606. Apology, p. 252.

ſtrait order was given out of my mouth to the judges to ſpare the execution of all prieſts (notwithſtanding their conviction), joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all prieſts that were at liberty, and not taken, might go out of the country by ſuch a day: my general pardon having been extended to all convicted prieſts in priſon; whereupon they were ſet at liberty as good ſubjects: and all prieſts that were taken after, ſent over and ſet at liberty there. But time and paper will fail me to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I beſtowed in general and particular upon papiſts: in recounting whereof, every ſcrape of my pen would ſerve but for a blot of the pope's ingratitude and injuſtice, in meeting me with ſo hard a meaſure for the ſame."

All the king ſaid in this part of his apology was very true. But it is ſurpriſing, that ſince he thought proper to make a long apology to clear himſelf to foreign princes from the aſperſion of being an enemy to the papiſts, he ſhould never think of excuſing to his own ſubjects his too great condeſcenſion to theſe ſame papiſts, and his extreme care to hinder the execution of the laws enacted againſt them. There is another very extraordinary particular in this apology. The king evidently ſhews that cardinal Bellarmine confounds in his book the oath of allegiance with that of ſupremacy, whereby it was manifeſt he did not underſtand the point in diſpute [i]. But I have ſaid enough of this ſubject; I ſhall only add, to conclude what relates to the powder-plot, that the parliament appointed the 5th of November to be a public thankſgiving-day for ſo great a deliverance, which day has been conſtantly ſolemniſed to this preſent time.

The common danger which threatened the whole kingdom, ſtifled for a time the diſputes between the king and the commons, which aroſe in the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament. The commons were ſo far from intending to revive them, that on the contrary, to gain the king's good-will, they granted him one of the largeſt ſubſidies that had ever been given to his predeceſſors in the moſt urgent occaſions of the ſtate, though he was then in profound peace, and wanted money only to enrich his favourites. This aid conſiſted of three whole ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths and tenths, beſides four ſubſidies of four ſhillings in the pound granted at the ſame time by the clergy [k]. But the affair of the union of the two kingdoms was deferred to the next ſeſſion. So the king, having no farther occaſion for the parliament, prorogued it from the 27th of May to the 18th of November [l].

The conſternation cauſed by the powder-plot in the court and the whole kingdom, was at length turned into a pleaſing tranquillity. The king and people were equally pleaſed with being delivered from ſo great a danger; and the king had the more reaſon to be ſo, as he had brought the parliament to be of his moderate ſentiments with reſpect to the Roman catholics, of whom ten only had been left to the rigour of the law. Their yoke was not aggravated, unleſs the obligation of bearing allegiance to their king, or departing the realm, was to be deemed an aggravation. On the other hand, the king was able to gratify his favourites by means of the money granted by parliament, and the whole court rejoiced, every one expecting to partake of the king's bounties.

This money came very ſeaſonably to the king to give a ſplendid reception to his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, who arrived ſhortly after on purpoſe to viſit the queen his ſiſter, and the king [m]. No coſt was ſpared on this occaſion, to demonſtrate the king's and queen's affection for this prince, and to ſhew him the riches of the kingdom they had acquired. During his ſtay in England, there was one continued, though various, ſcene of diverſions, as plays, fights, entertainments [n], balls, maſquerades, hunting; in a word, every thing that was thought proper to divert him.

Some time after, the prince of Vaudemont, the duke of Lorrain's third ſon, made the king another ſuch viſit, attended by ſeven earls, ten barons, forty gentlemen, and ſix ſcore domeſtics. He ſtayed a fortnight with the king, by whom he was with his whole train royally entertained. Theſe two viſits conſumed good part of the money lately granted by parliament [o].

The ſeſſion of the parliament, which began the 18th of November, was chiefly employed in the affair of the union, which the king ſtrongly ſollicited. Sir Francis Bacon, the king's ſollicitor, was ordered to move and ſupport it with the beſt arguments he could deviſe. But though he was learned and eloquent, he met in the houſe of commons with perſons able to withſtand him, and to allege as ſtrong reaſons againſt, as he did for, the union. The chief objections were, the inequality between the ſtate and riches of the two kingdoms, the difference of the laws and cuſtoms, and Scotland's perpetual alliance with France. But the moſt prevailing argument, though it was not publicly inſiſted upon, was the jealouſy of the Engliſh, which baffled all Bacon's rhetoric [p].

[1607] The king hearing the affair was not like to ſucceed in the parliament, ſent for both houſes to Whitehall, and endeavoured in a long ſpeech to ſhew the neceſſity of the union, and the common advantage it would procure. He anſwered the objections alleged in the two houſes, ſpeaking one while with great mildneſs, another while with a menacing tone, turning himſelf every way to attain his ends. He ſaid, it was not reaſonable the Engliſh and Scots ſhould conſider one another as enemies, whilſt ſubjects of the ſame king, and conſequently it was neceſſary all hoſtile laws ſhould ceaſe, meaning the laws made from time to time upon the frequent invaſions of the Scots on the borders of England. He added, it was no leſs reaſonable, there ſhould be between the two nations community of commerce, ſince he was no ſtranger, but deſcended from the antient kings of England, and could not be natural liege-lord to both, whilſt they were ſtrangers to one another. Finally, it was againſt nature, for people who lived under the ſame dominion, to be no more united than Frenchmen and Spaniards.

He then proceeded to a nice point, as he had himſelf determined a thing which properly belonged to the cognizances of the parliament. He ſaid, he was informed by the judges there was a difference between the Ante-nati and Poſt-nati of each kingdom; that is, between ſuch as were born before, and ſuch as were born after, his acceſſion to the crown of England. That therefore he had publiſhed a proclamation, declaring all thoſe to be naturalized in both kingdoms who were born ſince his acceſſion. That indeed he confeſſed the judges might err, but admoniſhed both houſes, "to beware to diſgrace, either his proclamations or the judges, for ſo they might diſgrace both their king and the laws, who have power, when the parliament is done, to try both their lands and lives."

In anſwering the objection taken from the perpetual alliance between France and Scotland, he affirmed, the alliance was not between the two nations, but only between their kings. I do not know whether this was really fact.

He concluded his ſpeech with ſaying, "What is now deſired hath often before been ſought, and not obtained; to refuſe it now then were double iniquity. And for their ſecurity in ſuch reaſonable points of reſtriction, which he ſhall agree to, they need not doubt his inclination; for (added he), I will not ſay any thing which I will not promiſe, nor promiſe any thing which I will not ſwear; what I ſwear, I will ſign, and what I ſign, I ſhall, with God's grace, ever perform."

The earneſtneſs which the king expreſſed for the union of the two kingdoms, was not capable of prevailing with the parliament, ſo inconvenient was it thought. All he could obtain was the repealing of the hoſtile laws. So the union was rejected, without any mention however of the proclamation concerning the Poſt-nati. But by not approving it, the parliament did in effect reject it, ſince a proclamation in England is not conſidered as a law. Nevertheleſs, two years after, the king cauſed the ſame thing to be determined by the judges of the realm, though this determination was of no more force than the proclamation [q].

The ill ſucceſs of this affair extremely troubled the king.

[i] Bellarmine, in his anſwer to king James's Apology, took the opportunity of diſcovering, that his majeſty had formerly wrote a letter to pope Clement VII. and thereupon upbraided him with inconſtancy. See Spotiſ. p. 507.

[k] The whole was payable at eleven ſeveral payments, and amounted to the ſum of 453,000l. In the ſeventh year of this reign there was granted by the laity throughout all England, one entire ſubſidy, and one fifteenth and tenth. For the ſubſidy, there was paid into the exchequer by the collectors 69,666l. and ſo by eſtimation a ſubſidy is valued. One fifteenth and tenth of the laity comes to 36,000l. Truth brought to Light, p. 10, 70, 71. where the reader may ſee what each county paid towards a ſubſidy. As for fifteenths and tenths, every city, hundred, town and village, were to pay in no more than they were chargeable by the antient roll and tax ſet upon them, ſo that their payments were certain. Ibid. Hence it appears alſo, the clergy's four ſubſidies of four ſhillings in the pound, amounted to 25,002l. for ſo much remained after the laity's three ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths and tenths are ſubſtracted from the whole ſum of 453,000l.

[l] The acts made in this parliament were: 1. An act for the better diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants. 2. Another to prevent the dangers which may grow by popiſh recuſants. 3. An act to reform the multitudes and miſdemeanors of attorneys and ſollicitors, and to avoid unneceſſary ſuits and charges in law. 4. One for the recovering of ſmall debts, and for the relieving of poor debtors in London.

[m] He came to England July 17, and went back Auguſt 14. Howes's Contin. of Stow, p. 885---888.

[n] He was feaſted four days together, with all his attendants, by the earl of Saliſbury, at Theobald's. Howes, p. 885.

[o] This year, on February 24, was ſigned a treaty of trade and commerce between England and France. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 645, &c.

[p] The reader may ſee in Wilſon's hiſtory, the chief arguments for and againſt the union, p. 667—679.

[q] The king obtained a judgment in Weſtminſter-hall, in a caſe called Cal-

In his firſt ſpeech to the parliament, he called ſuch as were againſt the union of the two kingdoms, blind, ignorant, reſtleſs, and diſaffected; and affirmed, no honeſt ſubject whatever was leſs glad of this union than himſelf. But he now found the lords and commons againſt it, and this caſt a ſort of ridicule upon his too haſty judgment. From thenceforward he always appeared very averſe to parliaments; as on the other hand, the people began to diſlike him. They could not ſee without grief ſo many proclamations, which ſeemed to ſuppoſe the king's will to be the ſole rule of the government. The king's needleſs expences were another cauſe of complaint, becauſe they were compared with queen Elizabeth's frugality and good management. It was conſidered, the three hundred thouſand pounds received by the king at his coming, with what was lately granted by the parliament and clergy, ſerved only to enrich his favourites and miniſters. All this began to form a cloud, which perhaps would have been followed by a ſtorm, had not the king, on the 4th of July, prorogued the parliament to the 16th of November, and afterwards to the 9th of February [q].

Before the parliament was prorogued, there were ſome commotions in Northamptonſhire [r], where the country people roſe in arms, under the conduct of one John Reynolds, who ſtiled himſelf captain Pouch [s]; but theſe troubles were ſhortlived; the ſheriff of the county found means to diſperſe the rebels, without the aſſiſtance of any regular troops.

The earl of Tiroen, the famous Iriſh rebel, pardoned by queen Elizabeth, was brought to London the beginning of this reign by the lord Montjoy, and preſented to the king, who received him very graciouſly. Shortly after, he returned to his native country, where he could not live in peace. He not only attempted once more to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, but alſo applied to foreign princes for aſſiſtance. His ſecret practices not ſucceeding to his expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and choſe to leave Ireland, taking with him the earl of Tirconnel, whom he had drawn into his plots [t]. When he was come to a place of ſafety, he gave out, that the outrages committed in Ireland upon the catholics, had conſtrained him to forſake his eſtate and country. But the king repelled this aſperſion by a ſort of apology publiſhed on the occaſion, not enduring that the world ſhould think him a perſecutor of the catholics.

In the beginning of the year, the archduke and the infanta his ſpouſe, ſent into Holland father Ney, provincial of the order of St. Francis, to propoſe a peace with the ſtates of the United Provinces. Ney lying concealed for a time at Ryſwick, was at laſt admitted to audience by prince Maurice, who told him plainly, there was no hopes of a peace, unleſs the United Provinces were owned for a free and independent ſtate. This declaration obliged the father to return to Bruſſels, from whence he came ſome time after, with a writing ſigned by the archduke and the infanta, with which the ſtates were ſatisfied, provided it was ratified by the king of Spain, which ratification Ney undertook to procure. Henry IV. hearing what was tranſacting at the Hague, diſpatched preſident Jeannin to offer his mediation to the ſtates, which was accepted. But as they feared to create jealouſy in king James, if France alone was concerned in the affair, they wrote to him for his advice and aſſiſtance, and ſhortly after, ſent an embaſſador to inform him more particularly of the ſituation of their affairs. Mean while, the king of Spain's ratification being come, the ſtates found it full of equivocal and captious expreſſions, which gave them occaſion to require explanations. This prolonged the negotiation, the ſucceſs whereof ſhall be related hereafter [u].

[1608] April 11, George Gervis, a ſeminary prieſt of Rheis, was hanged at Tyburn; and the 23d of June, Thomas Garnet, a jeſuit, had the ſame fate. Garnet was offered a pardon, provided he would take the oath of allegiance, which he reſolutely refuſed.

Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, and lord treaſurer, dying ſuddenly as he was ſitting at the council-table, Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, ſucceeded him in his poſt. He was a lord of a great genius, and though crooked before and behind, nature ſupplied that defect with noble endowments of mind.

The chief concern of the miniſters was to ſee that the king did not want money. He had occaſion for great ſums, being extremely liberal, or rather prodigal [w]; and it may well be thought, that in procuring money for the king, the miniſters did not forget themſelves. But this is ſo cuſtomary a thing with favourites and miniſters, that it would be wrong to upbraid theſe with it in particular. As to foreign affairs, they were little regarded throughout this whole reign.

One of the propereſt means deviſed to procure the king money, was the monopoly of the ſale of cloths, at the ſollicitation of a certain merchant, who, in all appearance, dearly purchaſed his patent. At this time, the Engliſh were not ſkilled in the art of dreſſing and dying Engliſh woollen manufactures. They ſent them into Holland white, and the Hollanders, after they had dyed them, ſent them back, and ſold them in England. The merchant I juſt mentioned, intimating to the king and miniſtry that a great profit would accrue to England if the cloths were dreſſed at home, obtained a patent to dreſs and dye them, excluſive of all others. Then the king publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons to ſend any white cloths abroad: whereupon the Hollanders prohibited the importation of dyed cloths from England. So the merchant who obtained the patent, not being able to ſell his dyed cloths any where but in England, was forced to dreſs and dye only a ſmall quantity. This raiſed ſuch clamours amongſt the cloth-weavers, that the king was obliged to permit the exportation of a certain quantity of white cloths. At length, the court by degrees connived at the offenders, and the woollen-trade continued upon the ſame foot as before [x].

The ſame year, the king ingroſſed to himſelf the ſelling of allum, which had been lately found out in England, and prohibited the importation of foreign allum by proclamation [y].

Whether the king intended to be revenged of the Hollanders for breaking his meaſures, with reſpect to the woollen manufactures, or only to draw money from them, a proclamation was publiſhed, prohibiting all foreign nations to fiſh on the coaſts of Great Britain. This occaſioned the next year a treaty, whereby the Hollanders engaged to pay an annual ſum for leave to fiſh. The king would have afterwards broke the treaty, and taken from them the licence he had granted them; but they maintained their privilege againſt his conſent, by guarding their fiſhing-boats with men of war. James, being a pacific prince, did not think this a ſufficient motive to quarrel with them.

Archbiſhop Bancroft never ceaſed to plague the puritans, to oblige them to conform to the church of England. For that reaſon, great numbers of theſe people reſolved to go and ſettle in Virginia, diſcovered in the late reign by Sir Walter Raleigh. Accordingly, ſome departed for that country; but the archbiſhop ſeeing many more ready to take the ſame voyage, obtained a proclamation, enjoining them not to go without the king's expreſs licence. The court was apprehenſive this ſect would become in the end too numerous and powerful in America. This very year the archbiſhop made a freſh attempt concerning the twenty-one articles formerly mentioned: but the oppoſition of the judges was ſo ſtrong,

vin's caſe, that the Poſt-nati in Scotland, after the king's aſſumption to the crown of England, were free to purchaſe and inherit therein. Rog. Coke, p. 62. This caſe (ſays Wilſon) was reported by lord chief juſtice Coke, who was fit metal for any ſtamp-royal, and adjudged by him, the lord chancellor Elleſmere, and moſt of the judges of the kingdom, in the Exchequer chamber, though many ſtrong and valid arguments were brought againſt it: ſuch power is in the breath of kings! and ſuch ſoft ſtuff are judges made of, that they can model their precedents into as many ſhapes as they pleaſe! Wilſon, p. 680.

[q] In this ſeſſion it was enacted, that every perſon which is drunk, ſhall forfeit for every offence five ſhillings, to be paid to the church-wardens of the pariſh.—In the beginning of this year 1607, was begun a new Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, which was publiſhed in 1611, and is the ſame as is now in common uſe. See an account of it, and of the tranſlators, in Fuller. Cent. 17. p. 44.

[r] And in Warwickſhire, Leiceſterſhire, &c. The cauſe of their diſſatisfaction was, the incloſing of commons and other lands; and ſo all the miſchief they did, was to break down hedges, fill up ditches, and lay open all incloſures. Howes, p. 890.

[s] So called from a great pouch he wore at his girdle.

[t] With him went away his wife, his two younger ſons, and his nephew; as alſo the earl of Tyrconnel's ſon and brother, and the lord Dongannon. Howes, p. 891.

[u] July 4, Sir Thomas Knevet was ſummoned to the houſe of peers by the title of baron of Eſcrycke. And November 16, Sir Gervaſe Clifton, by the title of baron Clifton of Layton Bromeſwold. Howes, p. 890, 891.—This year the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall began to be rebuilt. Ibid.

[w] Oſborn ſays, that the nation was oppreſſed with impoſitions, monopolies, aids, privy-ſeals, concealments, pretermitted cuſtoms, &c. beſides forfeitures upon penal ſtatutes, &c. which were ſpent upon the Scots. Sect. 17.

[x] Alderman Cockaine, with ſome rich citizens, having promiſed Rocheſter, Northampton, and the lord treaſurer, great ſums of money, they procured him a patent for dreſſing and dying cloths, and got the king to ſeize into his hands the charter of the merchant adventurers, for tranſporting of white undreſſed cloths. But by reaſon of the Hollanders prohibition, and Cockaine's dying and dreſſing cloths worſe and dearer than they were in Holland, infinite numbers of poor people lay idle, and were reduced to a ſtarving condition. So the matter fell to the ground. Coke, p. 70.

[y] At this time ſir John Bouchier, joining with the lord Sheffield, preſident of the north, ſir Thomas Challoner, ſir David Fowlis, and others who had lands in the north) brought the making of allum to perfection in England, which with great charges had been fetched from foreign parts, particularly from Italy; and the king took the whole traffic thereof to himſelf. Howes, p. 898.

Theſe

that the king, however desirous he was to please the prelate, durst not proceed.

The treaty at the Hague, concerning a peace between the archduke and the states, was an important affair, in which it seemed, the king should have had a great share, and yet he appeared not to be much concerned. However, he made two treaties with the states, the first whereof was concerning the payment of what was due to him; the other contained an alliance, which was not to take place till after they had concluded a peace with Spain [z]. Then he sent Sir Robert Spencer to the Hague, to assist at the negotiations of peace, jointly with Sir Ralph Winwood, his embassador in ordinary. Numberless difficulties occured in the affair, the chief whereof was, that the king of Spain refused to speak plainly with respect to the liberty of the states. He had ratified the archduke's declaration, but it was on condition the peace should be made, and the states would treat only upon the foot of free states. Besides, in the king of Spain's ratification were certain ambiguous expressions, which the states were not pleased with. They knew also, that whilst they were negotiating at the Hague, the Spanish court was endeavouring to gain the king of England, and for that purpose had sent to him Don Fernando de Gironne, a lord of great distinction, as embassador extraordinary. This made the states extremely uneasy, and the more, as James affected on all occasions to intimate, that he looked upon them as rebels. He applied to their case the general maxims of sovereignty, and firmly believed, what he would have had universally thought, that subjects ought not to withdraw their allegiance from their prince upon any account whatsoever. Hence may be judged what effect his mediation could have. Accordingly his embassadors made a very little figure throughout the whole negotiation. Jeannin managed every thing, the English embassador acting but faintly, and shewing little or no desire that the treaty should succeed.

What endeavours soever Jeannin might use, it was not possible for him to cause the parties to consent to a peace. And therefore he proposed at least a twelve or fifteen years truce, during which both parties should remain in possession of what they held without prejudice to their rights. But the states rejected it, unless their liberty was plainly established. Whereupon the embassadors of Spain and the archduke withdrew, as seeing no likelihood of peace or truce. However, Jeannin continued his instances to persuade the states to accept of the ratification as it was, and consent to some other articles, on which there had been great debates. At length, by his many representations, he obtained of the United Provinces, Zealand excepted, which stood out till the next year, what he desired to accomplish for the conclusion of the truce.

King James did not gain much credit by this negotiation. Besides his leaving every thing to the king of France, he acted not with sincerity, if we may believe president Jeannin, who in a letter to the king his master on this occasion, speaking of king James, says, "He pretends a willingness to procure a peace, and yet obstructs it, by publicly saying, he cannot forbear condemning the states for rebelling against the king of Spain their sovereign." Indeed, Richardot did not scruple to own in a letter to Jeannin, that the king of Spain's firmness was entirely owing to the king of England's promise, that the liberty of the states should not be mentioned in the treaty of truce [a]. Henry IV. had no great opinion of James, as appears from his writing to Jeannin, "that he knew what "that—was capable of, but however it did not break his rest."

[1609] The province of Zealand, resolving to follow the sentiment of the other provinces, the conferences were renewed at Antwerp, where a twelve years truce was signed, April the 9th, 1609. By the truce, the states obtained that the king of Spain and the archduke owned them as free and independent, and even avoided the renouncing the navigation and trade to the Indies, which had been a principal obstacle to the negotiation.

James discovered no satisfaction at the advantage obtained by the states, because he considered it as a precedent very dangerous and prejudicial to the sovereign authority of kings, with which he was ever extremely possessed. This evidently appeared at present, by his licensing two books, which maintained the most extravagant maxims of arbitrary power. The first, wrote by Cowel, doctor of civil-law [b], laid down these three principles:

1. That the king was not bound by the law, or his coronation-oath.

2. That the king was not obliged to call a parliament to make laws, but might do it alone by his absolute power.

3. That it was a great favour to admit the consent of the subjects in giving subsidies.

The other book was composed by Dr. Blackwood a clergyman, who laid down this principle, that the English were all slaves by reason of the Norman conquest.

The parliament which met the next year, took this affair to heart, and would have severely punished the authors of these books; but the king interposed, and frustrated the parliament's design, by publishing a proclamation, to forbid the reading of these books, and to order the copies to be delivered to the magistrates. But such proclamations are usually ill obeyed, especially when it is not the king's interest to see them strictly executed [c].

[1610] The king's proceedings increased the discontent of most of the English. The proclamations which were every day published, and whereof several were upon subjects not used to be decided by the former kings without the concurrence of the parliament, and the indiscreet speeches of the courtiers, who rallied the people's privileges, bred suspicions and jealousies, which the king was not careful enough to stifle in their birth. On the other hand, his condescension for the Roman catholics, whose cause he espoused on all occasions, their access and credit at court, even to their being admitted into the most important offices and into the ministry itself, created fears in the people, and caused them to suspect some plot was formed against the protestant religion. The ministers knowing these dispositions, were justly apprehensive of meeting great difficulties in the parliament, which was to sit the 9th of February. The king intended to procure money, of which he was in great want, though he had no war upon his hands, nor any affair which seemed to require an extraordinary aid. It was therefore necessary at least to give the parliament good words, and try to palliate his immense expences since his accession to the crown. But James believing it to be derogatory to the dignity of a sovereign, to make an apology himself to his subjects, ordered the earls of Suffolk and Salisbury to do it for him.

The earl of Salisbury, who was the spokesman, declared to both houses, "That they were met, first to supply his majesty's wants; secondly, to redress the people's grievances." Then he told them, "that the king, willing to shew them a singular mark of his favour, had resolved to create his eldest son prince Henry prince of Wales during the session of parliament, though he was free to do it at any other time, as by many precedents was evident." Having thus endeavoured to gain the king the good-will of both houses by so strong an argument of his majesty's regard for them, he demonstrated, "it was not without just reasons that the king demanded money, since what he had received had been laid out in very necessary expences: first, as for the three hundred and fifty thousand pounds due in the late queen's time, he no sooner received the money with one hand, but he paid it away with the other, in redeeming the crown-lands she had mortgaged to the city of London [d]. Secondly, He was forced to keep on foot for some time an army of nineteen thousand men in Ireland, not deeming it proper to make peace with Spain, without sword in hand. Thirdly, he was obliged to bury queen Elizabeth, whose funeral

[z] These two treaties bear date June 26. The sums due from the states to king James, are in the former treaty computed at eight hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and eight pounds sterling. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 674.

[a] The earl of Salisbury, in a letter to sir Ralph Winwood, of the 23d of December 1608, clears the king from this imputation. And in another letter of the 1st of January 1608-9, to sir Charles Cornwallis, then embassador in Spain, he tells him, "That Richardot had reported he was the person that had given this promise to Spain. And adds, I am sure you never received any such direction from me, that am appointed your principal correspondent, for his majesty is so much persuaded of your faith and discretion, that you will not intermeddle in any thing beyond the scope of your direction." In another letter of the 27th of January 1608-9, to the same sir Charles, the earl says, "Richardot does not directly clear you, and cast the imputation upon the Spanish embassador, who should have given such hopes by letters, as having received them from the mouth of us that are of his majesty's council. But the embassador being challenged, did protest to the contrary, with all the vows that may be. So we see it was a device set on foot at Brussels, to colour the delays from Spain, and to save themselves from being disavowed in their proceedings." See the Collection of State Papers in the reign of James I. p. 469, 472, 474, where it seems to be plain that it was all a fiction of Richardot's to serve his master's turn.

[b] Cowel was not a clergyman (as Rapin, by mistake, says), but doctor and professor of civil law in Cambridge, and vicar-general to archbishop Bancroft. He published a book called the Interpreter, containing the signification of such words and terms as are mentioned in the law-writers and statutes. It was printed at Cambridge, first in quarto, in the year 1607. It hath been enlarged and reprinted in folio; but in all the later editions, the dubious and offensive passages have been corrected or omitted.

[c] The fifteen years letters patents granted by queen Elizabeth to the East India company, expiring about this time, king James granted them, in May this year, an enlargement of their privileges, and a charter whereby he incorporated them for ever. Howes, p. 993, 994.

[d] July 3, 1607, king James repaid the city of London 60,000l, that had been borrowed by queen Elizabeth on February 3, 1598. Howes, p. 890.

Her

was very expenfive [e]. Fourthly, His own journey from Edinburgh to London could not be performed without money; for it would not have been decent for a king to come the firſt time to his kingdom like a private perſon, and without a numerous train. Fifthly, Neither was it fit that his royal conſort, with his children, the kingdom's future hopes, ſhould be expoſed to robbers, without a guard and retinue, and conſequently their journey muſt have been very chargeable. Sixthly, The king of Denmark's viſit was ſo honourable to his majeſty, that he could not diſpenſe with giving him a ſuitable and magnificent reception. Seventhly, The embaſſadors who came from all parts to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the crown of England, could not be ſent back without preſents for the honour of the Engliſh nation, beſides the charge to entertain them during their ſtay [f]. Eighthly, The king was obliged to ſend embaſſadors to the princes by whom he was congratulated, and to return their civilities [g]."

Theſe were the cauſes, according to the orator, of the king's wants, and not, as ſome affected to give out, his indiſcreet bounty to his ſervants. "But (added he) how could a bounty ſo worthy of a king be blamed? If he did not give to his ſervants, they would be miſerable in a country abounding with riches. As for the Scots, it muſt be remembered, that though they were not born in the kingdom, his majeſty was born among them; and not to have them taſte of the bleſſing he had attained, were to have him change his virtue with his fortune. Upon all theſe accounts his majeſty deſires the commons to ſupply his wants, which mark of eſteem could not be denied to a king, who is not only the wiſeſt of kings, but the very image of an angel, that has brought good tidings to the Engliſh, and ſecured them in the enjoyment of perfect happineſs; to a king who, by his vaſt knowledge and noble endowments, deſerves the title of Defender of the Faith; to a king, who has ſhut the back door by which England was liable to invaſions, and who only ſeeks that every man may live happy under his own olive. That none will wonder or ſtartle at the king's deſiring a ſupply, but ſuch as ſtudy to ſerve their own turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the ſtories of their own ignorance. Among whom are to be reckoned thoſe, who hearing of an order to bind up the printed proclamations in a book, that the better notice may be taken of the things contained in them, have ſpread a report that the king intended this parliament to make proclamations equal to the laws, which never entered into his thoughts. That ſo far is he from governing by will and pleaſure, that he is ready to hearken to any motion from the two houſes, provided they keep a juſt proportion, and obſerve what is due to a great and gracious king."

This ſpeech produced not the effect hoped by the king and his miniſters. Some of the commons loudly complained of the king's prodigality and exceſſive bounty to the Scots [h]: they ſaid, the whole wealth of England would not ſerve to ſatisfy their avidity; that ſince the king's acceſſion, gold and ſilver were as common in Edinburgh as ſtones in the ſtreets, and that all the riches of England flowed thither, where they were ſwallowed up as in a gulph, and never returned. Others ſaid, it was viſible the king was gradually undermining the nation's privileges by continual incroachments; that he deſigned to eſtabliſh the civil law in the room of the common law, and had dropped ſome expreſſions to that purpoſe at his own table: finally, he had approved of a book lately written, the deſign whereof was to render the common law contemptible.

But what made moſt noiſe in the lower houſe was the high commiſſion, which exerciſed in the kingdom a kind of inquiſition for matters of religion and ſtate. For the better underſtanding this cauſe of complaint, it muſt be remembered that when Henry VIII. was declared ſupreme head of the church of England, he appointed Cromwell for his vicegerent in religious affairs, with power to exerciſe the ſupremacy in his name. After the tragical end of this firſt and only vicegerent, this office was executed by commiſſioners; and this is what was called the high commiſſion, which continued during the lives of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and ceaſing in Mary's reign, was revived by Elizabeth: in her reign the high commiſſion exerciſed its authority with great moderation. But the caſe was otherwiſe under James I. This prince, as I have frequently obſerved, mortally hated the puritans; and after his proclamation for uniformity, it was the high commiſſion's buſineſs to ſee his injunctions executed. It may be eaſily gueſſed that the commiſſioners, who were all named by the king, were not favourable to the puritans; accordingly they very rigorouſly exerciſed their power. Had they ſtopped there, this ſeverity upon a ſet of obſtinate people, as they were reckoned, and whoſe number was ſmall in compariſon of the epiſcopalians, would not have excited the complaints of the lower houſe. But they went much farther. I have obſerved, that becauſe the puritans were againſt the hierarchy, the king inferred they were alſo againſt monarchy, and there were but too many who laboured to confirm him in that notion. For this reaſon, all who were not very ſubmiſſive to the king's orders, or great aſſertors of the privileges of the people, were affectedly called puritans [i]. Under that pretence the high commiſſion proceeded againſt them, and wanted not means to moleſt them. Thus, to be really a proteſtant and member of the church of England, communicating in that church, and complying with the external worſhip, were not ſufficient, the king's authority was alſo to be acknowledged as extenſive as his flatterers were pleaſed to make it. They who ventured to cenſure his conduct and queſtion his unlimited power, were deemed infected with puritaniſm, and to reaſon upon puritannical principles. So, there were then two ſorts of puritans, church-puritans and ſtate-puritans. But the high commiſſion affected to confound them one with another, in order to exerciſe authority upon both. This was the occaſion of the complaints in the houſe of commons.

The king being informed of what was talked in the parliament, ſent for both houſes to Whitehall, and endeavoured to ſhew he was unjuſtly complained of. But withal he intimated, by ſome expreſſions which plainly diſcovered his ſentiments, that if he did not rule with an abſolute ſway, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his equity.

He told them, "Though the king's heart be in the hands of the Lord, yet he will ſet it before the eyes of the people; aſſuring them, that he never meant to govern by any law, but the law of the land; though it be diſputed among them, as if he had an intention to alter the law, and govern by the abſolute power of a king. He knew, he ſaid, the power of kings, reſembling it to the power divine: for as God can create and deſtroy, make and unmake at his pleaſure, ſo kings can give life and death, judge all, and be judged of none. They can exalt low things, and abaſe high things, making the ſubjects like men at cheſs, a pawn to take a biſhop [k]. And when he had raiſed the king's power to the height, with, Ye are gods, he brings them down again with, They ſhall die like men: and that all kings, who are not tyrants or perjured, will bound themſelves within the limits of their laws; and they that perſuade them the contrary, are vipers and peſts both againſt them and the commonwealth. Yet as it is blaſphemy to diſpute what God may do, ſo it is ſedition in ſubjects to diſpute what a king may do in the height of his power. And as he will not have his ſubjects diſcourſe of what he may, ſo he will do nothing but what ſhall be conſonant to law and reaſon." Then he ſtrives to mitigate the ſharpneſs of the words dropped from him at his table, to the diſparagement of the common law, on which he beſtows very high encomiums; but recalling himſelf, he points out ſome corruptions in it [l].

"After which, he addreſſed himſelf to the houſe of commons, and not only thanks them for the bonfire they made of certain papers, which were preſented as grievances from ſome diſcontented murmuring ſpirits; inſtructing them how to receive ſuch grievances hereafter: in which he would have them careful to avoid three things.

"The firſt, That they meddle not with the main points of government, that is his craft. To meddle with that were to leſſen him, who hath been thirty years at the trade in Scotland, and ſerved an apprenticeſhip of ſeven years here in England.

"Secondly, He would not have ſuch antient rights as he hath received from his predeceſſors accounted grievances;

[e] Her funeral charges were 17,428l. And the expence of the king and his train, on his journey from Scotland to London, amounted to 10,752l. State of King James's Revenue, p. 12.

[f] When the marquis of Roſny, the French embaſſador, landed at Dover, the king ſent him word, he could not bear the charges of the embaſſadors by reaſon of their number. See Mem. de Sully. Rapin.

[g] The charge of the foreign embaſſadors that came to England was 31,400l. And of the Engliſh embaſſadors ſent into foreign parts, 20,790l. State of the Revenue, p. 12.

[h] His free gifts out of the exchequer, paid moſtly to Scots, amounted to above 14,000l. yearly. Ibid.

[i] Under that general term, ſays Oſborn, were comprehended not only thoſe brain-ſick fools, as did oppoſe the diſcipline and ceremonies of the church, but ſuch as out of mere honeſty refrained the vices of the times, were branded by this title, § 16.

[k] But the king left out the power of a pawn to take a queen, or check a king. Wilſon.

[l] He wiſhed that three things eſpecially were reformed in the common law: 1. That it were written in the vulgar tongue, and made plain to the people's underſtanding. 2. That it might have a ſettled text in all caſes, and the expoſition of it were fixed by act of parliament. 3. That the divers contrary reports and precedents, and the ſeveral ſtatutes and acts of parliament that croſſed one another, might be reviewed and reconciled. See Wilſon, 684.

that were to judge him unworthy to enjoy what they left him.

"And laſtly, That they ſhould be careful not to preſent that for a grievance, which is eſtabliſhed by a law; for it is very undutiful in ſubjects to preſs their king wherein they are ſure to be denied. Complaints may be made unto them of the high-commiſſioners, let the abuſe appear then, and ſpare not: there may be errors among them; but to take away the commiſſion, is to derogate from him; and it is now in his thoughts to rectify it in a good proportion.

"Then he ſhews the emergent cauſe of his great expences, ſince his coming to the crown, which makes him deſire a ſupply from them. And if they refuſe to grant it him, his reputation will ſuffer at home and abroad; for the world will think it want of love in them, or merit in him; that both leſſened their hearts, and tied up their hands towards him."

There was need of no great penetration to perceive in the king's ſpeech, the maxims on which he pretended to have a right to govern the Engliſh nation, and his idea of monarchy in all countries without diſtinction. He ſpoke ſo plainly, that it would have been difficult not to underſtand him. If it was ſedition in ſubjects to diſpute about the extent of the regal power, it neceſſarily followed, the king might do any thing; and if he ruled not like a tyrant, it was not for want of power, but entirely owing to his juſtice and clemency. In ſhort, if the whole ſpeech be examined, there is ſcarce a word but what tends, either plainly or ambigouſly, to eſtabliſh in the king an abſolute and deſpotic power. The Engliſh had not been uſed to hear their kings ſpeak in this manner. Henry VIII. the moſt arbitrary of all, managed the parliament, in order to procure acts in favour of the ſovereign, but never pretended to eſtabliſh his authority upon ſuch principles. So, the commons, evidently perceiving what the king had in his thoughts, reſolved ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe his deſigns. But it was not yet a proper ſeaſon to begin: ſuch great bodies require time to form and execute their projects. They feigned therefore to take no notice of the maxims the king would have eſtabliſhed, and granted a ſubſidy, though a much ſmaller than he expected [m]. This done, the parliament, having ſat till July 23, was prorogued to the 16th of October [n].

Before the end of the ſeſſion, the king created his eldeſt ſon Henry prince of Wales [o], and ſettled his houſhold, ſo that the young prince kept his court at St. James's, whilſt the queen kept her's at Somerſet-houſe, to which ſhe gave the name of Denmark-houſe; but it was called ſo only during her life, and among her own people. Thus the king had three courts to maintain, which was very expenſive.

All the hiſtorians affirm the prince of Wales was of a very different character from that of the king his father. Though he was but ſixteen years old, there appeared in him principles of equity, juſtice, moderation, magnanimity, which ſo gained him the love and eſteem of the Engliſh, that the king could not forbear being jealous. His court was well regulated, no extravagancies or indecencies were ſeen there, except perhaps the too frequent maſquerades, which were then much in vogue, becauſe the queen was paſſionately fond of them. As for the king, it is ſaid he did not ſpend much of his time in ſtate affairs, but entirely truſted to his miniſters. It may be this is a little aggravated, though it is not very unlikely that a prince who was in peace with all the world, and a great lover of books and hunting, ſhould leave common affairs to his miniſters.

Whilſt James lived in profound tranquillity, the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon Henry IV.'s grand project to humble the houſe of Auſtria. This houſe daily grew ſo formidable, that it might very juſtly raiſe the jealouſy of the other ſtates. What had lately happened on account of the ſucceſſion of John William duke of Cleves, was a clear evidence how attentive the houſe of Auſtria was to aggrandize itſelf on all ſides. The duke of Cleves dying the 25th of March 1609, his four ſiſters, or their heirs, claimed his inheritance, containing the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, and the earldoms of la Marck, Bergh, Ravenſbergh, and Raveſtein. The chief competitors were, Wolfgang-William, ſon to the duke of Newburgh, John duke of Deuxponts, both of the Palatine family; John Sigiſmund, elector of Brandenburg; Chriſtian II. elector of Saxony; and Charles of Auſtria, marquis of Burgaw. Whilſt theſe princes contended about the ſucceſſion, the emperor Rodolphus II. pretended it was to be committed to his truſt, till the affair was decided. To that purpoſe, he ſent his orders to Leopold of Auſtria, biſhop of Straſburg, who entering the duchy of Juliers at the head of an army, took the capital city, and left a garriſon in it. This proceeding convincing the elector of Brandenburgh and the duke of Newburgh, that whilſt they were contending about the duke of Cleves's ſucceſſion, they both run the riſk of loſing it, they joined in a league, and taking poſſeſſion of the reſt of the deceaſed duke's dominions, implored the aſſiſtance of France and Holland to ſupport them. Henry IV. who had now made great preparations againſt the houſe of Auſtria, promiſed to aſſiſt them in perſon. At the ſame time, he ordered the troops he had in Holland, to be ready to join him in the duchy of Cleves, and deſired the ſtates to ſend thither alſo prince Maurice, with part of their own forces. But whilſt he was preparing for this expedition, he was murdered by Ravaillac, a frier, in his own coach, in the midſt of Paris [p].

The murderer's confeſſion [q] diſcovered, that this regicide was committed in conſequence of that doctrine of the Romiſh church, which was ſo diſagreeable to king James, and the jeſuits were univerſally believed to be concerned in it. Wherefore James, finding how much it behoved him to remove from his perſon men who held ſo deteſtable a doctrine, iſſued out a freſh proclamation, commanding all jeſuits and prieſts to depart the kingdom, and all recuſants not to come within ten miles of the court. Then he cauſed all his ſubjects to take the oath of allegiance, which the parliament, then ſitting, had firſt taken.

The court of Spain was generally ſuſpected of contriving the king of France's murder; becauſe that prince was known to be making great preparations againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and that houſe was not ſeen to prepare to oppoſe his deſigns. Mean while, whether James did not believe it, or thought it adviſeable to gain the friendſhip of a houſe ſo formidable to the proteſtants, he ſent to Sir Charles Cornwallis [r] his embaſſador to negotiate a marriage between the prince of Wales and the king of Spain's eldeſt daughter [s].

Richard Bancroft archbiſhop of Canterbury, and grand adverſary of the puritans, died about this time. He had procured the king's patent to found a college at Chelſea, for the maintenance of a certain number of able controverſiſts, who were to combat with their ſermons and writings the adverſaries of the church of England, as well puritans as papiſts; but his death put an end to the project [t]. George Abbot, who ſucceeded him, was of a very different character. He was even ſuſpected and accuſed of being a puritan, becauſe he would not, like his predeceſſor, perſecute that ſect, nor blindly follow the maxims of the court with reſpect to government.

The parliament meeting the 16th of October, the commons were in a humour which pleaſed not the king. And therefore he determined to diſſolve the parliament by proclamation the 31ſt of December, having firſt prorogued it [u]. The miniſters finding, by the motions made in the lower

[m] They granted him one ſubſidy, which brought into the exchequer 69,666l. and a fifteenth and tenth, which amounted to 36,500l. See Truth brought to Light, p. 10, 70. The clergy granted alſo a ſubſidy. See Stat. 7 Jac. cap. 22.

[n] The acts made in this ſeſſion were theſe: 1. That all ſuch as are to be naturalized, or reſtored in blood, ſhall firſt receive the ſacrament, and take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy. 2. An act for the due execution of divers laws and ſtatutes againſt rogues, vagabonds, and other lewd and idle perſons; whereby it is provided, that there ſhall be a houſe of correction erected in every county, to ſet ſuch perſons to work. 3. An act to avoid the double payment of debts. See Stat. 7. Jac.

[o] He was knighted before, in 1609. Upon which occaſion the king forgot not to require the aid uſually paid the kings of England upon making their eldeſt ſon a knight. This aid was twenty ſhillings out of every knight's fee; and the ſame out of every twenty pounds worth of lands immediately holden of the king in ſocage; and amounted in all to 21,800l. See Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XVI. p. 678, &c. Declarat. of the Revenue, p. 10.

[p] Soon after this, viz. Auguſt 19, king James renewed the league between the kingdoms of England and France; and received from Lewis XIII. ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, due to the crown of England. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 694—706.

[q] At his examination he boldly confeſſed he did it, becauſe the king did not take arms againſt the Hugonots, and that his making war againſt the pope, is the ſame as to make war againſt God. "Seeing the pope was God, and God was the pope." Cave.

[r] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, the king ſent the lord Cornwal.

[s] It appears from a letter of the earl of Saliſbury, that the firſt overtures of this match came from the court of Spain. See Winwood's Mem. tom. III. p. 291, &c.

[t] There is a formal act of parliament in being for the eſtabliſhment of this college. Wilſon, p. 685. Dr. Welwood thinks, archbiſhop Bancroft was not the author, though he might be an encourager of this foundation. Notes on Wilſon, p. 685. The founder was Dr. Sutcliffe dean of Exeter. This college was to conſiſt of a provoſt and twenty fellows, to be choſen by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, and the vice-chancellors of the two univerſities. Sutcliffe endowed it with 300l. a year, and 4000l. in money. Three of the farms wherewith it was endowed, were afterwards adjudged by a decree in chancery to Mr. Halſey, as heir general to Dr. Sutcliffe. The ſite of this college coming in proceſs of time into the king's hands, it was founded anew for old and diſabled ſoldiers, as it now ſtands. See Fuller, B. X. p. 15, &c. Stow's Survey, vol. I.

[u] It was prorogued to February 9, and not diſſolved till that day, as appears by the Journals of parliament.

There

houſe, that a reſolution was taken to uſe the moſt effectual methods to redreſs the grievances, thought it againſt the king's and their own intereſt, to ſuffer the commons to execute this project. The pretences for diſſolving the parliament ſet forth in the proclamation, were,

"That the king had propoſed many things far differing and ſurpaſſing the graces and favours of former times, both in nature and value, in expectation of a good concluſion of ſome weighty cauſe, which had been there in deliberation, not only for the ſupply of the neceſſities of his majeſty's eſtate, but for the eaſe and freedom of his ſubjects: but theſe being, the two laſt ſeſſions, little taken notice of, and that the members, by reaſon of the length of the parliament, were debarred from the hoſpitality they kept in the country, and that divers ſhires, cities, and boroughs, had been burdened with expence of maintaining their members; for theſe reaſons he diſſolved them." This parliament, being the firſt of this reign, had ſat ſeven years. From its diſſolution to the year 1614, it had been the miniſtry's buſineſs to deviſe ways and means to ſupply the king's wants.

On the 1ſt of September prince Maurice became maſter of Juliers, with the aid brought him by the marſhal de la Chatre from France, and the Engliſh forces that were in the ſervice of the ſtates, under the command of Sir Edward Cecil, the earl of Saliſbury's nephew [w].

[1611] The king being freed from the incumbrance of the parliament, and reſolving never to call another, the courtiers greatly applauded his deſign. An abſolute government was much more for their advantage than a government bounded by the laws, where the king in ſome meaſure depends on the people. The whole court was overjoyed at the king's ſhaking off the troubleſome yoke of a parliament. The three courts were a continued ſcene of mirth and diverſions, and eſpecially the queen's, where ſcarce any thing elſe was regarded. She had her favourites, as the king had his, that is, perſons whoſe avidity was to be ſatisfied [x]. The king however had not yet a favourite, according to the uſual ſenſe of the word, though, whilſt he reigned in Scotland, he had plainly ſhewed he could hardly be without one. Perhaps the ill offices the Engliſh and Scots did one another, had, till now, prevented the king from fixing. Beſides, this prince's taſte was very different from that of moſt others. Neither virtue, nor merit, nor eminent qualities, had any charms for him. He was to be captivated only by ſomething external and dazzling, as youth, gracefulneſs of perſon, fine clothes, and the like. Never was prince ſo much taken with ſuch ſort of outward accompliſhments. I ſpeak upon the teſtimony of the lord Clarendon [y], and ſeveral others, and upon the characters of this prince's favourites as well in England as Scotland, in whom no other merit was ever acknowledged. However, among the Engliſh and Scots who approached the king, there was not yet found any one poſſeſſed of the qualities requiſite to become his favourite. He wanted an unexperienced youth, whom he might mould as he pleaſed. The Engliſh and Scots accounting it a ſort of miracle that he could live ſo long without abandoning himſelf to ſome perſon, ſtrove with emulation to give him a favourite, without his perceiving it, by cauſing all the youths of their nation, whom they thought moſt capable of gaining his heart, to appear in his ſight. But hitherto neither had been able to compaſs their ends. It was not till 1611, that the Scots found means at laſt to gain the advantage of their rivals, giving the king a favourite of their nation.

Robert Carr, a young Scotch gentleman, about twenty years of age, juſt come from learning his exerciſes in France, going to court to wait on the lord Hay, his countryman, to whom he was recommended, that lord had no ſooner caſt his eyes on him, but he imagined him a fit perſon to fix the king's affection. With that view, he reſolved to ſhew him at court, and ſurpriſe the king, by preſenting to him, as by chance, this new object. One day, at a tilting, he choſe Carr to preſent his ſhield and device to the king, according to cuſtom. The king being on horſeback, and Carr advancing to perform his office, his horſe by ſome accident happened to ſtart, throw him down, and broke his leg. The king, ſorry for the misfortune, aſked who the young man was, and hearing his name was Carr, remembered he had had a page of that name in Scotland, which proved to be the ſame. This made him ſtill more concerned for his fall, and was the cauſe of his ordering him to be lodged in the palace, and all poſſible care to be taken of him. The tilting was no ſooner over, but he viſited Carr in his room: the next day he came again. In ſhort, as long as Carr kept his bed, not a day paſſed but the king ſpent an hour or two with him. He found in this young Scot no great depth of learning or experience, yet ſuch a calm outſide, as made him think there might be a fit harbour for his moſt retired thoughts. Wherefore he reſolved to fix his inclination upon this object, hoping to render him, by his inſtructions, as great a man as any of his miniſters. As ſoon as Carr was recovered, the king made him a knight, and gentleman of the bed-chamber, and took the pains himſelf to teach him Latin. In a word, Carr became a perfect favourite. All ſuits, all petitions, were addreſſed to him, and no favours granted but by his means. Happily for him George Hume, earl of Dunbar, a Scotchman, who was very much eſteemed by the king, died about this time. So Carr enjoyed the king's favour without a rival, and was raiſed to the office of lord treaſurer of Scotland, vacant by the death of Dunbar.

The king's new inclination hindered him not from interpoſing in the diſputes cauſed in Holland by the diverſity of opinion upon certain religious points between the Gomariſts and the Arminians or Remonſtrants. Theſe diſputes are ſo well known, that it would be loſt time to explain them. It will ſuffice to relate the occaſion of the king's interpoſing without being applied to, and even with an extraordinary zeal, for the preſervation of orthodoxy in that church, though foreign and preſbyterian.

Franciſcus Gomarus and Jacobus Arminius, both divinity profeſſors in the univerſity of Leyden, had ſome years ſince diſcovered a difference in opinion, concerning abſolute predeſtination, inamiſſability of grace, and ſome other theological points. They begun their diſputes at the end of the laſt century; but the war at that time not permitting people to attend to their controverſy, it was confined to their ſchools till the year 1608. Gomarus followed the opinion of the firſt reformers, and Arminius took a contrary courſe. At laſt, the ſtates of Holland perceiving a ſchiſm was forming in their church, endeavoured to prevent it by means of a conference, which ſerved only to inflame it. The diſputes continued; each ſtrengthened his party; and the ſtates, being then employed in the important affair of the truce, could not attend to this, and prevent its conſequences. Arminius dying in 1608, his diſciples and followers continued the diſpute. At length they preſented to the ſtates a petition, containing the articles of their faith; and as, inſtead of the term Petitioners, they uſed that of Remonſtrants, they were ſo called, and gloried in the name. The Gomariſts preſented likewiſe their petition, ſtyling themſelves Contra-Remonſtrants. For ſome time the two parties were known by no other names; but afterwards that of Contra-Remonſtrants was ſcarce heard of, whilſt Arminius's followers are ſtill called Remonſtrants or Arminians.

Arminius's profeſſorſhip was filled with Conrade Vorſtius, divinity profeſſor at Steinfort, in the county of Bentheim. This divine had publiſhed a treatiſe concerning God, which had ſo excited the Gomariſts againſt him, that he was obliged to clear himſelf in a printed apology from their imputations. But however, before he came to Leyden, he was repreſented as a real ſocinian. In 1611 he was attacked by ſome divines, who offered to ſhew damnable errors both in his treatiſe concerning God, and in his apology. Theſe two books being ſent into England, the king read them, and preſently after ſent to Sir Ralph Winwood, his embaſſador at the Hague, a liſt of the errors he had remarked, ordering him withal to declare to the ſtates, that he was reſolved to publiſh in print, how much he deteſted ſuch abominable errors, and the allowers and tolerators of them. This was directly attacking the ſtates, who had acquitted Vorſtius. The embaſſador preſented therefore on that occaſion a memorial, to which the ſtates returned a modeſt anſwer, though they had reaſon to complain of the haughtineſs the king treated them with. Before the king received the anſwer, he had ordered ſome of Vorſtius's books to be publicly burnt at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. Notwithſtanding all this, Vorſtius was received at Leyden, and the king wrote againſt [z] him to the ſtates with ſo much vehemence, that, in his opinion, burning was too good for him. Nay, he threatened, that in caſe they continued to tolerate that profeſſor, he would cauſe the churches of England and Scotland to withdraw from the communion of that of Holland, and exhort all other reformed churches to follow the example. Winwood, when he delivered this letter, made a ſpeech to the ſtates, wherein he perfectly ſeconded his maſter's intentions.

[w] There were four thouſand Engliſh at this ſiege. Wilſon, p. 683. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 684. Rapin ſays brother, by miſtake, he was ſon of Thomas Cecil earl of Exeter.

[x] Her chief favourite was the elder brother, the earl of Pembroke; and the king's the younger, Philip Herbert, earl of Montgomery. Wilſon, p. 685.

[y] Of all wiſe men living, he was the moſt delighted with handſome perſons and fine clothes. Clarendon, vol. I. p. 9.

[z] The king's ſecond letter was ſent, though not delivered, before Vorſtius was ſettled at Leyden. K. James's Works, p. 358.

King

Though the ſtates of Holland thought it very ſtrange to be thus checked, they believed however it was proper to ſhew a regard to the king of England, though without complying with what he required. To that end, they anſwered the embaſſador, that they had proviſionally ordered, that Vorſtius ſhould forbear the functions of his office till the next aſſembly upon the affair, and in the mean time remain at Leyden only as an inhabitant. Winwood took this anſwer for a denial, and complained in very haughty terms of their little reſpect for the king his maſter. Not long after, the king publiſhed a declaration againſt Vorſtius, wherein he uſes the ſtates of Holland very roughly. Then the ſtates, who were unwilling to quarrel with him, ordered Vorſtius to remove from Leyden to Gouda, where he had another ſettlement provided for him.

It is difficult to gueſs the true cauſe of the king's great zeal on this occaſion. It ſeems, on the contrary, that he ought not, upon many accounts, to have interpoſed in a theological diſpute, about which the ſtates had not aſked his advice, and which concerned a church over which he could not challenge the leaſt juriſdiction. How could he, who in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, called the queſtions about tranſubſtantiation, and the number of the ſacraments, mere ſchool queſtions, how could he, I ſay, account the queſtions concerning grace in Holland, to be of ſo much greater moment? Moreover, he who thought the papiſts might be tolerated in England, provided they behaved like good ſubjects, could not bear that Vorſtius ſhould be tolerated in Holland, or even ſo much as ſuffered to live [a]. Theſe are contradictions which I can only venture to explain by three conjectures: Firſt, As he pretended to be very learned in divinity, he imagined, that having declared for one of the opinions, he was bound in honour to ſupport it. Secondly, Looking upon himſelf ſtill as protector of the ſtates, he had a mind to exert his authority on this occaſion, and oblige them to do as he required. Thirdly, He was willing to favour prince Maurice, who had declared for the Gomariſts againſt the Arminians, who had penſionary Barnevelt at their head. I return to the affairs of England [b].

[1612] The king's fondneſs for his new favourite continually and ſwiftly encreaſed. The favours the king loaded him with, ſeemed to exceed all bounds. Having made him knight, gentleman of the bed-chamber, lord treaſurer of Scotland, he created him, the 25th of March 1612, baron of Branſpeth, and viſcount Rocheſter. A month after, he made him privy counſellor, and then knight of the garter. Every thing at court paſſed through his hands, and whoever deſired any favour of the king, was firſt to make the viſcount Rocheſter his friend. So many favours heaped on the favourite, convinced the miniſters and courtiers it would be in vain to endeavour to ruin him; and even to attempt it, would be very dangerous. So every one reſolved to pay his adorations to the perſon the king was pleaſed to honour. The earl of Saliſbury however, was not pleaſed to be ſurpaſſed by this new-comer, and continually obliged to uſe all his art to find money, in order to ſee it ſhowered on a man whoſe ſervices were yet ſo inconſiderable. All hiſtorians agree, the king was liberal beyond meaſure in his preſents to his young favourite, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible fountain of treaſure, though he was ever in want. One day, as the ſtory goes, the king having given him an order under his own hand, to receive twenty thouſand pounds at the Exchequer, the lord treaſurer Saliſbury, ſurpriſed at the immenſeneſs of the preſent, conſidering how little money there was then in the treaſury, ſucceſsfully uſed a ſtratagem to demonſtrate to the king the exceſs of his bounty. He ordered the money, all in ſilver, to be laid on four tables in a room of his houſe, and inviting the king to an entertainment, cauſed him to paſs through the room, as by accident. The king failed not, as the lord treaſurer foreſaw, to aſk for what all that money was deſigned; to which Saliſbury careleſly anſwered, it was for the viſcount Rocheſter, according to his majeſty's command. Whether the king underſtood his meaning, or had not conſidered the greatneſs of the preſent, he ſaid, it was too much for one man, and bid the treaſurer give him but five thouſand pounds [c].

It is agreed by all the hiſtorians, that Carr behaved at firſt very wiſely, as favourite. He was neither greedy nor inſolent; he did every one what ſervice he could, and eſpecially the Engliſh, whoſe friendſhip he preferred before that of his countrymen. He had but one Scotch ſervant, and one friend of that nation, a couſin german. This conduct rendered him agreeable to the Engliſh. The prince of Wales alone affected ſometimes to mortify him, becauſe they were both enamoured of the counteſs of Eſſex, who gave the preference to the favourite. This was ſufficient to gain him the prince's enmity, who nevertheleſs would not be revenged of him. He choſe rather to turn into contempt his love for the lady, who, as we ſhall ſee preſently, was not worthy of ſuch a lover. Except this amour, which proved his ruin, the favourite carried himſelf very prudently, being guided by the counſels of Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of parts and great wiſdom, who took care to keep him clear of thoſe rocks, on which favourites ſeldom fail to run.

But though the viſcount Rocheſter carefully avoided being troubleſome, his modeſty ſerved only to inflame the king's deſire, to render him inſtantly rich and powerful. This, added to the many bounties he beſtowed on his courtiers both Engliſh and Scotch, and to the maintenance of three ſeveral courts, threw him perpetually into ſtraits. His miniſters were inceſſantly deviſing means to raiſe money without a parliament, of which he would not hear the leaſt mention. It may be eaſily conceived, theſe means were not all legal, but that many of them occaſioned murmurs among the people; as monopolies, benevolences, and loans. A king of England can very hardly encreaſe his revenue by ſuch methods, without giving his ſubjects cauſe to believe, he intends to encroach upon their privileges, and James was now but too much ſuſpected of ſuch a deſign.

The king to his great misfortune loſt, in May the next year 1613, the earl of Saliſbury, who was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of the ſtate, and genius of the Engliſh. He was a check to the reſt of the miniſters, and hindered them from running upon precipices, the danger whereof they did not know ſo well as he. Moreover, he had a wonderful art of diverting the king himſelf from hurtful reſolutions, though he did not always ſucceed [d]. The earl of Suffolk was made lord treaſurer; but he was very different from the perſon he ſucceeded, both for parts and uprightneſs. Beſides, he had a wife who was very greedy of money, and made no ſcruple to take bribes with both hands.

During the great tranquillity enjoyed by the king, he cauſed the body of the queen his mother to be removed to Henry VII.'s chapel at Weſtminſter from Peterborough, where it was interred at firſt, and had lain ever ſince.

About the middle of the year, Robert Creighton lord Sanquir, a Scotch nobleman, was condemned to be hanged, for hiring two of his countrymen to murder a fencing-maſter [e]. The archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſeveral great men interceded for him in vain. Nothing could prevail with the king to pardon him, who thought this example neceſſary to curb the inſolence of the Scots, who had already committed ſeveral outrages in England. His clemency to ſome had produced ſuch ill effects, that he did not think proper to continue the.

[a] King James, in his declaration againſt Vorſtius, ſays, "If the ſubject of Vorſtius's hereſies had not been grounded upon queſtions of higher quality than touching the number and nature of the ſacraments, the points of merit, of juſtification, of purgatory, of the viſible head of the church, or any ſuch matters, as are in controverſy at this day betwixt the papiſts and us—in that caſe we ſhould never have troubled ourſelves with the buſineſs in ſuch faſhion, and with that fervency as hitherto we have done." p. 365 of his Works. As if wrong notions or errors concerning the eſſence of God, were more pernicious than ſuch corrupt notions and principles as are deſtructive of morality, and repugnant to God's moral character!

[b] In January this year, the king granted the learned Iſaac Caſaubon, a prebend in the cathedral church of Canterbury, and a penſion of 300l. a year. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 709, 710.—This year, on December 12, died Thomas Sutton, eſq; founder of the Charter-houſe in London. This noble foundation he endowed with about 4500l. a year, for the maintenance of a maſter, a preacher, a free-ſchool in which are forty ſcholars, and a maſter and uſher: and alſo for the maintenance of eighty poor people, who are to be provided with ſufficient clothing, meat, drink, lodging, wages, &c. Stow's Survey, p. 207.

[c] Rapin, by miſtake, makes the whole to be but 5000l. and the king to reduce it to 2000l.

[d] Weldon gives him this character; he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of virtue and able parts in others, ſo as they did not aſpire too high in places, or look narrowly into his actions, p. 14. Oſborn, who owns he was a man of an incomparable prudence, applies to him, what was in other words ſaid of Gregory the Great, that, "he was the firſt ill treaſurer, and the laſt good one ſince queen Elizabeth's days." The worſt thing he lays to his charge, was, "the ſale of the crown timber," millions of Engliſh oaks being felled, and ſold at vile prices, not only during the life of the earl of Saliſbury, but all the reign of king James, to the great detriment of the navy, the walls of the kingdom, p. 461. He alſo fleeced the cream of the king's manors in many counties. Weldon, p. 51. He died at Marlborough, on Sunday, May 24, 1612, and was buried at Hatfield. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 408.

[e] This young lord, it ſeems, having a mind to diſgrace one Turner, a fencing-maſter, in his own art, had one of his eyes thruſt out by him. Some time after, the king of France aſked him, "how he loſt his eye?" And Sanquir telling him, "it was done with a ſword." The king replies, "does the man live?" This queſtion made ſuch an impreſſion upon the young lord, that at his return to England, he cauſed Turner to be piſtoled, at his houſe in White-Friars. Wilſon, p. 688. He was tried in the court of king's-bench, June 27, and executed before Weſtminſter-hall gate, the 29th. Howes, p. 1002. Oſborn ſays, it was thought the king would not be prevailed with to pardon Sanquir, as he had done ſome other of his countrymen for the like offence, by reaſon of his love to the king of France, and not making any reply, when he ſaid in his preſence, to one that called our king James, Solomon, that "he hoped he was not David the fidler's ſon." p. 457.

Ramſey

London Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

The Monument all Inscription is engraven in Roman Capitals.

This First part of the Epitaph is on the South side of the Tomb

D.O.M. Bonæ Memoriæ, et Spei, Æternæ.
Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ Iacobi V.
Scotorum Regis Filiæ et Hæredis unicæ Henrici VII. Angl. Regis.
ex Margareta majori natu filia Jacobo IIII Regi Scotorum
Matrimonio copulata, pronepti Edwardi IIII Angl. Regis
ex Elizabetha Filiarum suarum natu maxima Abneptis,
Francisci II Gallorum Regis Conjugi Coronæ Angl. dum vixit
certæ et indubitatæ Hæredi et Jacobi magnæ Britanniæ
Monarchæ potentissimi Matri.
Stirpe vere Regia et antiquissima prognata erat maximis
totius Europæ Principib agnatione, et cognatione conjuncta.
et ejusmodi stirpis animi, et corporis dotibus, et ornamentis
cumulatissima. Verum ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices
postquam Annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta,
fortuet, et strenue, sed frustra, cum malevolorum
obtrectationibus, invidorum suspitionibus, et inuncorum
capitalium malitiis, conflicta esset tandem maledicto, et
infesto Regibus exemplo, securi percutitur,
et contempto mundo devicta morte lassato carnifici
Christo Servatori animæ Salutem Jacobo Filio spem Regni et
Posteritati et universis cædis infaustæ spectatoribus
exemplum patientiæ commendans, pie patienter intrepide
cervicem regiam, securi maledictæ subjecit, et vitæ caducæ
Sortem, cum cœlestis regni perennitate commutavit
VI. Idus Februarii
Anno Christi. M.D. LXXXVII.
Ætatis XXXXVI.

Over the Cornish at the Head of the Monument

1 Pet 2 21
Christus pronobis
passus est relinquens
exemplum ut sequamini.
Vestiga ejus

Over the Cornish at the Foot of the Tomb

1 Pet. 2 23.
Qui cum malediceretur
non maledicebat cum
pateretur non
comminabatur, tradebat
autem judicanti juste.

The latter part of the Epitaph is on the North Side of the Monument.

Generis splendor, ratiæ si gratia formæ,
Probri nescia mens, inviolata fides
Hectoris invicti robur, sapientia candor,
Nixaque solamis spes pietate Dei:
Si morum probitas, duri patientia fœni,
Majestas, bonitas pura benigna manus,
Pallida fortunæ possint vitare tonantis
Fulmina quæ montes, templaque sancta petunt:
Non pramatura fatorum sorte perissent
Nec fleret mœstis tristis imago genis
Jure Scotos thalamo Francos Spe possidet Anglos,
Triplice sic triplex jure corona beat.
Fœlix heu nimium fœlix si turbine pulsa
Vicinam sero conciliasset opem.
Sed cadit ut terram tenest nunc morte triumphet
Fructibus ut pure stirpi pallulet inde novis.
Victa nequit vinci, nec carcere clausa teneri,
Non occisa mori, sed neque capta capi.
Sic vitis succisa gemit fœcundior unis:
Sculpaque purpureo, gemma decore micat.
Obruta frugifero sensim sic cespite surgunt
Semine, per multos quæ latuere dies.
Sanguine Sancivit fœdus cum plebe Jehova,
Sanguine placabant numina sancta pares.
Sanguine conspersi quos præterit ira penates
Sanguine signata est quæ modo cedit humus.
Parce Deus satis est infandos, siste dolores
Flere funestos pervelet illa dies.
Sit Reges nactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac,
Purpureo nunquam terra Britannia fluat.
Exemplum pereat cæsæ cum vulnere Christæ,
Inque malum præceps, author et actor eat.
Sit melior sui post mortem parte triumphet
Carnifices sileant, tormina, clamstra, cruces
Quem dederant cursum sugeri, Regnia peregit
Tempora læta Deus, tempora dura dedit
Edidit exgnimum fato properante Jacobum:
Quem Pallas Musæ Delia Fata colunt.
Magna vito major natu sed maxima partu,
Conditur hic Regum filia sponsa parens
Det Deus ut nati et qui nascentur ab illa
Fiernos vid anthunc sine nube dies.
N. comens.

Graviter del.

Goldar sculp.

The Monument of MARY QUEEN of SCOTS in Westminster Abbey.

Published as the Act directs October 1. 1786.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

London. Engraved for Harrisons Edition of Rapin.

HENRY
Prince of Wales.
Son of K. James I.

I. Oliver pinx. Page 2c.

in the Collection
of Dr. Mead.

Published as the Act directs 4 Sept. 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

London Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapine.

ELIZABETH PRINCESS of PALESTINE & QUEEN of BOHEMIA

G. Honthorst pinxit. *Taylor sculpsit.*

In the Royal Collection at St. James's.

Publish'd as the Act directs, 6th Dec.r 1787.

ſame courſe, for fear in the end a general quarrel between the two nations, which muſt have been to the diſadvantage of the Scots [f].

Shortly after, arrived in England a very extraordinary embaſſy. Sir Robert Sherley an Engliſhman, who had ſerved the king of Perſia many years in his army, deſiring to ſee his native country, obtained of that monarch the character of his embaſſador, and a letter of credit to the king. His inſtructions were only to pay his compliments to the king, with the offer of a free trade to the Engliſh throughout the Perſian dominions. The embaſſador had paſſed through the Hague, where he demanded audience of the ſtates, to propoſe to them a treaty with the king of Perſia. But becauſe he came from Spain, where he had made ſome ſtay, the ſtates ſuſpecting he had ſome other deſign, aſked to ſee his inſtructions, and upon his ſcrupling to ſhew them, he was deſired to withdraw. As he had been alſo at other courts, it was believed, he had put the king of Perſia in hopes of engaging all the chriſtian princes in a war with the Turks, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a Perſian wife, who was delivered of a ſon in England, to whom the queen ſtood godmother, and prince Henry godfather. After a year's ſtay in England, he returned into Perſia [g].

The arrival of this embaſſador did not make ſo much noiſe as that of Frederic V. elector Palatine, who came in October to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, the king's daughter. He was received with all the reſpect imaginable, and for ſome time nothing was ſeen at court but entertainments and diverſions on his account. But amidſt the univerſal joy for the marriage, the prince of Wales was ſeized with a diſtemper, which at firſt was not thought dangerous. It begun on the 10th of October, a few days before the elector Palatine's arrival; but he himſelf believed it of ſo little conſequence, that he accompanied the elector every where for ſome days. He was not forced to keep his bed till the 25th of the ſame month, and died the 6th of November, at the age of eighteen years [h].

He was one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever was, I will not ſay in England, but in all Europe, if we may believe what hiſtorians relate of him. He was ſober, chaſte, temperate, religious, full of honour and probity. He was never heard to ſwear, though the example of his father and the whole court, was but too apt to corrupt him in that reſpect [i]. He took great delight in the converſation of men of honour; and thoſe who were not reckoned as ſuch, were looked upon with a very ill eye at his court. He had naturally a greatneſs of mind, noble and generous thoughts, and was as much diſpleaſed with trifles, as his father was fond of them. He frequently ſaid, if he ever mounted the throne, his firſt care ſhould be to try to reconcile the puritans to the church of England. As this could not be done without conceſſions on each ſide, and as ſuch a condeſcenſion was directly contrary to the temper of the court and clergy, he was ſuſpected to countenance puritaniſm. He was naturally gentle and affable: but however, in his carriage had a noble ſtateline ſs without affectation, which commanded eſteem and reſpect. He ſhewed a warlike genius in his paſſionate fondneſs for all martial exerciſes. A French embaſſador coming to take his leave of him, found him toſſing the pike, and aſking him, "what ſervice he would command him to his maſter?" The prince bid him tell him, "what he was doing." In ſhort, to ſay all in a word, though he was eighteen years old when he died, no hiſtorian has taxed him with any vice. The king his father is ſaid to have been jealous of him, and to aſk one day, "If his ſon would bury him alive [k]?" I paſs over in ſilence many things ſaid upon this occaſion, particularly what ſome authors would inſinuate, that the king cauſed him to be poiſoned. In ſuch a caſe, the proofs ought to be as clear as the ſun; and I find in the moſt inveterate hiſtorians againſt king James, only bare ſuſpicions and naked conjectures, which probably were but fruits of the blackeſt malice. Others are contented with accuſing the viſcount Rocheſter of this crime, but without any manner of proof. Some ſlight preſumptions, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere, may have helped to breed this ſuſpicion, which indeed was ſpread immediately after the prince's death. Wherefore his head and body were ordered to be laid open in the preſence of many phyſicians and ſurgeons, who gave their opinion upon oath, that no marks of poiſon appeared [l]. But what reflected moſt upon the king, was his commanding that no perſon ſhould appear at court in mourning, whether he was willing to remove all melancholy objects from his ſight, that might conſtantly renew his concern, or did not think proper to interrupt the diverſions prepared for his daughter's marriage. Decency obliged him however to defer the nuptials a few weeks, as the prince's funeral could not be performed till the 7th of December.

Preſently after, the king held a chapter of the order of the garter at Windſor, wherein the elector Palatine and prince Maurice, Stadtholder of Holland, were made knights. They were inſtalled in February following, both on the ſame day, the one at Windſor, the other at the Hague [m].

[1613] The beginning of the year 1613 was wholly ſpent in preparations for the princeſs's wedding, which was ſolemnized the 14th of February, the elector having been inſtalled knight of the garter on the 7th. Nothing was ſpared to render the entertainments on theſe occaſions as magnificent as poſſible. To that end the king demanded aid money of his ſubjects, according to the antient cuſtom obſerved when the kings married their eldeſt daughter. Though it was now a hundred years ſince this cuſtom had been uſed, there having been no occaſion ſince the reign of Henry VII. yet few or none durſt refuſe to give what the king demanded. Great ſums were raiſed by this means, which were all expended in the marriage [n]. The elector and the princeſs ſtayed in England till April, during which time there was nothing but entertainments, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions. The city of London made the new married couple a ſplendid feaſt; after which the lord-mayor and aldermen preſented the bride with a chair of oriental pearl, worthy the greatneſs and riches of that metropolis [o].

By the departure of the elector and electoreſs [p], the court became a little more quiet as to public rejoicings, which had held ſeveral months without ceaſing. But at the ſame time, a private ſcene was acting, the plots whereof began to open this year, but were not quite unravelled till two years after, I mean, the annulling of the earl of Eſſex's marriage: his counteſs's ſecond marriage with the viſcount Rocheſter: and the violent death of Sir Thomas Overbury. As theſe three incidents did not happen all at once and by accident, but

[f] Ramſey ſwitched Philip Herbert the earl of Pembroke's brother, over the face at a horſe-race, which he not reſenting, the king made him a knight, a baron, a viſcount, and an earl, in one day. Mr. Edward Hawley of Grey's-Inn, coming to court one day, Maxwell led him out of the room by a black ſtring he wore in his ear, a faſhion then much in uſe. But this had like to have coſt warm blood; not only Grey's-Inn ſociety, but all the gentry in London, thought themſelves concerned in the affront; and Hawley threatened to kill Maxwell wherever he met him, if he refuſed to fight; which ſo frightened the king, that he ſent for the benchers, and made up the quarrel. One Murray, a Scot, killed a ſerjeant that came to arreſt him; which things, with Sanquir's piſtoling Turner, and other inſolencies, occaſioned the following verſes on the Scots:

They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
They ſwitch our nobles, and lie with our wives;
They pinch our gentry, and ſend for our benchers;
They ſtab our ſerjeants, and piſtol our fencers. Oſborn, p. 752.

[g] He was ſecond ſon to ſir Thomas Sherley of Suſſex, and had been abroad ſixteen years, five whereof he had ſpent in the ſervice of divers chriſtian princes, eſpecially the emperor Rodolphus, who made him a count of the empire. He afterwards travelled into Perſia, and ſerved that emperor ten years, who made him general of the artillery, and gave him in marriage the lady Tereſia, ſiſter to one of the queens of Perſia. He left his young ſon in England. Howes, p. 1002.

[h] He died (not on the 12th, as Rapin ſays), on the 6th of November, being eighteen years, eight months, and ſeventeen days old; and was buried at Weſtminſter the 7th of December following. Coke. Wilſon, p. 690. Howes, p. 1004. His funeral charges came to ſixteen thouſand and ſixteen pounds. State of the Revenue, p. 13.

[i] Being once hunting the ſtag, a butcher's dog chanced to kill the ſtag, and ſpoil the ſport, which the prince not reſenting, the huntſmen and company, to incenſe him againſt the butcher, told him, "If his father had been ſerved ſo, he would have ſworn ſo as no man could have endured it." Away (ſays the prince), all the pleaſure in the world is not worth an oath. This R. Coke the hiſtorian had from his father, who was about the prince's age. Coke, vol. I. p. 70.

[k] The king ſaid this upon the prince's court being more frequented than the king's. Coke, p. 71.

[l] They gave their opinions on November 7, under their hands, as follow: his liver wan and paler than ordinary. His gall without choler, and diſtended with wind. His ſpleen unnaturally black; his lungs ſpotted, with much corruption. The diaphragma blackiſh; add the head full of blood in ſome places, and in others of water. As if (ſays Wilſon) no poiſon could produce ſuch effects, p. 690. See Hiſtoric. Narrat. c. 15. Howes ſays, he died of a malignant fever, which reigned that year in moſt parts of the land, and carried away a great number of people of all ſorts and ages, p. 1004.

[m] They were both inſtalled on the 7th of February (or, according to Camden's Ann. on December 20, 1612). Lodowick count of Orange being prince Maurice's proxy. Prince Maurice, it ſeems, wore his garter conſtantly, till a groom of his chamber happened to ſtrangle a jeweller with one of his blue ribbons, in order to rob him. After which he would never wear it. Wilſon, p. 690.—This year was finiſhed Hick's Hall, in London. It was ſo named from ſir Baptiſt Hicks, a juſtice of peace for Middleſex, at whoſe charges it was built, on a piece of ground granted him by the king. Howes, p. 1003.—This year alſo, king James and the electors of Germany entered into a league and alliance. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 711—720.

[n] The aid of money came but to 20,500l. (State of the Revenue, p. 11.) and the elector's marriage, &c. coſt the king almoſt four times that ſum, as will be ſeen hereafter.

[o] It coſt above 2000l. Howes, p. 1007.

[p] They embarked at Margate, April 25, and landed at Fluſhing the 29th. The elector behaved, during his ſtay in England, ſo nobly and diſcreetly in all reſpects, that he gained the general applauſe and love of all men: And gave away to the full value of 120,000 French crowns. Howes, p. 1007.

were gradually brought in by diabolical practices, it will be neceſſary to relate ſome things already paſſed, and which were deferred, that the thread of the ſtory might not be interrupted.

Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, was, as I obſerved, a mortal enemy to the late earl of Eſſex, and one of the chief inſtruments of his ruin. This earl left a ſon, who being but nine years old, did not give Cecil much uneaſineſs, though the king at his coming to England, reſtored him to his eſtate and honours. Mean while, as this able miniſter could not be ignorant of the king's affection for the father, he was apprehenſive, that one time or other he ſhould be made to pay for all his artifices to ruin that lord. It was chiefly upon this account, that in order to preſerve the king's favour, he judged it proper to unite cloſely with the Howard family by his ſon's marriage with the earl of Suffolk's eldeſt daughter [q]. After which, perceiving the earl of Eſſex to grow up, and fearing he might one day prove a thorn in his ſide, he believed it for his intereſt to be reconciled to him, and to confirm the reconciliation with the marriage of this young lord to the earl of Suffolk's ſecond daughter, younger ſiſter of his daughter-in-law. Beſides his own advantage by the alliance, he gave the king the pleaſure to ſee in ſtrict union three families, for whom he had the greateſt affection, namely, thoſe of Howard, Devreux and Cecil. This marriage was accompliſhed in 1606, the earl of Eſſex being then in his fifteenth, and Frances Howard his bride in her thirteenth year. As the married couple were yet very young, their relations thought fit the earl ſhould travel into France and Germany, till they were both a little more advanced in years. During his abſence, his counteſs became a perfect beauty, and eclipſed all the court ladies.

The earl of Eſſex returned into England in the year 1610. He found his counteſs in the prime of her age and beauty; but withal, extremely proud of her own merit, by reaſon of the praiſes beſtowed on her by all. He was himſelf charmed with her, but met not with that return he expected. She daily coined freſh excuſes to delay the conſummation of the marriage, and ſhewed as much reluctance as he did eagerneſs. He bore it patiently for ſome time, being unwilling to uſe compulſion, for fear of giving his bride an averſion to him. Shortly after, he fell ſo dangerouſly ill of the ſmall-pox [r], that his life was deſpaired of; but the ſtrength of his conſtitution overcame his diſtemper, though it was long before he was quite recovered.

In this interval it was that Robert Carr became the king's favourite. When he gained his maſter's heart, he made a conqueſt almoſt at the ſame time of the counteſs of Eſſex's, who ſuffered herſelf to be taken with the charms of this young Scot, and entirely gave herſelf over to this new paſſion, without daring however to reveal it to the perſon that cauſed it. Mean while, the earl of Eſſex finding himſelf perfectly recovered, preſſed his ſpouſe to conſent to the conſummation of their marriage; but he found her reluctance the greater, as ſhe was enamoured of another. In ſhort, after trying all ſorts of ways to prevail with her, without being able to ſucceed, he had recourſe to the earl of Suffolk his father-in-law, and entreated him to uſe his endeavours to vanquiſh his daughter's obſtinacy. The earl of Suffolk, ſurpriſed at what his ſon-in-law told him, ſharply reprimanded his daughter, and poſitively told her, ſhe muſt reſolve to conſummate the marriage. Then the counteſs, not daring to diſobey her father directly, deſired only a little longer delay. She believed in caſe ſhe could avoid conſummating her marriage with the earl of Eſſex, it would not be impracticable to procure a divorce, and then marry the viſcount Rocheſter. Indeed, the viſcount knew nothing yet of her paſſion; but ſhe had too good an opinion of her charms not to hope an eaſy conqueſt, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould have occaſion to diſcover it. On the other hand, the great credit of Rocheſter and the earls of Suffolk and Northampton did not ſuffer her to queſtion, that if the favourite undertook to marry her, he would eaſily accompliſh it. But ſhe wanted ſome time to lay her meaſures, wherein however ſhe met with great oppoſition both from her huſband and father.

In this extremity, knowing how to proceed, ſhe opened her mind to one Mrs. Turner a phyſician's widow, a woman of a diſſolute life, and capable of the baſeſt actions. As this woman had no good advice to give her, ſhe perſuades her to apply to one Dr. Foreman, who paſſed for a conjurer, He had perhaps ſome ſecrets of nature, but was not ſorry to be thought ſkilled in the magic-art, becauſe many women came to conſult him and paid him well for it [s]. To this man the counteſs of Eſſex told her ſecret, and deſired two things of him: Firſt, to manage it ſo that the earl of Eſſex ſhould be incapable to conſummate his marriage. Secondly, to make the viſcount Rocheſter in love with her. Foreman very confidently promiſed both, and gave her certain powders for her huſband to take, and to be put amongſt his linen, with inſtructions how ſhe ſhould behave to him. As for Rocheſter, he himſelf undertook to perform upon him the neceſſary operations.

Mean while, the counteſs could no longer diſobey her father's command, ſo was forced at laſt to cohabit with her huſband. But though they lay together, the marriage was not conſummated, whether it was owing to Foreman's powders, or to ſome other more effectual means uſed by the counteſs to fruſtrate her huſband's efforts. However, the earl of Eſſex imagined, that his living in London and at court might contribute to his misfortune, and therefore reſolved to carry his lady to Chartly in Staffordſhire, a country ſeat about a hundred miles from London. The counteſs could not be excuſed from going with her lord: but all the while ſhe was there ſhut herſelf up in a room, and would not ſo much as ſuffer the light of the ſun to enter, giving herſelf over to an exceſſive melancholy, whether out of vexation or policy, the better to deny her huſband. After this manner ſhe lived ſome time with her huſband in the country, who did not underſtand the meaning of this ſtrange behaviour. In the mean while, ſhe wrote ſeveral letters to Mrs. Turner and Foreman, telling them, "She was afraid Foreman's powders were not ſtrong enough: her huſband was as luſty as ever: it would be very difficult for her to hold out for ever, and if ſhe ſhould chance to yield, ſhe ſhould become the moſt unfortunate woman in the world: ſhe entreated them to free her from her miſery, and they ſhould have what money they deſired." Theſe letters were found in Foreman's ſtudy, and read in open court, upon an occaſion which I ſhall mention preſently [t].

At laſt, the earl of Eſſex ſeeing himſelf in ſo uneaſy a ſituation, reſolved to carry his lady back to London, and give her full leave to live as ſhe pleaſed. He began to perceive there was ſomething extraordinary in her carriage, which he choſe rather to be ignorant of than endeavour to diſcover.

The counteſs being returned to court, and miſtreſs of herſelf, no longer delayed to let Rocheſter know what ſhe endured for his ſake. There was no occaſion to uſe magic to produce the deſired effect. He was young, and ſhe the fineſt lady in the kingdom. So any advances from the counteſs, were more than ſufficient to kindle a flame in the favourite's breaſt. As ſoon as they began to underſtand one another, aſſignations became frequent. They were at firſt very private: but in time, the two lovers uſed ſo little caution, that not a courtier was ſtranger to their amours. The king very probably was informed of it, ſince nothing delighted him more than to hear of the love-intrigues of his courtiers. The earl of Eſſex, who had alſo notice of it, choſe to ſhut his eyes, and ſcorn an object ſo unworthy of his love.

The counteſs of Eſſex having ſucceeded in her intended conqueſt, and finding herſelf ſure of her lover's heart, would not allow his paſſion time to cool. Every thing ſeemed to favour the execution of her deſigns, that is, her divorce from the earl of Eſſex, and marriage with the viſcount Rocheſter. Eſſex ſaw her no more, and ſeemed to concern himſelf very little about her, and Rocheſter was ſo beloved by the king, that in all appearance, nothing would be impracticable. So ſhe let her lover know her deſires, and without much difficulty brought him to ſecond her projects. But as he was wont to impart his moſt ſerious affairs to Overbury, he believed he ought not to conceal this from him, and the more, as he expected from him ſome good advice to accompliſh it. But ſo far was Overbury from approving ſuch a project, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from it. He repreſented to him the injuſtice and indignity of the thing, his danger of being ruined by ſuch an action; and laſtly, the little value he ought to have for a woman, who, though married, ſcrupled not to throw herſelf into the arms of another man: That ſhe had already loſt her reputation in the world, and when ſhe ſhould be his wife, all the diſhonour would reflect upon him [u]. Rocheſter, who did not expect ſo great

[q] William Cecil viſcount Cranburne, married Catherine Howard, the earl of Suffolk's third and youngeſt daughter, on December 1, 1608. Camden's Ann.

[r] Wilſon ſays, it was a moſt violent diſeaſe of a poiſonous nature, imputed to, but far tranſcending, the ſmall-pox, p. 686.

[s] To ſhew the counteſs what effects his art would produce, Mrs. Turner, being in love with Sir Arthur Manwaring, gave him ſome of the powder, which wrought ſo violently with him, that, through a ſtorm of rain and thunder, he rode fifteen miles one dark night to her houſe. Wilſon, p. 687.

[t] There was alſo a note produced in court made by Foreman, and written on parchment, ſignifying what ladies loved what lords in the court; but the lord chief juſtice would not ſuffer it to be read. Truth brought to Light, p. 138.

[u] It ſeems he ſpoke very freely of the counteſs, calling her whore, and baſe woman, and her mother and brother bawds. See Hiſtoric. Narrat. c. 21. Weldon, p. 67.

Some

London: Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin

G. Kneller Pinx.

Goldar Sculp.

The R.t Hon.ble the Countess of Essex

Pub.d as the Act directs. March.3. 1787.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

oppoſition from his friend, could not forbear ſhewing ſome reſentment. He had the addreſs however to contain himſelf ſo far, as not to give him room to think he would proceed notwithſtanding his advice, and continued as uſual, to communicate to him his other affairs. The counteſs was in a violent paſſion when ſhe heard Overbury's advice, and from that moment ceaſed not to excite her lover to revenge. She was the more incenſed againſt Overbury, as ſhe feared, that being acquainted with the deſign, he would labour to render it abortive. In ſhort, Rocheſter was ſo complaiſant and blind, as to promiſe her to ſacrifice his friend. He might have eaſily diſmiſſed him; but it would have been too dangerous not to ruin him entirely, after truſting him with the ſecret. It is pretended, that to ſtrike the more ſurely, he conſulted the earl of Northampton, uncle to the counteſs of Eſſex, and by his advice uſed this artifice to ruin him. He extolled to the king Overbury's abilities; but intimated withal, that he took too much upon him, and was grown intolerably inſolent; and therefore he ſhould be very glad to have him removed, by ſome honourable employment, praying his majeſty to ſend him embaſſador to Ruſſia [w]. The king liking the propoſal, inſtantly appoints Overbury for the embaſſy. Rocheſter, having proceeded thus far, acquaints Overbury with the king's intention, and pretending he could not live without him, entreats him to refuſe the employment, promiſing to procure him a better at court. He added, that indeed he believed it would not be in his power to hinder the king from being angry at firſt, who probably would reſent his refuſal, but he did not queſtion to appeaſe him in a few days. Overbury fell into the ſnare, and when the king ſent for him to acquaint him with the employment deſigned for him, he moſt humbly beſought his majeſty to make choice of ſome other perſon. As ſoon as he retired, Rocheſter aggravated his pride and inſolence, in daring thus to refuſe his maſter's gracious offer, adding, it was requiſite to chaſtiſe him: That he was himſelf affected by it, for he ſhould be infallibly blamed for uſing his intereſt for him. In ſhort, by Rocheſter's inſtances, the king commanded Overbury to be ſent to the Tower [x]. Some days before, the favourite had cauſed ſir Gervaſe Elweys, his creature, to be made lieutenant of the Tower [y]. Overbury was cloſely confined in a in a room, and not ſuffered to keep one of his ſervants, or receive any viſits from his relations and friends, a rigour not uſed even towards the greateſt offenders. He was now where the viſcount Rocheſter and the counteſs of Eſſex wiſhed him, in order to diſpatch him the more eaſily. However, there were ſtill ſome difficulties. It could not be done by ſtabbing, becauſe the lieutenant of the Tower, who is to anſwer for the priſoners, would not have ſuffered it; and beſides, a murder openly committed in one of the king's priſons, would have made too much noiſe in the world. It was reſolved therefore to make uſe of poiſon. To that end Mrs. Turner provided a truſty perſon, one Weſton [z], who had been a ſervant to her huſband, and ſir Thomas Monſon recommended this man to the lieutenant of the Tower, to wait on the priſoner as footman. But even this was not ſufficient. Whatever was brought to Overbury to eat, being dreſſed in the lieutenant's kitchen, it was almoſt neceſſary to engage him in the plot. Some ſay, the earl of Northampton ſpoke to him of it, hinting that every thing was done with the king's privity. Others affirm, the lieutenant refuſing to be concerned in the crime, and not daring however to diſcover it, by reaſon of the quality of the parties, took care to ſeize the victuals ſent from time to time by the viſcount Rocheſter to the priſoner, and threw them into the houſe of office [a]; and this is moſt likely, ſince otherwiſe, Overbury would have been ſoon diſpatched. He could not however hinder Weſton from giving him a certain jelly ſent by ſir Thomas Monſon, which almoſt killed him. Whereupon the lieutenant of the Tower was ſtill more careful, that Overbury ſhould be ſeen but by Weſton alone. This was a check upon Weſton, becauſe he perceived none could be accuſed but himſelf; wherefore he durſt not make ſuch haſte as Overbury's enemies deſired. There aroſe however, an inconvenience from this delay, which was, that every one was ſurpriſed to ſee the king uſe ſo great rigour upon a friend of the viſcount Rocheſter for ſo ſlight an offence, if the refuſing to go in embaſſy to Ruſſia could be deemed any crime at all. It could not be conceived, and it was vainly endeavoured to diſcover, the cauſe of the extreme ſeverity with which Overbury was treated.

Whilſt the unfortunate priſoner languiſhed in his confinement, the viſcount Rocheſter and the counteſs of Eſſex were thinking of executing their project, that is, of annulling the counteſs of Eſſex's marriage, that ſhe might afterwards eſpouſe the viſcount. To effect this, without Rocheſter's appearing to be concerned, the earl of Northampton, who was in the two lovers ſecrets, undertook to ſpeak to the king. Some ſay the viſcount Rocheſter had already acquainted the king with the counteſs's deſign to be divorced, and prayed his majeſty to procure him the lady when the marriage ſhould be diſſolved; but I do not know if this be well atteſted. However, the earl of Northampton preſented to the king the counteſs of Eſſex's petition [b], that the earl her huſband being incapable of conſummating their marriage, ſhe beſought his majeſty to let her complaint be examined, and if found well grounded, to have liberty to marry another. Upon this petition, the king commiſſioned the archbiſhop, ſeveral other biſhops, and ſome laymen, to hear and determine the affair. This court proceeded very gravely to the trial of the cauſe, and entered into ſuch particular and ſecret examinations, as did not very well become clergymen. The earl of Eſſex being examined, briefly anſwered, he had never conſummated his marriage, neither did he think he ſhould ever be able to conſummate it: but did not feel the ſame inability with regard to other women. Though this confeſſion greatly favoured the counteſs's cauſe, the court deemed it proper to be certain of the truth by another method, and ordered the counteſs to be inſpected by a jury of matrons, aſſiſted by ſome midwives. The inſpection being made, the matrons declared ſhe was a virgin. But it is pretended the counteſs, under colour of ſaving her modeſty, was permitted to appear in a veil before the matrons, and that Mrs. Fines, a young gentlewoman of her age and ſtature, was introduced in her place [c]. I omit numberleſs circumſtances of this trial, which are to be found in ſeveral authors, and which it is indecent to relate. It ſuffices to ſay in a word, that by the ſentence, the marriage was diſſolved, contrary to the opinion of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who even publiſhed his reaſons againſt it. But the king himſelf took the pains to anſwer the archbiſhop's arguments, and to maintain the juſtice of the ſentence, upbraiding the prelate with founding his opinion on puritan principles. Dr. Bilſon, biſhop of Wincheſter, one of the judges, having ſpoken very ſtrenuouſly to prove the nullity of the marriage, his ſon was ſoon after knighted. But the public was ſo malicious as to call him Sir Nullity Bilſon. This affair made a great noiſe, and brought little honour to the judges, moſt of whom could not be ignorant of the counteſs of Eſſex's ill character [d].

If after her divorce, the counteſs had married any other than the viſcount Rocheſter, her conduct might have been eaſily juſtified. This was not the firſt marriage annulled upon the like account. But the ſentence was hardly publiſhed, when the viſcount openly made his addreſſes to the lady, and their marriage was quickly concluded. The king not only gave his favourite leave to marry the counteſs, but alſo made him earl of Somerſet on the 4th of November, that the ſecond huſband might be of equal rank with the firſt. The nuptials were ſolemnized a month after, with ſuch extraordinary rejoicings, that had the king's own ſon been married there could not have been greater. The city of London ſignalized itſelf on the occaſion, by a ſplendid entertainment, which the lord-mayor and aldermen gave the new-married

[w] Some ſay, into France, others Flanders. Rapin.

[x] Under pretence that he had vented ſome ſtinking ſarcaſms againſt the court. Coke, p. 75.

[y] Weldon gives him this character, That he was ever held honeſt, and ſo wiſe, that he obtained the firname of wiſe ſir Gervaſe Elweys; he was alſo ſo religious, that few in the court did equal him: He was therefore very unfortunate, in having that place thruſt upon him, without his thought; for (according to him) he was at firſt ignorant of the plot, and endeavoured to prevent it. But others ſay, he bought the place, and that Wade was turned out to make room for him. Hiſtoric. Narrat. c. 20.

[z] He was promiſed 200l. for this piece of ſervice. Coke, p. 75.

[a] Wilſon ſays, ſeveral ſorts of poiſons were tempered with his broths, and every bit of meat he eat; that he might waſte by degrees; and his very ſalt was mixed with white mercury, p. 693. See Hiſtoric. Narrat. c. 48.

[b] Dr. Franklin, author of the Annals of James I. ſays, the earl of Suffolk preſented the petition. Here he begins his account, without any mention of what went before. Rapin.

[c] Sir Anthony Weldon declares upon the reputation of a gentleman, that he had this verbatim from a knight, who did uſher the lady into the place or inſpection, and told it often to his friends in mirth. The Court of King James, p. 81.—The author of the Hiſtoric. Narrat. of the firſt fourteen years of king James, ſays, it was one of ſir Thomas Monſon's daughters that was ſearched in the counteſs's room, c. 17.

[d] Of the judges delegates, Thomas Bilſon, biſhop of Wincheſter; Lancelot Andrews, biſhop of Ely; Richard Neile, biſhop of Coventry and Lichfield; and John Buckeridge, biſhop of Rocheſter; with Julius Cæſar, Thomas Parry, Daniel Dun, knights, ſigned the decree. Abbot archbiſhop of Canterbury, and John King biſhop of London, were againſt it. The earl of Southampton, in a letter of Auguſt 6, 1613, to ſir Ralph Winwood, hath theſe words: "Of the nullity, I ſee you have heard as much as I can write, by which you may diſcern the power of a king with judges; for of thoſe which are now for it, I knew ſome of them when I was in England were vehemently againſt it, as the biſhops of Ely and Coventry." Collection of Papers in the reign of James I. vol. III. p. 475.—The earl of Eſſex was forced to repay his counteſs's portion (which was 5000l. Hiſtoric. Narr. c. 27.), to do which he was obliged to ſell his ſeat of Benington in Hertfordſhire. Wilſon, p. 693.

One

couple, and to which the king, queen, and the whole court, were invited. For ſome time nothing was talked of but banquets, balls, maſquerades, and other diverſions, in honour of the new earl of Somerſet's nuptials.

Theſe things gave occaſion to the diſaffected to talk freely of the king. They reported, that in Scotland the earl of Arran, formerly the king's favourite, married the earl of Athol's daughter, having procured, by the like means, and on the ſame account, a diſſolution of that lady's marriage with the earl of March. It was thereby inſinuated, that the king had taught his favourite the way to attain his miſtreſs. But theſe inſinuations reached not the king's ear, thoſe about him not being ſo ill courtiers as to carry him ſuch reports.

Whilſt the counteſs of Eſſex's marriage was annulling, the unfortunate Overbury was cloſely confined, without having the comfort of ſeeing any of his friends [e], as if he had been guilty of the moſt heinous of crimes. He had been extremely ſick with the poiſon that was given him, without knowing the cauſe of his illneſs. But when he heard what was tranſacting, he no longer doubted concerning the author of his miſery. In this lamentable ſtate, he ſaw no other remedy but to write to the favourite, entreating him to deliver him out of his wretched condition [f]. Rocheſter anſwered, that the king being ſtill highly incenſed, he had not yet been able to ſpeak in his behalf, but hoped to do it within a few days. Nay, it is ſaid, he ſent a certain powder in the letter, as a ſure remedy to cure his diſtemper. But Overbury was ſo wiſe as not to take it [g]. In ſhort, the two lovers being impatient to ſee a man live ſo long, who might one day be their ruin, cauſed an impoiſoned clyſter to be adminiſtered by one Franklin an apothecary's apprentice, which ended his miſeries with his life. Some ſay, that Weſton and Franklin ſeeing the extraordinary effects of the clyſter, and fearing if they ſuffered the poiſon to operate any longer, it would leave marks on the body, which would riſe in judgment againſt them, ſmothered him with the bed clothes. When he was dead, he was ſpeedily buried without any ceremony, and a report ſpread, that dying of the pox, he was ſo rotten he could not be kept any longer. This was the earl of Northampton's account in his letter to the favourite, to acquaint him with Overbury's death, admiring withal, the juſtice of God upon ſuch wicked inſtruments [h].

The earl of Somerſet thought it a great advantage to have diſpatched Overbury. But on the other hand, he found himſelf much more embarraſſed in the management of affairs, ſince he was no longer aſſiſted by that faithful counſellor. As his ſmall experience rendered every thing difficult, he was forced to chuſe another friend, and it was the earl of Northampton that ſupplied Overbury's place. But there was a great difference between theſe two counſellors. Overbury's ſole view was to procure his friend honour and glory, and the earl of Northampton's chief aim was to make uſe of his credit to countenance the catholics. Ever ſince his being in favour, he had always protected them to the utmoſt of his power, as was obvious to all the world. But when he came to rule the favourite, he acted without any reſerve. As he was warden of the Cinque-ports, the jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts could ſafely land there without being examined at their arrival. By this means their number ſo encreaſed in a very ſhort ſpace, that the people loudly murmured as it, and caſt the blame on the earl of Northampton. Wherefore, to ſilence thoſe who talked too freely, he took out a writ of Scandalum Magnatum againſt ſome of them. He believed, it was not poſſible to convict him of a thing founded only upon common report, and that, ſuch evidence not being valid in law, he ſhould ſilence his enemies by the puniſhment of ſome of the moſt forward to ſpeak againſt him. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury broke his meaſures, by producing a letter under the earl's own hand to cardinal Bellarmine, wherein he ſaid, "That however the ſituation of the affairs of England, and the inſtances of the king compelled him to be a proteſtant in ſhew, nevertheleſs his heart ſtood firm with the catholics, and he would be ever ready to countenance them to the utmoſt of his power." Upon this letter the parties accuſed was diſcharged. Nay the king ſo repremanded the earl, that he retired to his country-houſe, where he died ſoon after [i]. He declared in his laſt will and teſtament, that he had always been a catholic, and would die in that religion. [1614] Thus ſeveral hiſtorians ſpeak of him. But the anonymous author of the Annals of James I. and Charles I. who endeavours to vindicate theſe princes, their miniſters, and government, in every thing without exception, forgets not to juſtify alſo the earl of Northampton. He ſays, among other things, that the charge of being concerned in Overbury's murder was only a rumour ſpread after his death, as if that were a certain proof of his innocence. As to the earl's religion, the ſame author ſays, He died ſuſpected more catholic than ſome will think reaſonable, though in the form of a church-papiſt [k]."

The court was not ſo well affected to the puritans as to the papiſts. The puritans were conſidered as enemies to the king and to monarchy, but the papiſts was hearty wiſhers that the king might meet with no oppoſition to his will. This was ſufficient to induce the court to countenance the latter, and cauſe the former to endure continual mortifications. In the ſpring this year, ſome preſbyterian families reſolved to go and ſettle in New England, to enjoy there that peace which they could not find at home. The author I juſt mentioned concerning the earl of Northampton, ſays, theſe people were notorious ſchiſmatics of ſeveral ſects, known by the general name of Puritans, which term included good and bad in their diſtinct kinds, truly and ingeniouſly diſtinguiſhed into the Puritan-knave, and the Knave-puritan. As it was not impoſſible, by the encreaſe of preſbyterian families, the Engliſh plantations might become nurſeries for non-conformiſts, the court gave orders not to let them depart. But afterwards, ſuch as deſired to remove beyond ſea, being examined, ſome were allowed to purſue their voyage, and others were detained as ſureties for thoſe that went away.

It was now four years ſince the king had called a parliament. It was a great comfort to him to have no diſputes with a houſe of commons, ever ready to complain of grievances, and take occaſion to examine the conduct of the ſovereign or his miniſters. He was much better pleaſed to command abſolutely and without controul. But this was attended with great inconvenience: he was forced continually to invent new methods to raiſe money; and theſe methods, grounded upon abſolute authority, cauſed loud murmurs among the people. Neither did theſe methods bring in ſufficient ſums for the king's occaſions, who loved magnificence, and was always ready to give. Hence ſprung his wants, which inceſſantly encreaſed, his revenues as well ordinary as extraordinary not ſufficing for his expences; he ſeemed however to have an inexhauſtible fund, ſo profuſe was he, without conſidering how he ſhould recover what was unneceſſarily given. The following inſtance of his bounty may ſerve to ſhew his character. Being one day in the gallery at Whitehall, and none with him but ſir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, and James Maxwel, one of his bed-chamber, ſome porters paſſed by with three thouſand pounds, going to the privy-purſe; Rich ſeeing the money, turned to Maxwel, and whiſpered him: the king perceiving it, aſked what he ſaid? Maxwel told him, Rich ſhould think himſelf very happy if he had ſuch a ſum. Whereupon the king calling to the porters, ordered them to carry the money to Rich's lodgings, ſaying at the ſame time, "You think now you have a great purchaſe; but I am more delighted in giving you the money, than you can be in receiving it."

If the king had been thus laviſh out of his abundance, or out of his ſavings, his generoſity muſt have been laudable. But unhappily, in order to be thus profuſe to a few private perſons, he gained the ill-will of all the reſt of the nation, and was forced to uſe, in order to raiſe money, ſeveral extra-

[e] One friend accidentally found means to give him a viſit, for which the lieutenant was ſeverely rebuked, and ordered not to let any body come near him. Wilſon, p. 693.

[f] In one of his letters he tells the earl of Somerſet, "You and I will come to public trial before all the friends I have. They ſhall know what words have paſſed betwixt us heretofore.—I have all this vacation wrote the ſtory betwixt you and me, from the firſt hour to this day, &c." Theſe threats, probably, haſtened Overbury's death; and hurried the earl on to diſpatch him quickly out of the way, for fear he ſhould tell tales. See Winwood's Mem. tom. III. p. 478.

[g] Wilſon ſays, he took the powder, which having a poiſonous quality, added to his affliction. p. 692.

[h] King James's friends have given Overbury a very bad character, probably, to leſſen the horror of the viſcount Rocheſter's crime. Rapin.—This year the city of London ſent colonies into the province of Ulſter in Ireland, which were planted chiefly about Londonderry and Colerain. Howes, p. 1004.—October 25, Sir Edward Coke was made lord chief juſtice; and the 26th, Sir Francis Bacon was made attorney general, and Henry Yelverton, eſq; ſollicitor general. Howes, p. 1005.

[i] He died on June 15, at the houſe he had built at Charing-croſs, called in his life-time, Northampton-houſe, but leaving it to the earl of Suffolk, it was for a time called Suffolk-houſe, and now Northumberland-houſe. He was warden of the Cinque Ports, and conſtable of Dover-caſtle, lord privy ſeal, and chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge. His body was carried to be buried at Dover. But it was vulgarly rumoured (ſays Wilſon) that his body was carried there, in order to be tranſported to Rome, p. 694.—Weldon gives him this character: Though a great clerk, yet he was not a wiſe man, but the groſſeſt flatterer in the world, who raiſed himſelf by his flattery.—He was of ſo venomous and cankered a diſpoſition, that he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but flatterers like himſelf: He uſed to ſay, that he would be content to be damned perpetually in hell, to be revenged of that proud Welſhman, ſir Robert Manſell, p. 15, 22.

[k] Thomas Howard earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, was made lord treaſurer in the earl of Northampton's room, on July 10, and at the ſame time, Carr earl of Somerſet, was made lord chamberlain. Camden's Ann.

The

London. Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England.

CHARLES I.st

King of England, Scotland,
France & Ireland, &c.

Van Dike pinx.

T. Woodman & H. Mudlow, Fecit

DIEU ET MON DROIT

Published as the Act directs Apl. 27. 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

ordinary methods, which were looked upon as ſo many grievances, and loudly complained of. Moreover, he was obliged either not to call a parliament, or to quarrel with the houſe of commons. James was however the Solomon of the age, the wiſeſt, moſt prudent, and moſt juſt of kings. Theſe at leaſt are the epithets generally given him, and which are even to be found in ſeveral hiſtories penned ſince the reſtoration of Charles II.

The king's exceſſive liberality reducing him continually to ſtraits, he had at laſt recourſe to a project formed by the late earl of Saliſbury, namely, to create knights-baronets, a ſort of middle nobility between barons and knights-bachelors. Their number was not to exceed two hundred: but the king, at the firſt promotion, made only an hundred [m]. To purchaſe this honour, which was to be hereditary, every baronet was obliged to pay to the king a thouſand pounds. But in order to give ſome colour to this new inſtitution, every baronet was obliged by his patent to maintain thirty foot ſoldiers in Ireland for three years, at eight pence a day each ſoldier [n]. Afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the king, and pay the whole ſum at once, part ſhould be abated, and the king would maintain his troops in Ireland himſelf; and there was not one but what accepted the offer. The author of the Annals above mentioned, affirms that the king received only about an hundred thouſand pounds of the baronets, and that the maintenance of the troops in Ireland coſt him much more. So, according to him, this new order was inſtituted merely to eaſe the ſubjects.

Beſides this method, the king made uſe of others to fill his empty coffers, without being obliged to have recourſe to the parliament. I ſhall only mention them, without pretending to determine whether the king exceeded his prerogative or not: 1. The king, by his letters patents, granted monopolies to private perſons, excluſive of all others, and raiſed great ſums by theſe ſorts of favours. 2. He iſſued out commiſſions for reviving obſolete laws, for making men who could expend forty pounds a year, to compound for not being knighted. Formerly, an eſtate of forty pounds a year in land was conſiderable; and therefore the owners of ſuch an eſtate were deemed proper to be made knights, and as ſuch to ſerve the king in his wars, or find ſoldiers; but in king James I.'s time, ſuch a revenue was inconſiderable; there were infinite numbers who had more, but not deſiring to be knights, choſe rather to give the king money than be obliged to receive an honour which rendered them very dependent. 3. The king made a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia [o], each of which paid him ſuch a ſum. 4. The dignities of baron, viſcount, and earl, had a fixed price ſet upon them: the king received for making a baron ten thouſand pounds, for a viſcount fifteen thouſand, and twenty thouſand for an earl. Thus whoever had money might be made a peer of the realm. 5. The ſame honours were rated likewiſe in Scotland and Ireland, though at lower prices [p]. 6. Thoſe who had defective titles were obliged to compound with the king for rectifying them, otherwiſe they were declared null and void [q]. 7. The ſtar-chamber condemned in exceſſive fines, to the king's uſe, ſuch as were cited thither: I have already related ſome inſtances, and ſhall have occaſion to take notice of ſome others hereafter. 8. To all this may be added the ſums levied by the king upon his ſubjects, when the prince his ſon was knighted, and his daughter married.

He would have had alſo a good means of raiſing money, if he had demanded of the United Provinces the ſums that were due to him. But, if we believe certain hiſtorians, he durſt not claim his debt, for fear of engaging in a war in caſe of refuſal. A more probable reaſon might be given, by ſaying the places he held in Holland and Zealand kept the States in a ſort of ſubjection, if he had not ſhewn two years after that this was not the true ſeaſon, by receiving his money when offered him by the States.

In fine, the king's revenue not anſwering his expences, recourſe was to be had to a parliament. The earl of Somerſet, having with him neither Overbury nor the earl of Northampton, was at a loſs how to find the king money, and the lord treaſurer his father-in-law was no leſs embarraſſed. All extraordinary means ſeeming to be exhauſted, they propoſed to the king the calling of a parliament. To induce him to it, they put him in hopes that by their intereſt and management, the majority of the commons ſhould be at his devotion. The king was very loth to conſent; but at length was perſuaded, and a parliament was ſummoned to meet the 1ſt of April [r].

This parliament conſiſted not of ſuch members as the king was made to expect. The people, who were diſcontented, inſtead of being gained by the court, choſe repreſentatives of a quite different character from what the miniſters deſired. The very firſt day, the king demanded an aid of money for the marriage of his daughter, and told the commons, after diſpatching that affair, he would give them leave to examine the grievances of the nation. But the commons thought proper to invert the method preſcribed them, and begin with the grievances. Inſtead therefore of granting the money firſt, as the king expected, they examined to what uſes the revenues of the crown had been applied. The reſult was, that the king had beſtowed on the Scots exceſſive grants, both in land and money, and that the Scots having ſold theſe lands to the Engliſh, had conveyed the money into Scotland, to the great detriment of England. If what the king had given to the Engliſh had been as carefully examined, it would have been found ten times more, by the confeſſion of the hiſtorians themſelves [s]; but herein was not ſeen the ſame inconvenience.

Then the houſe enquired into the cauſes of the encreaſe of popiſh recuſants; ſince it ſhould rather ſeem that the laws enacted after the gun-powder plot, ſhould have very much leſſened their number. The firſt cauſe appeared to be the king's admitting into his council popiſh lords, publicly known for ſuch. A ſecond was, the negotiations abroad for the marriage of the late prince Henry and prince Charles, with popiſh princeſſes.

After that, the commons took into conſideration the monopolies authoriſed and licenſed by the king's letters patents, to the great prejudice of trade; and the extraordinary levies of money, without the conſent of the parliament. Upon all theſe grievances it was reſolved to repreſent them in a petition to his majeſty, and to pray him to redreſs them, and eſpecially to hinder the future ſettlement of the Scots in England.

The behaviour of the commons was ſo different from that of the courtiers, who never ſpoke of the king but with admiration, that his majeſty had not patience to bear it: ſo, on the 7th of June he diſſolved the parliament, after a ſeſſion of about two months, wherein one ſtatute was not enacted. The parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, but the king committed to priſon ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, who had ſpoken the moſt freely, without admitting them to bail [t].

The parliament not anſwering the king's expectation, and his exchequer being empty, there was a neceſſity of recurring to new expedients to fill it. But before we ſpeak of theſe expedients, it will not be amiſs to ſhew one of the chief cauſes of the king's being reduced to ſtraits: I mean the electreſs his daughter's marriage, which had coſt him very near an hundred thouſand pounds, according to the following account, inſerted in his book by the anonymous author of the Annals above mentioned.

[m] The firſt baronets were created on May the 22d, 1611, by patent. See Britiſh Compend. part. II. p. 352. They were to have theſe privileges to them and their heirs for ever: place before all Knights, Bachelors, and of Bath, and all Bannerets; to be impleaded by the addition of Baronet, and the title Sir, and their wives Lady. The king ſhall not create any degree under the dignity of a baron, that ſhall be ſuperior or equal to them, no more to be made, but the full number of two hundred, until ſome died; but the younger ſons of viſcounts and barons (by decree of the king and council upon controverſy) were adjudged to take place before them; and that their heirs male at one-and-twenty ſhall be knighted; and ſhall have either a canton in their coat of arms, or an eſcutcheon, at their election, the arms of Ulſter, argent, a hand gules; their place in the king's armies to be in the groſs, near the king's ſtandard, for defence thereof. Annals of K. James, p. 8. There were made at firſt but ninety; of whom Sir Nicolas Bacon, of Redgrave in Suffolk, was the firſt.

[n] Which comes to juſt one thouſand and ninety-five pounds, and not two thouſand, as Rapin ſays by miſtake. And it has been cuſtomary for thoſe who have ſince been admitted into this order without money, to have a receipt endorſed on their patent for the ſaid ſum of 1095l. to be appropriated to the ſame uſes; and for want of ſuch endorſement, ſeveral baronets were compelled in king Charles II.'s time to pay 1095l.

[o] This order of baronets was firſt erected for advancing the plantation of Nova Scotia in America, and for ſettling a colony there, to which the aid of theſe knights was appropriated. It was intended in 1621, but not actually founded till 1625. Scottiſh Comp. p. 502.

[p] Scottiſh honours of the ſame title, to have the precedence of an Iriſh, as a Scottiſh baron, viſcount, or earl, to have the precedence of an Iriſh; and though an Engliſh honour of like degree, had the precedence of either of the other, yet if either of the other had a higher title, he ſhould precede an Engliſh peer under a leſs; as a Scottiſh or Iriſh viſcount, ſhall precede an Engliſh baron. Coke, vol. I. p. 66.

[q] And likewiſe compoſitions for aſſart lands, i. e. for grubbing up the thickets and coverts for the deer in foreſts. Ibid. p. 67.

[r] It did not meet till April 5. Jour. Proceed.

[s] Of this ſir Anthony Weldon gives a notable inſtance. He ſays, Saliſbury would make the Scots buy books of fee-farms, ſome 100l. per annum, ſome one hundred marks, and would compound with them for a thouſand pounds, which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſs without any controul or charge; then would Saliſbury fill up his book with ſuch prime land as ſhould be worth ten or twenty thouſand pounds, which, as treaſurer, he might eaſily do, and ſo enrich himſelf infinitely, and caſt the envy on the Scots, in whoſe names theſe books appeared, and are ſtill upon record to all poſterity, p. 60.

[t] Theſe were Chutts,—Nevil lord Abergavenny's ſon, Wentworth, Jo. Hoſkins. Camden's Annals. This (ſays Coke) was the greateſt violation of the privileges of parliament that ever was done by any king of England before, p. 79.

	l.
For the palſegrave's diet at his ſtanding houſe - -	6000
For his diet at his inſtalment of the garter - -	4000
For his diet at his marriage - - - - -	2000
For lodging for his ſervants - - - - -	830
To the wardrobe for apparel for the princeſs Elizabeth	6252
For furniſhing her chamber - - - - -	3023
Apparel and neceſſaries for her to my Lord Harrington's - - - - - - - -	1829
Jewels and apparels for her ſervants - - - -	3914
To divers merchants, for ſilk, &c. - - - -	995
The lords maſk at her marriage - - - -	400
For the naval fight of fire-works on the Thames at her marriage - - - - - -	4800
More fire-works on the Thames at her marriage -	2880
To ſir Edward Cecil as treaſurer, for her journey from hence to Heidelberg, and for her purſe -	2000
For ſettling her jointure, and charges to ſome of the gentry to go thither and take the aſſurance	800
The charges of her journey - - - - -	8000
For her tranſport to Fluſhing - - - -	5555
Paid over to the palſegrave's agent for her portion	40000
Total	93278

The king reſolving to call no more parliaments, extraordinary means were to be deviſed to ſupply his expences, his ordinary revenues being far from ſufficient. To that end, certain perſons diligently ſearched into hiſtory to diſcover what had been done by former kings in the like caſes, or when there was not time to call a parliament. Among all theſe methods the court choſe the way of benevolence invented by Edward IV. aboliſhed by Richard III. and once revived; if I am not miſtaken, by the parliament itſelf in the reign of Henry VIII. Nevertheleſs, the author of the Annals pretends that James only followed the conſtant example of all his predeceſſors, and upon theſe pretended examples, and the cuſtom in France and Spain, undertakes to vindicate him. But there would be too many things to be ſaid upon this head, if it ſhould be inſiſted on.

The reſolution being taken not only to demand but exhort a benevolence, all the ſheriffs were ordered by the council to aſk of all private perſons within their diſtrict a free gift in proportion to the king's wants. At the ſame time they were expreſly commanded to return to the council the names of ſuch as ſhould refuſe to contribute, or not give according to their abilities. This ſhews the king did not mean the benevolence ſhould be entirely voluntary. This method however was not ſo ſucceſsful as the king had expected. The more eager the ſheriffs and court-party were to excite the people's liberality, the more induſtrious were others to diſſuade them from it, by ſetting before them the conſequences. So if we may believe the author of the Annals, the benevolence procured the king but 52,909l. "which yet (continues he) madded the ill-minded men (pillars, ſo ſome call them, to the kingdom's liberties), always plotters to the kingdom's miſeries, who being aſhamed to be out-done in honeſty and honour, they juſtly drew upon themſelves a mark of malignity.---And yet they would be meddling, deviſing poor arguments, to pretend it was againſt the ſubjects liberties, though accuſtomed evermore by examples of all former ſovereigns." Others ſpeak of it very differently, and repreſent this way of raiſing money upon the people as a real extortion and encroachment on the nation's liberties. Thus do king James's hiſtorians contradict one another, not in facts but in principles, ſome deeming illegal what others maintain to be the undoubted prerogative of the crown.

The money ariſing to the king from the benevolence, though no great ſum, came however very ſeaſonably for the king of Denmark's reception, who made him a ſecond viſit with a train of forty perſons only. During the fortnight he ſtayed in England [w], entertainments and diverſions never ceaſed.

Shortly after, the king received with great pomp the Ruſſian embaſſador ſent by the czar, to deſire him to be mediator between him and the king of Sweden, on account of their differences.

Hitherto the earl of Somerſet poſſeſſed the king's heart ſo entirely, that the queen herſelf grew jealous. Some ſay ſhe inwardly grieved for the death of prince Henry, and ſuſpected him to be the author: others ſay only, that his greatneſs had ſo blinded the favourite, that he was wanting in reſpect to the queen [x]. However, ſhe had conceived a very violent hatred of him; and to ruin him the more eaſily, ſhe thought proper to gain Sir Ralph Winwood, who was ſtill ſecretary of ſtate [y], but without exerciſing the office, at leaſt in important affairs, becauſe the earl of Somerſet had ſeized the management of every thing. Winwood readily joined with the queen to ruin the earl, who left him only the title of ſecretary. This was a preparative to the revolution which happened the next year.

Before I end this year, I muſt not forget to mention the memorable undertaking of Mr. Hugh Middleton, citizen and goldſmith of London, who, having an act of parliament for his warrant, found means to bring water from Hertfordſhire to the principal parts of the city, for the conveniency of the inhabitants [z].

[1615] The king was wont twice a year to take a journey into ſome part of the kingdom; theſe journies were called Progreſſes, one whereof was made in winter, the other in ſummer. In his winter progreſs in the year 1615, he paſſed through Cambridge, where the ſcholars entertained him with a comedy called Ignoramus, which ridiculed the common law. Nothing could be more diverting to the king: the civil law, or the laws made by the ſupreme authority of the Roman emperors, appeared to him of much greater value than the common or ſtatute law; and he could not forbear now and then to ſpeak of theſe with contempt: wherefore he was ſo delighted with the play, that he cauſed it to be acted twice in his preſence during his ſhort ſtay at Cambridge.

At this play it was, that the king was ſtruck with a new object, which made the ſame impreſſion upon his mind as Robert Carr did the firſt time he ſaw him [a]. This was George Villiers, a young gentleman, who appeared before him with all the advantages of a good mien, a fine ſhape, and a handſome and well-made ſuit of clothes. Every one perceived he looked upon this young man with pleaſure, and from that moment it was thought Villiers might ſupplant the earl of Somerſet. And indeed with that view it was that certain lords had brought him before the king, and placed him at the play juſt oppoſite to him.

George Villiers was of a good and antient family in Leiceſterſhire, ſon of ſir George Villiers [b], of Brookeſby, by a ſecond wife, who bore him three ſons, of whom this George was the ſecond [c]. After the death of ſir George, his widow married ſir Thomas Compton, brother of the lord Compton [d]. As George Villiers was but a younger ſon of a ſecond bed, his fortune could be but ſmall; nevertheleſs, his mother took great care of his education. After he had finiſhed his ſtudies, ſhe ſent him into France, where he made himſelf perfect maſter of the French tongue, with all the exerciſes proper for a gentleman, and eſpecially dancing, wherein he excelled. When he returned from his travels, his mother ſent him to court to make himſelf known, and endeavour to procure himſelf friends and a place [e]. He no ſooner appeared there, but the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Bedford, and ſome other lords, enemies to the favourite, and who ſought his deſtruction, fancied this young man might be ſubſervient to their deſign. They knew the king ſufficiently, to hope he would be taken with the outward accompliſhments of this new comer. To that end, they liberally ſupplied him, where-

[u] Though this account ſeems of little moment, it may ſerve however to ſhew the liberal temper of the king, and his opinion that the parliament was obliged to find him money for theſe expences. Rapin.

[w] He arrived at London July 22, and embarked at Graveſend Auguſt 1. Howes, p. 1012.

[x] Or elſe from an apprehenſion that the king's love and company was alienated from her, by this maſculine converſation and intimacy. But it was more probably, from a ſuſpicion of his being concerned in the prince's death, for ſhe would never ſee him after it. Wilſon, p. 679.

[y] He was made ſo March 29, 1614. Camden's Annals.

[z] He cut a channel from the two great ſprings of Chadwell and Amwell, near Ware in Hertfordſhire; in which the water is conveyed to a large pond at Iſlington, and from thence in elm pipes to all places of the city. This new river runs under near eight hundred bridges. Howes, p. 1015.

[a] It was not at Cambridge that the king firſt ſaw Villiers, but at Apeſthorpe, in Northamptonſhire. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 429.

[b] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him ſir Edward.

[c] The lord Clarendon, by miſtake, ſays, he was the eldeſt, vol. I. p. 9. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 428.

[d] Mary Beaumont, daughter to Anthony Beaumont, younger ſon to William Beaumont, of Cole-Orton, eſq; was entertained in ſir George Villiers's family, in a mean office in the kitchen; but ſir George taking notice of the beautiful and excellent frame of her perſon, he prevailed with his lady to remove her out of the kitchen into her chamber. My lady dying ſoon after, ſir George became ſo enamoured of Mary, that he married her, and at his death, left her a jointure of 200l. a year. This account Roger Coke, eſq; had from a lady, whoſe youngeſt ſiſter was married to the viſcount Purbeck, eldeſt ſon of ſir George Villiers, by Mary Beaumont. After ſir George's death, ſhe was married firſt to ſir Thomas Rayner, and afterwards to ſir Thomas Compton, knight of the Bath. Coke, p. 80. Dugdale. Weldon, p. 89, &c.

[e] He was about twenty-one years old when he returned to England. Clarendon. I. p. 9. At his firſt coming to London he was inclined to court ſir Roger Aſton's daughter, but ſir John Graham diſſuaded him from marrying, and encouraged him "to woo fortune in the court." Dugdale, ubi ſupra. Weldon, p. 90.

He

London Engraved for Harrison's Edition of Rapin's History of England

George Villiers
Duke
of Buckingham.

C. Johnson pinx.t

G. Noble sculp.t

at
Somerset
House.

Published as the Act directs June 20. 1778.

BRITISH
13 JY 60
MUSEUM

with to deck himſelf and attract the king's eyes. Their project ſucceeded to their expectation. The king being at the play, looked with admiration on George Villiers, and could not help ſhewing ſome ſigns of his growing inclination. He took care however to conceal it as much as poſſible, not to alarm the earl of Somerſet; nevertheleſs, he reſolved from that inſtant to have Villiers near his perſon, imagining he might eaſily keep both. So, to have time to manage the affair, he privately cauſed Villiers to purchaſe a cup-bearer's place, and to be inſtructed how to behave.

What care ſoever the king might take to conceal his new inclination, the courtiers did not fail to diſcover it. Somerſet, as moſt concerned, was harder to be deceived than the reſt. His office of lord chamberlain giving him a great authority over the king's ſervants, he did not want opportunities to vex and mortify Villiers, who bore it with all patience; and the king feigned not to perceive it. But at laſt, an accident happened which ſuffered not the king to diſſemble any longer. It was cuſtomary for the cup-bearer whoſe turn it was to be in waiting, to have the firſt place at the table where the cup-bearers dined. Villiers having begun his month, ſat at the upper-end during the whole time of his ſervice, without any oppoſition. But offering to ſit in the ſame place after his month was expired, the perſon, whoſe turn it was to wait, rudely thruſt him from thence, which greatly confounded him. Some days after, the ſame cup-bearer carrying a glaſs of wine to the king, let it fall accidentally or deſignedly on Villiers, who gave him a box on the ear. It is a law of a long ſtanding at court, that whoever ſtrikes another in the king's palace, is to loſe his right-hand, with many formalities. It is the lord chamberlain's buſineſs to ſee crimes of this nature puniſhed, and the earl of Somerſet failed not to do all that lay in his power to have the law executed to the utmoſt rigour. But the king granted Villiers a pardon, without enjoining any ſatisfaction to the party offended. This was the firſt public mark of his affection for Villiers.

From thenceforward, the earl of Somerſet's enemies labour-ed inceſſantly to ruin him in the king's favour, in which they could not better ſucceed, than by cheriſhing the king's new inclination by immoderate commendations of Villiers. The truth is, that even before he had ſeen Villiers, the king began to be weary of Somerſet, who was not ſo agreeable as when he was firſt taken into favour. Since his marriage with the counteſs of Eſſex, he was grown very melancholy, of which probably Overbury's death was the cauſe, and become more careleſs of his perſon and dreſs. He had loſt that vivacity which rendered him ſo agreeable to the king; and his temper, now gloomy and ſullen, induced him harſhly to oppoſe ſome wanton tricks which were now and then played in the king's anti-chamber, and wherein his majeſty took a ſingular delight. Nay, he was become ſo intereſted, that he did nothing for any one without money. His enemies did not forget to inform the king, or hint the ſame to him, knowing how much it might conduce to make him forfeit his favour, ſince there was no vice more contrary to the king's humour than avarice. The queen for her part miſſed no opportunity to do him ill offices: ſo that, in all appearance the project of making Villiers the king's favourite was formed upon the viſible ſigns of the earl of Somerſet's decline.

The whole court perceived the alteration in the king ſince he had Villiers about him, and every one ſtrove to thruſt the old favourite down the precipice. The beſt way to that end, was to oblige the king to declare for Villiers; but there was a great obſtacle to be removed. The king, by a very groſs artifice, would have no favourite but of the queen's recommending, that in caſe ſhe complained of him afterwards, he might ſay, he had received him at her hands. This was the king's turn, who fancied by ſuch a device, to impoſe upon the queen and the whole court. The buſineſs therefore was to prevail with the queen, to recommend Villiers to the king. But ſhe was already prejudiced againſt the young man, and not ſeeing with the king's eyes, perceived nothing in him worthy of ſo great an advancement. Perhaps too, ſhe had caſt her eyes on ſome other, to procure him that favour. Somerſet's enemies knowing how the queen ſtood affected to Villiers, thought the archbiſhop of Canterbury alone able to perſuade her to what they deſired. The archbiſhop, who neither loved nor valued the earl of Somerſet, readily undertook to ſpeak to the queen; but his firſt attempt was in vain. The queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the king's temper, told the prelate, that neither he, nor they who ſet him on, knew what they did; adding, "I know the king better than you all, for if this young man be once brought in, the firſt perſons he will plague, muſt be you that labour for him; yea, I ſhall have my part alſo. The king will teach him to deſpiſe and hardly intreat us all, that he may ſeem to be beholden to none but himſelf."

For this time the archbiſhop could not prevail with the queen; but afterwards he ſo preſſed her, that at length ſhe deſired the king to receive Villiers as a favourite. The king, who only waited for this, ſent immediately for Villiers, knighted him with the prince of Wales's ſword, and ordered him to be ſworn gentleman of the bed-chamber. Somerſet hearing of it, came immediately, and intreated the king to make Villiers only a groom; but the archbiſhop and other lords beſought the queen to complete the work; and at laſt Villiers was admitted to the poſt ordered him by the king [f]. As ſoon as he was out of the king's preſence he waited upon the archbiſhop, and acknowledging himſelf indebted to him for his good fortune, deſired his inſtructions how to behave. The prelate told him, he had three leſſons to give him: Firſt, To pray without ceaſing for the king's proſperity, and for grace to ſerve his maſter faithfully. Secondly, To labour continually to preſerve a good union between the king, queen, and prince. Thirdly, To tell the king nothing but truth. Then he cauſed him to repeat theſe three leſſons before him, to ſee if he retained them. The king hearing this, was extremely well pleaſed with it, and ſaid, theſe leſſons were truly worthy of a biſhop. The queen's prediction proved but too true with regard to the archbiſhop, who was one of the firſt to whom Villiers became ungrateful. Mean while, Villiers being come to court without a great ſtock of money, the king eaſily gueſſed he wanted a ſupply. Had it been in his power to follow his inclination, this ſupply would have been very conſiderable; but he was himſelf ſo deſtitute of money, that a preſent of a thouſand pounds was all he could ſpare at that time.

After Villiers was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, ſeveral courtiers adhered to him, in hopes he would ſoon have the advantage of his rival. Others continued firm to the earl of Somerſet, whether out of gratitude, or for fear of ruining their fortune by falſe conjectures. Two parties therefore were formed at court, who mutually claſhed upon all occaſions. If the king had at once diſmiſſed Somerſet, all would have been quiet: but he intended to keep both, not ſo much out of love to Somerſet, of whom he was tired, as to avoid the imputation of inconſtancy. Thus the king ſtill affecting to ſhew he loved his old favourite as well as ever, the courtiers were greatly embarraſſed. But Villiers daily ſtole the hearts of the courtiers and petitioners from his rival, by his noble and generous way of promoting their ſuits.

Mean while, the earl of Somerſet perceiving, he daily declined in favour, before all things thought of ſecuring himſelf from the danger to which he might be expoſed by Overbury's murder. Though he knew the king had not the ſame affection for him as formerly, he hoped however, as it was not entirely extinguiſhed, to obtain what at leaſt would free him from uneaſineſs. So, ſpying a favourable opportunity, he caſt himſelf at the king's feet, and repreſented to him, that having ſerved him ſome years in a very dangerous poſt, it was difficult not to fall into ſome miſcarriages, and therefore beſought him to grant him a general pardon, which might ſecure him from the malice of his enemies. The king very readily complied with his requeſt, and ordered as ample a pardon as poſſible to be drawn. This was accordingly done; but, whether through the ignorance or malice of the perſon who drew the inſtrument, the king was made to ſay in it, that "He pardoned not only all manner of treaſons, murders, felonies, and outrages whatever, already committed, but alſo thoſe which ſhould be hereafter committed by the earl of Somerſet [g]." The king ſigned the pardon without any ſcruple, and perhaps without reading it. But the lord chancellor Egerton refuſed to put the ſeal to it [h]; ſaying, as there had never been an inſtance of ſuch a pardon, he ſhould incur a præmunire if he paſſed it: and when he told the king the reaſon of his refuſal, he eaſily ſatisfied him, he could not anſwer ſetting the ſeal to the pardon. Nothing was more eaſy than to draw another pardon, without the clauſe diſliked by the chancellor; but whether the queen was againſt it, as ſome affirm, or Somerſet did not care to diſcover too plainly the occaſion he had for a pardon, or the king was now informed of the circumſtances of Overbury's death, nothing more was ſaid of it. Indeed, it is likely the king had now

[f] He was ſworn into it, April 23, and had a yearly penſion of a thouſand pounds aſſigned him, payable out of the court of wards. Wotton's Life of Villiers.

[g] The pardon was drawn by ſir Robert Cotton, and this clauſe taken out of a bull granted by the pope to cardinal Wolſey. Coke. Hiſt. Narr. c. 32.

[h] Wilſon ſays, that the queen prevailed with the chancellor not to let the pardon paſs the great ſeal, till after the king's return to London; by which time the affair of Overbury was become quite public, p. 698.

Reeve

ſome knowledge of Overbury's treatment, but perhaps not ſufficient to ſatisfy him of the earl's guilt. However, he began his ſummer progreſs before the affair became public.

The king's diſſimulation with reſpect to his two favourites held the court in continual ſuſpence. Many were afraid of adhering to Villiers, leſt his credit might not yet be firmly eſtabliſhed. Others declared openly againſt Somerſet, in order to make a merit of it with the new favourite. Winwood was one of theſe, and affected, upon all occaſions, to oppoſe the earl of Somerſet, who had it not in his power to be revenged. During the whole progreſs, there were many diſputes and quarrels between the two parties, to the king's great diſguſt. At length the fatal blow was given, at the court's return to Royſton.

Franklin, who adminiſtered the poiſoned clyſter to Overbury, made uſe, to compoſe it, of one Reeve an apothecary's boy, who was afterwards ſent into Flanders, or perhaps run away from his maſter. This Reeve being at Fluſhing, where ſome buſineſs had brought ſir William Trumbull his majeſty's envoy at Bruſſels, got acquainted with ſome of his ſervants, and whether unadviſedly, or with deſign, informed them of what he knew concerning Overbury's death [l]. The ſervants telling their maſter what they had heard, he examined Reeve himſelf, and drawing from him what he deſired, found means to detain him at his houſe. Then he wrote to Winwood, deſiring him to obtain the king's leave for him to come to England, becauſe he had ſome things to reveal, which he could not truſt to paper. Leave being granted, he acquainted Winwood with what he had learned [k], and Winwood told it the king, who commanded them both to keep it private till further orders.

Some time after, the king being returned to London, wanted to reconcile his two favourites, to be freed from the continual importunities occaſioned by their conteſts, and thoſe of their adherents. He thought he had found a notable expedient, by obliging Villiers to make the firſt advances, and deſire the earl of Somerſet's favour and protection. To that purpoſe, he ordered ſir Humphrey May, Somerſet's creature, but who ſhewed great reſpect for Villiers, to tell the earl, as of himſelf, that he was credibly informed, Villiers would come and deſire his friendſhip and protection, and adviſed him to receive him civily, and that by giving the king this token of his compliance, he would ſtill be very much in favour, though he was not to flatter himſelf with reigning alone in the king's affection. Sir Humphrey May having diſcharged his commiſſion, and perceiving the earl of Somerſet unwilling to follow his advice, was at length forced to tell him in plain terms, that what he had ſaid was by the king's order, and warned him to conſider ſeriouſly the conſequence of a refuſal. About half an hour after, Villiers came to the earl's, and uſed theſe very words: "My lord, I deſire to be your ſervant and creature, and to take my court preferment under your lordſhip's favour, and your lordſhip ſhall find me as faithful a ſervant as ever did ſerve you." To this ſo ſubmiſſive a compliment, the earl returned this ſhort and quick anſwer, "I will have none of your ſervice, and you ſhall have none of my favour. I will, if I can, break your neck, and of that be confident." Theſe words very much exaſperated the king, who from that inſtant reſolved to be rid of the earl of Somerſet.

It is hard to gueſs, whether, ſuppoſing the earl of Somerſet had behaved with more condeſcenſion to the king, and been reconciled to Villiers, Overbury's affair would have been buried in eternal oblivion. This ſeems at leaſt to be the courſe the king had reſolved to take, if the earl had been inclined to do what he deſired. Be this as it will, the king being come to Royſton, to begin his winter progreſs, expreſſed no diſpleaſure againſt Somerſet, but lived with him as he was wont, without the leaſt ſign of any alteration in his friendſhip. But ſome days after, he ſent in the night a meſſenger to lord chief juſtice Coke, with a letter, ordering him to make a warrant to apprehend the earl of Somerſet at Royſton, and his counteſs at London, with Franklin, Weſton, Mrs. Turner, and ſir Gervaſe Elweys, lieutenant of the Tower. The meſſenger was ſent back to Royſton at four o'clock in the morning, with an officer of juſtice to execute the warrant. At his arrival, the officer found the king with his arms about Somerſet's neck, who was juſt going to London, and affectionately ſaying to him, "When ſhall I ſee thee again, Somertſet [l]?" At that very inſtant the officer arreſted the earl by Sir Edward's warrant, who exclaimed, that ſuch an affront was never offered to a peer of the realm in the king's preſence. The king feigning ignorance, and aſking what was the matter, ſaid jeſtingly, "Nay, man, there is no remedy, for if Coke ſends for me I muſt go." Then accompanying him to the ſteps before the door, he deſired him as he was going down, to return ſpeedily, ſaying, he could not live without him. As ſoon as Somerſet was in his coach, the king ſaid, in the hearing of ſome perſons, who told it again afterwards, "Now the deel go with thee, I will never ſee thy face more." If this be true, it muſt be owned, it was a needleſs and very ſtrange diſſimulation; but king James took delight in things of this nature.

At his coming to London, the earl of Somerſet was ſent to the Tower [m], his counteſs, and the reſt of the accomplices, having been arreſted and committed, whilſt he was on the road. The ſame day, chief juſtice Coke going to Royſton, the king told him all he had heard from Trumbull, and enjoined him, with all poſſible ſcrutiny, to ſearch into the affair, without partiality or reſpect of perſons. He concluded with ſaying, "God's curſe be upon you and yours, if you ſpare any of them: And God's curſe be upon me and mine, if I pardon any one of them."

Coke receiving ſuch ſtrict orders, was very active in the affair. Nay, ſome pretend, he was too active, and that finding in the earl of Somerſet's papers, indications of his being concerned in the death of prince Henry, he had not the prudence to conceal them. However this be, moſt of the parties accuſed were tried in October and November, and being found guilty, were condemned and executed [n]. Sir Thomas Monſon, who was alſo arreſted, appeared twice before the judges, and at the ſecond time Coke received a note from the king, which obliged him to ſend back the priſoner to the Tower, with theſe words, "Take him away, we have other matters againſt him of a higher nature." It is affirmed, Coke ſaid aloud one day, as he was ſitting on the bench, "God knows what became of that ſweet babe prince Henry, but I know ſomewhat," and then ſtopped ſhort. This gave occaſion to think, he had made ſome diſcovery concerning the prince's death [o].

Simon Maſon, ſervant to Monſon, who had been employed to carry a poiſoned tart to Overbury, being likewiſe brought before the court, the judge ſaid to him, "Simon, thou hadſt a hand in this poiſoning buſineſs." "No, my good lord (anſwered Simon), I had but one finger in it, which coſt me all my hair and nails." He had, it ſeems, out of liqueriſhneſs, as he was carrying the tart, taſted with his finger a little of the ſyrup. This ingenious anſwer cauſed him to be acquitted: for it was thought he would not have taſted the ſyrup, had he known it to be poiſoned.

The trial of the earl of Somerſet and his counteſs was deferred to May the next year 1616 [p]: but not to be obliged to return to this affair, I ſhall relate here the circumſtances of the trial. If we may believe Sir Anthony Weldon, author of a little book, entitled The Court and Character of King James, which is properly but a ſatire, the king had aſſured the earl of Somerſet he ſhould not be brought to a trial. For that reaſon, when George More, lieutenant of the Tower, came and told him, he muſt prepare for his trial on the morrow, he anſwered, That poſitively he would not appear unleſs he was carried by force in his bed. The ſame author adds, the king being informed of it, ſent him word, he could not hinder his appearing before the judges, but would prevent the paſſing any ſentence upon him [q]. By this artifice, ſays

[l] Reeve falling ſick at Fluſhing, diſcovered the whole matter. Wilſon, p. 698.

[k] Winwood himſelf got the firſt information of this horrible buſineſs from the counteſs of Shrewſbury, then a priſoner in the Tower, and whom he frequently uſed to viſit; who had been told of it by ſir Gervaſe Elweys. Weldon, p. 93.

[l] The words at length, as related by Weldon, were, "For God's ſake when ſhall I ſee thee again? On my ſoul, I ſhall neither eat nor ſleep, until you come again." The earl told him, on Monday (this being on Friday), "For God's ſake, ſhall I, ſhall I?" Then lolled about his neck; then, "For God's ſake, give thy lady this kiſs for me," In the ſame manner at the ſtairs head, and at the middle, and foot of the ſtairs, p. 102, 103.

[m] He was at firſt, on October 18, committed to the cuſtody of Dr. Mountain, dean of Weſtminſter. Camden's Ann.

[n] Weſton was tried and condemned, October 19, 23. Mrs. Turner, November 9. Sir Gervaſe Elweys (or Helwyſſe, as he himſelf wrote his own name), November 16. Franklin, November 27.——Weſton was executed November 25. Ann Turner, November 14. Franklin, about the beginning of December; all at Tyburn. And Sir Gervaſe Elweys on Tower-hill, November 20. See Truth brought to Light, p. 108—159. State Trials, vol. I. Camden's Ann.

[o] He intimated as if Overbury had been concerned in prince Henry's death, and the king in Overbury's; whereupon it was ſaid, that the king went to the council-table, and kneeling down, deſired God to lay a curſe upon him and his poſterity for ever, if he were conſenting to Overbury's, in revenge for the prince's death. Wilſon, p. 702.

[p] The counteſs was tried on May 24, and the earl May 25, both in Weſtminſter-hall; the lord chancellor being appointed high ſteward on that occaſion. See Camden's Ann, and State Trials, and Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVI. p. 781,

[q] Weldon ſays, when More told the king, how much he was ſurpriſed at Somerſet's ſaying, he would not appear, and that the king durſt not bring him to a trial, the king falls into a paſſion of tears, and ſays, "On my ſoul, More, I wot not what to do; thou art a wiſe man, help me in this ſtrait, and thou

Weldon, the earl was prevailed with to appear in court, where he pleaded in his defence from eight in the morning till ſeven in the evening, when, contrary to his expectation, ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, as guilty of Overbury's murder. The ſame author ſays, the king was terribly uneaſy all the day, neither was he at reſt till the news came of his condemnation. This author's aim, in relating theſe and may other circumſtances, was to inſinuate, that the king was afraid the earl of Somerſet, to ſave his life, would reveal ſome ſecrets he had a mind to conceal. But theſe ſecrets are not explained, and probably are only chimeras. If the king had feared any thing from the earl of Somerſet, he would never have brought him to a trial, or commanded the judge to examine him ſtrictly. Nevertheleſs, though Weldon be ſatirical, and there is no depending upon his teſtimony, ſome truth however appears in what he relates, ſince the king's conduct, after the earl of Somerſet's condemnation, ſhews there was in this affair ſome circumſtance by which he was embarraſſed.

The counteſs of Somerſet being brought before the court, pleaded only with a ſhower of tears, which raiſed ſome compaſſion in her judges, but however, hindered her not from being condemned to die as well as her lord. The king granted them a reprieve, which was often renewed till the year 1621, when they had liberty to go and live at a country-ſeat, without however being releaſed from their ſentence. At laſt, in 1624, about four months before the king's death, a pardon was granted them. After the earl of Somerſet was condemned, the king gave him four thouſand pounds a year in land, which he took in his ſervants names. This noble preſent, the pardon granted the earl, notwithſtanding the curſe denounced by the king againſt himſelf and poſterity if ever he pardoned the guilty, his reſtleſſneſs during the trial, the note ſent to the chief juſtice whilſt he was trying ſir Thomas Monſon, Coke's imprudent words concerning prince Henry, and his diſgrace which ſoon followed, all theſe things, I ſay, have given occaſion to king James's enemies to inſinuate, he was conſcious of ſome guilt, and they have been pleaſed to apply the whole to prince Henry's death. But, beſides that all theſe circumſtances could at moſt only form a bare preſumption, who can affirm them to be all preciſely true? Amidſt the perpetual contrarieties in the authors who wrote of king James I. it is hard to know diſtinctly the truth. Some paſs over in ſilence particulars which are chiefly inſiſted upon by others, or abſolutely deny facts, which the others advance as inconteſtible. Some there are whoſe aim was to give a very ill idea of the manners and qualities of this prince, whilſt others repreſent him as a very wiſe, juſt, and religious king. Some penned his reign while the civil wars raged in England, or when the monarchy was changed into a commonwealth. Theſe thought to do their country ſervice, in demonſtrating that the project of enſlaving England was begun in the reign of king James I. and purſued in that of Charles I. Others wrote after the reſtoration of Charles II. when the civil wars were ſtiled an unnatural rebellion, and when the fear of falling under an arbitrary government was termed chimerical. Hence ariſes the difficulty of making a choice amidſt all the contrarieties between the hiſtorians. Unhappily the ſame parties ſtill ſubſiſt with the ſame prejudices. So there is little hopes of ſeeing an impartial hiſtory of England from the beginning of king James I.'s reign to our time. Let a hiſtorian turn which way ſoever he pleaſes, he will be looked upon as partial by one or other of the two factions. This is a remark abſolutely neceſſary as well for the fact juſt mentioned, as for the whole reign of James I. and ſtill more for the following.

To finiſh what relates to the earl and counteſs of Somerſet, I ſhall briefly add, that their love, which had engaged them to commit ſuch abominable deeds, turned at laſt to hatred. They lived together many years in one houſe as ſtrangers to each other, and at laſt the counteſs died of an uncommon diſeaſe [r]. The earl lived long enough [s] to ſee his daughter married to the duke of Bedford, who had by her the lord Ruſſel, beheaded in the reign of Charles II.

Arabella Stuart, firſt couſin to the king, died in the Tower the 27th of September 1615, a little before the trial of the accompliees of Overbury's murder. Many ſeeing that, on occaſion of theſe trials, prince Henry's death began to be talked of afreſh, imagined this kinſwoman of his majeſty might alſo be poiſoned. This is what ſome hiſtorians, enemies to king James, have advanced, or at leaſt inſinuated, without any other foundation than this malicious report, grounded upon the chimerical project in the beginning of the preſent reign, of ſetting Arabella on the throne. She was daughter of Charles Stuart, younger brother to Henry, his majeſty's father. Conſequently, ſhe could have but very remote pretenſions to the crowns of England and Scotland, which James enjoyed not by the title of the Stuart family, of which he was by the father's ſide, but by his mother queen Mary's right, to whom Arabella was only a very diſtant relation. The king therefore muſt have carried his ſuſpicions beyond all imagination, to reſolve to poiſon this relation at a time when there was no commotion, either in England or Scotland, and when ſhe was actually in priſon. The cauſe of her diſgrace was, her privately eſpouſing without the king's conſent ſir William Seymour, grandſon of the earl of Hertford, for which the king ſent them both to the Tower, from whence ſome time after they made their eſcape with intent to fly into France. Seymour had the good fortune to eſcape, but Arabella was taken and ſhut up in the Tower, where ſhe died [t].

[1616] The earl of Somerſet's affair ending the diſpute between the two favourites, the court was reſtored to its former tranquillity, under the management of Villiers, who engroſſed the king's affection without a rival [u]. The new favourite behaved in much the ſame manner as his predeceſſor. He ſuffered himſelf at firſt to be guided by ſuch as he thought wiſer and more experienced than himſelf: but in time he thought himſelf the moſt able perſon in the kingdom. His firſt care was to diſmiſs by degrees the earl of Somerſet's creatures, and confer the places on his own relations and friends. Nothing more material was tranſacted at court for ſome years, except the two uſual affairs of this reign, wherein the promotion of the new favourite made no alteration: I mean the advancement of the prerogative-royal, and the methods of raiſing money without the parliament. The firſt of theſe two points produced in the year 1616, between the king and the judges, a ſharp conteſt, the occaſion whereof was this:

The king deſigning to give in Commendam a vacant church [w], it was diſputed in the court of Common-Pleas, not only whether the king might give a Commendam to a biſhop, either before or after his conſecration, but alſo whether Commendams were to be granted without neceſſity. The chief juſtice of the Common-Pleas finding the caſe difficult to be decided, deſired to have it farther argued by all the judges, as is uſually done in nice points. The king, who was at Royſton, being informed of it, commanded his attorney-general Bacon, to ſignify by letters to all the judges, that they ſhould defer the determination of the affair till his return. Notwithſtanding this order, the judges met and argued the caſe. After which, they unanimouſly ſigned a writing, declaring they could not obey the king's order, becauſe they were ſworn to have no regard to the king's orders or letters, in matters concerning private perſons [x]. The king, provoked at their proceeding, wrote to them, that it was not his intent to ſtop the courſe of juſtice; but however he would not endure, that under colour of determining caſes between private perſons, they ſhould attack the prerogative royal, or "That any perſon ſhould be allowed to diſpute or argue on that head." That the argument drawn from their oath was impertinent, ſince the oath was enjoined by the kings his predeceſſors, only to prevent the importunities of ſuitors to the prince, and not to give the judges authority to determine in points of prerogative. He concluded with a peremptory command not to proceed "till they had conſulted him."

It muſt be obſerved, that in this letter, the king ſuppoſed two or three principles, which neither the judges, nor the generality of the nation did admit. The firſt, that no perſon

thou ſhalt find thou doſt it for a thankful maſter." Whereupon More aſſures the king, he would do his utmoſt to ſerve his majeſty, and leaving him, went and uſed the ſtratagem above mentioned. This relation, the author ſays, he had from More's own mouth. Court of King James, p. 115---117.

[r] The reader may ſee an account of it in Wilſon, p. 83, or in Compl. Hiſt. p. 699. She died on Auguſt 23, 1632, in the lord viſcount Wallingford's houſe.

[s] He died in July 1645, and was buried in the pariſh church of St. Paul, Covent-Garden. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 426.

[t] Sir William Seymour upon his marriage was committed to the Tower, but Arabella was confined to her houſe at Highgate. After ſome time they appointed to meet at a certain place on the Thames, in order to fly beyond ſea. He leaving his man in his bed to act his part with his keeper, got out of the Tower in diſguiſe, and came to the place appointed. She, dreſſed like a young gallant, followed him from her houſe; but happening to ſtay beyond the limited time, he went away, leaving word, if ſhe came, he was gone before to Dunkirk. She, full of tears, and lagging in her flight, was apprehended and ſent to the Tower. After her death ſir William got leave to come home, and married afterwards the lady Frances, ſiſter to the earl of Eſſex. Wilſon, p. 702.

[u] In the beginning of January he was made maſter of the horſe, and July 7, knight of the garter. The king beſtowed upon him the beſt part of Somerſet's eſtate. Howes, p. 1024, 1025. Coke, p. 88.

[w] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, a vacant biſhopric. When a parſon or vicar is made a biſhop, there is a ceſſion of his benefice by the promotion; but if the king gives him power to retain his benefice, he is ſaid to hold it in Commendam.

[x] They told the king their oath was, "That in caſe any letters came to them contrary to law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to juſtice." Annals, p. 17.

had a right to argue concerning the extent of his prerogative, ſince the judges of the realm, being conſidered as middle perſons between the king and people, were alone to decide, and commonly did decide the queſtions on this head. The ſecond principal was, that the oath taken by the judges at their admittance into their office, was enjoined by the kings, his predeceſſors, to avoid the ſollicitations of ſuitors; whereas it was the common opinion that the power aſcribed to the judges to diſobey the king's letters, was given them by the whole nation repreſented in parliament [y]. The third principal was, that nothing ought to be decided [z] without conſulting him; that is to ſay, their determination was to be founded upon what he ſhould himſelf enjoin. People for the moſt part affirmed, the king would thereby eſtabliſh a new prerogative unheard of in England.

The king being returned to London, ſent for all the judges to the council table, and reprimanded them ſeverely. He told them, among other things, that ſince his acceſſion to the crown of England, he had obſerved that the counſellors at the bar [a] took the liberty to argue the extent of the prerogative royal, which on that pretence was trampled upon, and it was the judges buſineſs to bridle that inſolence in their reſpective courts. Then, ſpeaking of the order he had ſent them, he imperiouſly told them, there was no reaſon that could excuſe their non-compliance [b]. The king's manner of expreſſing himſelf, terrified the judges, who choſe rather to give way than reſiſt him to his face. Coke alone conſtantly maintained, that the king's order being contrary to law, they were not to blame for refuſing to obey it. Whereupon the king ſaid, with ſome emotion, whether they had done well or ill, he would not ſuffer his prerogative to be conteſted. In fine, the judges being withdrawn, the council unanimouſly determined the caſe in favour of the king [c].

This affair made great noiſe among the people. They who were already prejudiced againſt the king, ſaid, it was evident he intended to reign with an abſolute power: that not only he contemned the determinations of the judges, but would not ſo much as endure that his prerogative ſhould be argued, and pretended to be ſole judge of the extent of his own authority. But others admired his courage, in maintaining the prerogatives of the crown.

It was not long before Coke felt the effects of the king's wrath. The chief juſtice having brought a complaint in the Star-chamber againſt the lord chancellor Elleſmere, concerning an order iſſued out of the court of chancery, and having loſt his cauſe [d], wherein he was accuſed, 1. Of having wrongfully attacked the lord chancellor [e]. 2. Of having, when attorney general, concealed a ſtatute of twelve thouſand pounds due to the king from the lord chancellor Hatton. 3. Of having ſaid in open court, that his majeſty was labouring to overthrow the common-law of England. 4. Of having behaved very inſolently to the king, in the caſe of Commendams. The lord treaſurer upbraided him likewiſe before the council, for ſuffering his coachman to drive him bear-headed, a privilege not granted even to the lord chancellor himſelf. As the king was diſpleaſed with him, this was ſufficient to turn him out of his place, which was given to Sir Henry Montague. Coke was extremely well verſed in the common laws of England, of which he wrote a book highly eſteemed, and which is daily cited in the courts of juſtice, and the high court of parliament [f]. But as he was one of thoſe who ſuſpected the king of aſpiring to arbitrary power, and thought it his duty to oppoſe it, he could not be agreeable to the court.

Preſently after, the lord chancellor Elleſmere being taken ſo ill as to deſpair of being able to continue the functions of his office, deſired the king to confer it on another [g]. But the king, without granting his requeſt, ſent for the ſeal, telling him, he would himſelf be his deputy: and indeed, he kept the great-ſeal till Elleſmere's death, which was not till March the next year. After that, ſir Francis Bacon, attorney general, was made lord keeper, and then chancellor. He was a man of great abilities, as appears in his works, but a ſervile flatterer, cringing to thoſe who were in favour, and very haughty to ſuch as he believed he ſhould not want [h].

Prince Charles, the king's only ſon, was created this year [i] prince of Wales, with the uſual ſolemnities. The king thought of marrying him, but it was not eaſy to find a princeſs fit for him. There was no proteſtant princeſs of royal extraction in Europe, and his father could not reſolve to marry him to any but a king's daughter. Several of his predeceſſors had not been ſo difficult: but for his part, he was extremely nice on this occaſion. He would have thought it a diſparagement to his ſon to marry the daughter of any German prince. He choſe rather, contrary to all the rules of good policy, to ſeek him a wife in a houſe ſworn enemy to the proteſtant religion, than to marry him to one of his own religion, who was not royally deſcended. This infatuation, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, is to be conſidered as the ſource of the reſt of the occurrences of this reign, and of all the vexations James had to endure, as well from foreigners as his own ſubjects. It may be farther added, that this made him better known than before, and in a manner not to his advantage. He would have married his eldeſt ſon prince Henry to Anne of Auſtria, who afterwards eſpouſed Lewis XIII. king of France: but having at laſt diſcovered that the court of Spain carried on the negotiation only to amuſe him, he gave over his deſign. The French king's marriage being ſolemnized this year 1616, James ſent embaſſadors to France and Spain to congratulate the two kings. The lord Hay, a Scotchman, was choſen for the French embaſſy [k], and the lord Roſs for the Spaniſh. They had both orders to ſound the two courts concerning the prince of Wales's marriage with the princeſs eldeſt ſiſter of Lewis XIII. or with the infanta Maria daughter of Philip III. The lord Hay quickly found his negotiation would be fruitleſs, ſince the princeſs of France was already promiſed to the prince of Piedmont ſon to the duke of Savoy.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, and before the lord Roſs's arrival in Spain, ſir John Digby, his majeſty's embaſſador to Philip III. wrote to the king, that the duke of Lerma had made an overture of a marriage between the infanta Maria and the prince of Wales, and deſired private inſtructions on that head. He adviſed him however not to break off the negotiation with France, for fear the duke of Lerma's offer ſhould be an artifice to render him ſuſpected to the proteſtants. James could the leſs doubt of Digby's ſuſpicion being well grounded, as ſir Dudley Carleton, his embaſſador at the Hague, had told him, that to weaken the good intelligence between him and the ſtates general, a report was ſpread that the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta of Spain was on foot and now far advanced. But he took no notice of this intelligence: on the contrary, he ſent orders to ſir John

[y] The judges themſelves, in their anſwer to the king's order by the attorney general, built their non-compliance upon two acts of parliament, 25 Edward III. and 25 Henry VIII. Annals, p. 17.

[z] In matters of prerogative. See the king's letter. Ibid.

[a] And in the parliament-houſe. Ibid.

[b] He told them, deferring upon juſt and neceſſary cauſes, was not delaying of juſtice, and therefore his order was not againſt law, or their oath. But chief juſtice Coke affirmed, that his majeſty's ſtay was a delay of juſtice. Ibid. p. 18.

[c] That the king's deſiring the judges to ſtop proceedings till they had conſulted him, was not againſt the judges oath, or the common law. As to Commendams, it was agreed by the judges, not to draw the king's power into doubt. Ibid.

[d] Sir Edward Coke having, it ſeems, determined a cauſe at common law (in which the chief witneſs for the plaintiffs was made drunk by the defendants, and thereby rendered incapable of appearing), the plaintiffs thinking themſelves injured, brought the buſineſs into chancery: the defendants refuſed to obey the orders of that court; whereupon the lord chancellor, for contempt, committed them to priſon. They petitioned againſt him in the Star-chamber, the lord chief juſtice joining with them, and threatening the chancellor with a præmunire. The chancellor applies to the king, who ſent to ſir Francis Bacon, ſir Henry Montague, &c. to ſearch for precedents of ſuch as complained in chancery, and were relieved according to equity, after judgment at common law. They returned anſwer, That it had been the conſtant practice ever ſince Henry VII.'s time, after judgment at common law, and many times after execution. Upon which Coke was worſted, and brought upon his knees at the council table. Wilſon, p. 704.

[e] This was the whole cauſe. The reſt of the articles were added to it in order to humble him. Ibid. p. 705.

[f] He wrote Inſtitutes, or a Comment on Littleton, ſeveral volumes of Reports, &c. He is accuſed of diſcovering too much paſſion and prejudice on the bench, and of acting the part of a pleader, rather than a judge. His pleadings at the trial of ſir Walter Raleigh, ſhew, to his eternal infamy, that he could at any time talk an innocent perſon to death; for there never was ſeen ſuch a heap of inſolence, and hard names. See State Trials, vol. I. p. 205, &c. Wilſon, p. 705.

[g] He was, on November 7 this year, created viſcount Brackley. As was alſo on the ſame day William Knowles, viſcount Wallingford; and ſir Philip Stanhope, baron of Shelford. Howes, p. 1026. Weldon ſays, Villiers cauſed the ſeal to be taken from Egerton, becauſe he would not give way to his exorbitant deſires, p. 125.

[h] Weldon ſays, Villiers ſent this meſſage to Bacon when he was made lord keeper: That he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, but withal of a baſe and ungrateful temper, and an arrant knave, apt in his proſperity to ruin any that had raiſed him from adverſity; yet knowing how fit an inſtrument he was for him, he had obtained him the ſeals; but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him as he had done ſome others, he would caſt him down as much below ſcorn, as he had now raiſed him above any honour he could ever have expected, p. 125, 126.

[i] The 1ſt of November. Others ſay, the 4th. Rapin.

[k] This was one of the moſt magnificent embaſſies recorded in hiſtory. Among other things the lord Hay, at his public entry into Paris, had his horſe ſhod with ſilver ſhoes ſlightly tacked on; and when he came over againſt houſes or balconies, where perſons or beauties of eminency were, his horſe prancing in humble reverence, flung his ſhoes away, which the ſurrounding mob ſcrambled for; then one of his train, out of a velvet bag, took others, and tacked them on, which laſted till he came to the next troop of grandees. Wilſon, p. 704.

Three

London: Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

Sir Francis Bacon,

Viscount St. Albans, Lord Chancellor.

I. Bannerman, Sculp.

In the possession of Martin Foulkes Esq.r

Publish'd as the Act directs. Oct.r 16. 1784.

BRITISH
13 JY60
MUSEUM

Digby to begin the negotiation with Spain. At the ſame time don Diego di Sarmientos count Gondemar, the Spaniſh embaſſador in England, received a commiſſion to treat with the king concerning the marriage.

After James had taken this reſolution, he could not conceal his extreme deſire to accompliſh the marriage. Hence he gave occaſion to the Spaniard, who had then no deſign to treat ſeriouſly of the affair, to feign that he paſſionately wiſhed to conclude it to his ſatisfaction, and to draw from his readineſs conſiderable advantages for the houſe of Auſtria and the catholic religion. By means of this ſame deſire it was that count Gondemar, a man of great abilities, ſo inſinuated himſelf into the king's favour, that for many years he cauſed him to do almoſt whatever he pleaſed, by putting him in fear that the marriage would miſcarry if the Spaniſh court was not managed. We may judge of the policy of that court by the length of this negotiation, which was made to laſt ſeven years. At firſt the Spaniard intended only to hinder king James from concerning himſelf in the war of Cleves, and aſſiſting the proteſtant princes; but afterwards a more important affair made it his intereſt more than ever to amuſe the king of England, and to keep him at bay.

Certainly James's conduct, who in ſome men's opinion paſſes for the Solomon of his age, was very extraordinary. Under colour of being at peace with all the world, he meddled not with any foreign affairs. He beheld without concern France openly labouring the deſtruction of the Hugonots, and the houſe of Auſtria forming projects to enſlave all Europe, and daily increaſing in power, to the juſt dread of the reſt of the ſtates, and eſpecially the proteſtant. Moreover, he expreſſed a ſtrong deſire to be allied to that houſe, by a marriage which could not but be prejudical to the eſtabliſhed religion of England. In ſhort, if his management at home be examined, the capacity, the great wiſdom he thought himſelf bleſſed with, will no where appear. Without any war upon his hands he had conſumed immenſe ſums, and alienated almoſt all the crown lands, to enrich a dozen of Engliſh and Scotch favourites, who had never done him any conſiderable ſervice. The earl of Somerſet had before his diſgrace amaſſed two hundred thouſand pounds in money, plate, and jewels, beſides nineteen thouſand pounds a year in land, though he had been but five years in favour [l]. The earl of Saliſbury, younger ſon to the lord Burleigh, who had no eſtate but what he derived from the crown, had left his ſon as rich as any peer in the kingdom. The earl of Northampton, younger brother of the late duke of Norfolk, had built a ſtately palace in London [m], ſince called Northumberland-houſe, and left a vaſt inheritance to his nephew the earl of Arundel, though he had little or nothing from his family. The earl of Suffolk, youngeſt ſon of the duke of Norfolk, had built a country-ſeat, which coſt him above two hundred thouſand pounds; and he did not, as may be judged, expend his whole ſubſtance on this ſtructure [n]. The duke of Lenox, the earl of Dunbar, the lord Hay, had remitted great ſums into Scotland; and ſir Henry Rich, afterwards earl of Holland, though a younger ſon, had found means to raiſe an immenſe eſtate. Amidſt all theſe favourites ſo rich and powerful, the king was in extreme want, continually giving more than he could afford, and running into needleſs expences without ever regulating his treaſury. To all this was added a new favourite, who being no leſs greedy than the reſt, was alſo to be enriched, and had a numerous kindred, whom he did not mean to leave in want [o]. Another effect of the king's great wiſdom was to quarrel with his parliament, in ſupport of a prerogative which he would have carried higher than any of his predeceſſors, and thereby put himſelf under a neceſſity of uſing means to raiſe money, which could not but alienate from him the love of his people. Laſtly, Let us add his weakneſs in ſuffering himſelf always to be ſo governed by his favourites, that he could not or would not ſee but with their eyes. At the time I am now ſpeaking of, his cabinet council conſiſted ſolely of the new favourite, a young man without experience, through whoſe hands never any affair of moment had paſſed, and who notwithſtanding thought himſelf the moſt able man in the kingdom [p]. The earl of Suffolk was more verſed in affairs, though he was never counted a great genius; but he was now upon the decline of his favour, Villiers being far from ſupporting the earl of Somerſet's father-in-law. Bacon, lord keeper, was well verſed in the laws of the land, and capable of giving good advice; but he made it his ſole ſtudy to adapt himſelf to the king's humour, and make his court to the favourite.

The only affair which then employed the king and his miniſters was to find money, and in plenty too, otherwiſe the king would have led a ſad life; but all means ſeemed to have been exhauſted, and a parliament could not ſafely be called, the wound of the impriſoned members being ſtill too freſh to hope it was yet cloſed. Mean while, the treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta procured the king an unexpected ſupply. Queen Elizabeth had ſettled with the ſtates of the United Provinces the arrears they owed her, amounting to eight millions of florins. This ſum was due to James, as Elizabeth's ſucceſſor. The ſtates would have paid the debt long ſince, had they not found their account in remaining debtors to England, becauſe they thereby engaged that kingdom to ſupport them. But after the twelve years truce was concluded, the face of affairs was altered. The ſtates no longer wanted the king's protection; and beſides, he held in their provinces, places which gave him opportunity to treat them with haughtineſs, as he had done in the affair of Vorſtius. It was therefore time for them to recover theſe places, ſince they had not the ſame intereſt now to leave them in the king's hands, when their dread of Spain was very much leſſened by the truce. But the ſum they were to pay was ſo conſiderable, that they waited a favourable opportunity to procure them ſome abatement. This opportunity offering not till the preſent year 1616, they embraced it the more eagerly, as they were under an urgent neceſſity to withdraw their towns from the Engliſh. The king treating of his ſon's marriage with the infanta, it was to be feared the reſtitution of theſe towns, to which the Spaniards laid claim, would be one of the articles of the marriage treaty, eſpecially as a clauſe in the treaty of 1604, between England and Spain, gave them juſt cauſe to fear. On the other hand, the preſent juncture was favourable to them, becauſe the king's coffers were quite empty, and there was no likelihood of his venturing to call a parliament, by reaſon of the people's diſcontent. All the difficulty therefore was to order it ſo, that the offer of reſtoring the towns ſhould come from the king himſelf, becauſe in that caſe the ſtates might pretend inability to pay ſo large a ſum, and that would naturally lead to a negotiation for an abatement of the debt. So to bring the king to this point, they ceaſed for a time to pay the garriſons of the places in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, though till then they had punctually executed the treaty which obliged them to pay them. The garriſons complained, and the ſtates, without however refuſing payment, found ſeveral pretences to defer it. This daily conſtrained the Engliſh forces, who were without money, to apply to the king, who was not in condition to ſatisfy them. He complained to the ſtates, who anſwered with great moderation, inſiſting upon the the ill ſtate of their affairs by reaſon of their vaſt expence during the war. In a word, this affair did not end, and the Engliſh garriſons ſtill remained without pay. At laſt, Caron, the Dutch envoy in England, intimated as of himſelf, to ſome one of the miniſters, that he believed, if the king would offer to reſtore the towns in his poſſeſſion, the ſtates would do their utmoſt to diſcharge the whole debt, by borrowing money at a high intereſt. This intimation produced the deſired effect. The king having no money, and ſeeing a near proſpect of drawing from the ſtates a large ſum, which the courtiers had already devoured in their thoughts, readily determined to ſurrender the cautionary towns. Purſuant to this reſolution, he wrote to the ſtates, "That he knew them to be his good friends and confederates, both in point of religion and policy [q], therefore he apprehended not the leaſt fear of difference between them: in contemplation whereof, if they would have their towns again, he would willingly ſurrender them." Upon this letter, they ſent penſionary Barnevelt to the king, who ſo artfully managed the affair,

[l] Three hundred thouſand pounds came to the crown upon his fall, ſays Oſborn, § 30.

[m] And alſo three hoſpitals; one at Riſing in Norfolk, for twelve poor women and a governeſs; a ſecond at Clun in Shropſhire, for the ſame number of men; the third at Greenwich in Kent, for a governor, and twenty poor almſmen. Howes, p. 1012.

[n] Audley-Inn in Eſſex, the nobleſt ſtructure next to Hampton-Court (ſays Coke), ever built by any ſubject in England, which by modern eſtimates coſt above 190,000l. Coke's Detect. p. 85.

[o] The lord Clarendon obſerves, that Villiers exalted almoſt all of his own numerous family and dependents, whoſe greateſt merit was their alliance to him; which equally offended the antient nobility, and the people of all conditions, who ſaw the flowers of the crown every day fading and withered; whilſt the demeſnes and revenues thereof were ſacrificed to the enriching of a private family ſcarce ever heard of before to the nation; and the expences of the court ſo vaſt and unlimited, that they had a ſad proſpect of that poverty and neceſſity, which afterwards befel the crown, almoſt to the ruin of it. Tom. I. p. 10.

[p] Gondemar is ſaid to tell king James, in raillery, "That he was the wiſeſt prince in Chriſtendom, to make privy counſellors ſage at the age of twenty-one, which his maſter the king of Spain could not do till ſixty." Sir E. Peyton, 42.

[q] Though, as Coke obſerves, the religion of the Dutch was preſbytery, which the king hated, nor did ever imitate their policy. Coke's Detect. vol. I. p. 91.

Robert

that they were diſcharged for two millions ſeven hnndred twenty-eight thouſand florins, in lieu of eight millions, which they had promiſed to pay to Elizabeth, beſides eighteen years intereſt. By this agreement the cautionary towns were delivered to the ſtates the 14th of June 1616 [r].

They who were not pleaſed with the court, greatly cenſured this treaty, which robbed the crown of England of the advantage of holding the United Provinces in a ſort of ſubjection [s]. It was ſaid, that indeed Elizabeth was bound to reſign theſe places upon the payment of the ſums ſhe had advanced; but there was no neceſſity to reſtore them for much leſs: that there was the leſs occaſion to haſten the reſtitution, as the garriſons were not maintained by the crown; and if the ſtates neglected to perform their agreement with the queen, the king ſhould have made them ſenſible they had not done it with impunity. Theſe things were not for the king's honour, and his proceedings on this occaſion could at moſt but confirm to him the title of Pacific [t], which he affected above all others. But it was much worſe when it was ſeen, in a very ſhort ſpace, that the money paid by the ſtates was vaniſhed, without a poſſibility to gueſs what was become of it. The king had paid none of his debts; the navy was ſuffered to decay for want of money to repair it; and nothing had been ſent to his army in Ireland, which had received no money for ſeveral years, and whoſe wants had ſerved for pretence to treat with the ſtates.

At length it was diſcovered, that the lord treaſurer Suffolk had converted to his own uſe good part of the money received for the cautionary towns. The favourite miſſed not this opportunity to ruin a man, whom he could not conſider as his friend, ſince he was father-in-law to the earl of Somerſet. The lord treaſurer was therefore accuſed in the Star-chamber of ſundry miſdemeanors in the exerciſe of his office, and eſpecially of having kept for himſelf great part of the money received of the Hollanders. Sir Edward Coke, who was reſtored to his place, or had another [u], was his accuſer. He aggravated his miſdemeanors, his extortions, his miſmanagement of the king's treaſures, his boldneſs to apply them to his own uſe, the corruptions of his counteſs, who took bribes with both hands, the artifices of his deputy Bingley [w], to enſnare ſuch as had buſineſs with his maſter. After that, he cited many precedents of treaſurers, who in former reigns had been puniſhed for ſlighter crimes than thoſe of the earl of Suffolk, and ſhewed the dangerous conſequences reſulting from the ill adminiſtration of the treaſurerſhip, when it was not managed by uncorrupt perſons. If the lord treaſurer had caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy, he would have been eaſily acquitted: but he ſtrove to juſtify himſelf, and not doing it to the ſatisfaction of his judges, he was fined thirty thouſand pounds, and condemned to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; and Bingley was fined two thouſand pounds. Till the king ſhould make choice of a treaſurer, that office was executed by commiſſioners, the firſt of whom was ſir Henry Montague, a dependent of the favourite.

The earl of Suffolk was not the only ſacrifice to Villiers's policy, who by degrees removed Somerſet's creatures. Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court, was turned out and fined twenty thouſand pounds. Sir Henry Yelverton, the king's attorney, alſo loſt his place, as well as ſeveral others whom it is needleſs to mention. Secretary Winwood dying about this time [x], Sir Robert Naunton a proteſtant, and ſir George Calvert a papiſt, were made ſecretaries.

The tranquillity enjoyed by the king might have been deemed perfect, if the fear of his prerogative being attacked had not continually diſturbed his repoſe. In vain did he preach and advance his principles upon all occaſions, he had the misfortune to be regarded by none but his courtiers and immediate dependents. For this reaſon he durſt not call a parliament, knowing the commons did not allow of his maxims. He ſeems to have thought it pure ignorance in the Engliſh, and that by a frequent repetition of the ſovereign's prerogatives, he ſhould at length ſucceed in convincing them of the truth of his principles. This he took occaſion to do in June this year, in a ſolemn aſſembly held in the Star-chamber, on pretence of making known his deſign to correct certain abuſes crept into the courts of juſtice. He made a very long ſpeech, full of diviſions and ſubdiviſions, according to his cuſtom, and took for his text theſe words of Pſalm lxxii. 1. "Give thy judgments to the king, O God, and thy righteouſneſs to the king's ſon [y]."

He begins with ſaying, "The literal ſenſe of theſe words runs upon David and Solomon, godly and wiſe, the myſtical upon God and Chriſt, juſt and righteous; and from this imitation all governments, eſpecially monarchies, have been eſtabliſhed. Kings ſit in the throne of God, and thence all judgment is derived, from the king to the magiſtrates, not privativé but comulativé. So by the council of Jethro to Moſes, the judges were deputed for eaſier queſtions, the more profound left to Moſes; and in this manner all Chriſtian kings govern, whereby appears the near conjunction between God and the king upward, and the king and the judges downward: the king to ſettle the law of God, and his judges to interpret the law of the king."

Then he teaches the judges their duty in adminiſtering juſtice; and after dwelling upon many common places, he proceeds to the limits preſcribed them: "Incroach not upon the prerogative; deal not in difficult queſtions, before you conſult with the king and council, for fear of wounding the king through the ſides of a private perſon." Whereupon he takes occaſion to commend ſome of the judges, for rebuking the popular humour of certain pleaders at the bar, who meddled with ſuch matters. "That which concerns (ſays he) the myſtery of the king's power, is not lawful to be diſputed; for that is to wade into the weakneſſes of princes, and to take away the myſtical reverence that belongs to thoſe who ſit in the throne of God [z]."

After having run through and given his opinion concerning the ſeveral courts of judicature, he goes on, "It is the duty of judges to puniſh ſuch as ſeek to deprave the king's courts, and therefore it was an odious and inapt ſpeech in Weſtminſter-hall, to ſay that a præmunire lay againſt the court of chancery. I mean not that the chancery ſhould exceed its limits, but the king only is to correct it, and none elſe; and therefore I was greatly abuſed in that attempt: and for that reaſon commanded that no man hereafter preſume to ſue a præmunire againſt that court."

He ſpeaks afterwards of the Star-chamber, and ſays, "As a ſtar is a glorious creature, next in place to the angels; ſo this court is the moſt glorious of all courts, conſiſting of privy counſellors, judges, peers of the realm, and biſhops; and conſequently the learning of both divine and human law, the experience and practice of government, are conjoined together in the proceedings of this court. He added, I have laboured to gather articles, like an index expurgatorius of novelties crept into the law; look to Plowden's caſes, and if you find it not there, away with it."

Then he addreſſes himſelf to the auditory, and gives them advice with reſpect to the law-ſuits that were carrying on in the ſeveral courts. "He chiefly adviſes them in their pleas, not to preſume to meddle with things againſt the king's prerogative or honour: if they do, the judges will puniſh them; and in caſe the judges do not, he muſt puniſh both them and the judges. "Plead not, continues he, upon new puritannical ſtrains, that make all things popular, but keep you within the antient limits of pleas."

In ſpeaking of recuſants, that is, thoſe who refuſed to be of the church of England, he ſays, "There are three ſorts: The firſt are they, who inforced by law come now and then to church; theſe are formal to the law, but falſe to God [a]. The ſecond ſort are they that have their conſcience miſled, and therefore refuſe to come to church, but otherwiſe live as peaceable ſubjects [b]. The third ſort are practiſing recuſants, who force their ſervants and tenants to be of their opinion; theſe are men of pride and preſumption [c]. He adds, I can love the perſon of a papiſt ſo born and bred, but an apoſtate papiſt I hate; ſuch deſerve ſevere puniſhment [d]. I confeſs I

[r] Robert Sidney viſcount Liſle, was governor of Uliſhing, or Fluſhing, and ſir Horace Vere, of the Briel. The commiſſion directed to them for the delivery of thoſe places bears date May 22. Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XVI. p. 784, &c. They and the reſt of the Engliſh officers in thoſe towns had 13,000l. diſtributed amongſt them, in recompence for the loſs of their places. State of the Revenue, p. 71.

[s] The cautionary towns, being Fluſhing, Rammekins, and the Briel, were deemed the keys to the three famous rivers, the Scheld, the Rhine, and the Maeſe. Coke, p. 89.

[t] Rex pacificus. He took for his motto, BEATI PACIFICI.

[u] The king was ſo far reconciled to him, as to call him to the council board in September 1617. He had not his place again. Wilſon, p. 705. Camden's Annals.

[w] Sir John Bingley was one of the tellers of the Exchequer. Sir Francis Bacon, in his ſpeech upon this occaſion, wittily obſerves, that the counteſs of Suffolk kept the ſhop, and ſir John Bingley, her officer, cry'd, What do you lack? Wilſon, p. 705.

[x] He died October 27, 1617. Camden's Annals.

[y] See the ſpeech at length in King James's Works, p. 549.

[z] He farther ſays, "The abſolute prerogative of the crown is no ſubject for the tongue of a lawyer, nor is lawful to be diſputed. It is atheiſm and blaſphemy to diſpute what God can do; good Chriſtians content themſelves with his revealed will. So it is preſumption and high contempt in a ſubject to diſpute what a king can do, or ſay that a king cannot do this or that, but reſt in that which is the king's revealed will in his law." King James's Works, p. 557.

[a] Theſe were the preſbyterians, of whom ſeveral made no ſcruple to be preſent at the ſervice of the church of England. Rapin.

[b] Theſe were papiſts who were willing to ſwear allegiance. Ibid.

[c] Theſe were the zealous and furious papiſts. Ibid.

[d] There could be but few of theſe in the kingdom. Ibid.—Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, Papiſts in general. See King James's Works, p. 567.

am loth to hang a prieſt only for his religion, and ſaying maſs; but if they refuſe the oath of allegiance, I leave them to the law."

He concludes his long ſpeech with exhorting the judges to countenance the clergy againſt the papiſts and puritans; adding, God and the king will reward their zeal.

It is eaſy to obſerve, as well in this as in the king's other ſpeeches in public, and on ſundry other occaſions, three principal deſigns which he had ever in view. The firſt was, to eſtabliſh the prerogative royal according to his own principles. The ſecond, to intimate, that the papiſts were not to be moleſted, provided they lived peaceably, and took the oath of allegiance. The third was, to expreſs his hatred of the puritans, and to create the ſame averſion for them in the people. But it would be a great miſtake, to aſcribe this hatred to their refuſing to allow of the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, kneeling at the communion. Theſe were not the things that rendered them odious in his ſight. He fancied their principles with reſpect to church-government, led them to be enemies to monarchy. For this reaſon, all arguments againſt the extent of the royal prerogative, ſeemed to him to be founded on puritannical principles.

On the 27th of Auguſt the king created ſir George Villiers, baron of Whaddon and viſcount Villiers [e], and on the 1ſt of January following, he was made earl of Buckingham.

[1617] In the beginning of the year 1617, arrived in England Marco Antonio de Dominis [f], archbiſhop of Spalato in Dalmatio, who was to come to profeſs the proteſtant religion in the communion of the church of England. As he was a man advanced in years, and very corpulent, it was readily believed, no other motive but that of religion and conſcience could have induced him to undertake ſo long a voyage, and quit his archbiſhopric. He preached and wrote againſt the Romiſh religion, and at length was preferred to the maſterſhip of the Savoy, and the deanery of Windſor. After ſome years ſtay in England, he ſuffered himſelf to be gained by count Gondemar the Spaniſh embaſſador, with the hopes of a cardinal's cap, if he would go to Rome, and publicly abjure the proteſtant religion. This man, upon the brink of the grave, being ſeduced by Gondemar's promiſe, went to Rome, and abjured the religion he had embraced in England; after which, inſtead of being a cardinal, he was thrown into a dungeon in the inquiſition, where he died, and notwithſtanding his abjuration, his body was publicly burnt [g].

I have ſeveral times mentioned the king's averſion to the puritans, whoſe government, which came very near the republican, was directly contrary to the principles he was labouring to eſtabliſh. Ever ſince his coming to England, he had kept the puritans ſo low, that it was not in their power to give him any diſturbance. But the church of Scotland was ſtill preſbyterian, to his great mortification. Indeed epiſcopacy was not entirely ſuppreſſed in that kingdom; but it was in ſuch a ſtate, that the biſhops had no manner of juriſdiction. The ſeveral preſbyteries and the general aſſembly of the clergy, had engroſſed the whole eccleſiaſtical authority, and left the biſhops only an empty name without power. There were alſo many other points wherein the Scottiſh church differed from the Engliſh, ſo that puritaniſm triumphed in Scotland, at the time it was looked upon in England as a ſort of rebellion. James had therefore reſolved to put the church of Scotland upon the ſame foot with that of England; but perceiving, that to compel the Scots all at once to a perfect conformity with the Engliſh church, would be too difficult an undertaking, he meant to lead them to it by degrees. Purſuant to that ſcheme, he had now ſent to the general-aſſembly of the kirk certain articles, which he deſired might be inſerted in the canons of the church. The articles were:

1. For the future, the holy communion ſhould be received kneeling.

2. The euchariſt ſhall not be denied to the ſick, with three or four perſons to communicate with them.

3. Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Aſcenſion-day, and Whit-Sunday, ſhould be kept as holy-days, and the preachers ſhould make choice of texts ſuitable to the occaſion.

4. Confirmation ſhould be practiſed after this manner: when the children were eight years old, the miniſters ſhould catechiſe them, and then the biſhops in their viſitations ſhould bleſs them with prayer for God's grace, and the gifts of the holy ghoſt [h].

As to this laſt article, the king did not deſire that confirmation ſhould be received in Scotland, as practiſed in the church of England, becauſe he was not fully convinced of its uſefulneſs. But as confirmation was one of the epiſcopal functions, he would that the biſhops ſhould have ſomething at leaſt to do in it.

The king's deſign being to compaſs his ends by degrees, he had ſelected theſe articles as leaſt liable to give offence to the miniſters, in order to leave them without excuſe in caſe they rejected them. The general aſſembly of the Scottiſh church perceiving the king's aim, declared, if the churches of England and Scotland differed only in theſe four articles, they might be received for peace-ſake; but as they were innovations not capable of producing a perfect union, there was no neceſſity of inſerting them among the canons. The king, offended with this refuſal, reſolved to compel the Scots not only to receive theſe four articles, but alſo many more which he had not thought fit to meddle with at firſt, being perſuaded he had a right, by virtue of his royal authority, to impoſe upon his people of Scotland the religion which to him ſeemed the beſt. To that purpoſe, he reſolved to go in perſon to Scotland, under colour of viſiting his native country, where he had not been theſe fourteen years.

Before his departure, he ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed in Scotland, wherein he ſaid, he was going to viſit his old kingdom, "Not to alter the civil and eccleſiaſtical ſtate, but to reform certain abuſes in the church and commonwealth." At the ſame time, he ſent before hand ſome officers of his houſhold, all Engliſh, with orders to adorn his chapel at Edinburgh in the ſame manner as that at Whitehall; and theſe men forgot not to carry with them ſome pictures and even ſtatues of the apoſtles [i]. As ſoon as they began to adorn the chapel, the people of Edinburgh exclaimed at the ſight, ſaying, "Images were begun to be introduced, and the maſs would quickly follow."

The king being come to Berwick, prorogued the parliament of Scotland [k] to open it himſelf, as he did indeed with a long ſpeech, according to cuſtom. To conceal his real deſign, he propoſed ſeveral things, among which he did not forget the article concerning religion, the only point he was ſeriouſly labouring. He contented himſelf at firſt with requiring, that a certain number of commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to examine and ſettle the affairs of religion. The parliament conſenting to his demand, the king ſtaid not for the parliament's nominating the commiſſioners, but choſe them himſelf, and appointed the lord chancellor, the lord treaſurer, and the clerk of the rolls, who were all three his creatures. But as the parliament ſcrupled to ſtand to this nomination, he fell in a violent paſſion, thinking it very ſtrange they ſhould pretend to name others, after he had made known his pleaſure. In ſhort, as they durſt not reſiſt him to his face, he obtained whatever he pleaſed.

Theſe commiſſioners immediately ſettled an article, after which there was nothing more to be examined. The article was, "That whatſoever his majeſty ſhould determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and a competent number of the miniſtry, ſhould have the ſtrength of a law." The king himſelf had dictated this article, "Not (ſaid he) that I am againſt the advice of the grave and learned miniſters, but to be over-ruled as in your former general aſſemblies, I will never agree; the biſhops muſt rule the miniſters, and the king govern both in matters not repugnant to God's law." Thus the king plainly ſhewed, that ſince his acceſſion to England, he claimed in Scotland a greater authority than before.

[e] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, that he was created baron of Branſpatch, or rather Branſpeth, which was the title of Robert Carr earl of Somerſet.—George Villiers was created Auguſt 27, 1616, lord Whaddon, the great lordſhip of Whaddon in Buckinghamſhire (then in the crown by the attainder of the lord Grey of Wilton), being given him at the ſame time. A little after he was created viſcount Villiers, and on the 5th of January 1617, earl of Buckingham. Camden's Ann.—Alſo July 9, ſir John Hollis was created baron of Houghton, and ſir John Roper lord Tenham, of Tenham in Kent. Howes, p. 1025.—This year Alderſgate in London was rebuilt. Ibid.

[f] He came to London December 16, 1616. Ibid. p. 1026.

[g] He returned to Rome in 1622, and died in 1625. It is ſaid, that it was by his means, and the meaſures he had concerted with father Paul before he left Italy, that archbiſhop Abbot got that father's manuſcript hiſtory of the council of Trent, tranſmitted in parcels into England. Bentivoglio ſpeaking of Padre Paolo, ſays of him, that he is ſuch another as Antonio de Dominis, who, when he was aſked by the inquiſition, which was the beſt religion to bring a man to heaven, anſwered, that of the church of England. Samſ. Spec. Europ.—De Dominis which was the firſt who uſed the word Puritan to denote the Anti-arminians of the Engliſh church. Fuller, lib. X. p. 99.

[h] There were five articles in all; the other, which is placed third, was the ſacrament of baptiſm not to be deferred longer than the next Sunday; and in caſe of neceſſity, to be adminiſtered in a private houſe, with public declaration of the ſame, the Sunday after, in the church.

[i] They carried with them the portraits of the apoſtles to be ſet in the pews or ſtalls. The biſhop of Galloway, dean of the chapel, obſerving the offence this cauſed, wrote to the king, entreating him, "for the offence that was taken, to ſtay the affixing of thoſe portraits." His letter was ſubſcribed by the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Brechyn, and ſeveral miniſters of Edinburgh. To this the king returned an angry anſwer; objecting ignorance unto them, that could not diſtinguiſh betwixt pictures intended for ornament and decoration, and images erected for adoration. Spotiſwood, p. 530.

[k] From May 17, to June 13. Ibid.

Mean while, the miniſters in and about Edinburgh, perceiving that by the prevarication of the commiſſioners, their church was going to be overthrown, ſince the king was impowered to make what alterations he pleaſed, met together to conſult how to prevent it. They found no other remedy than a proteſtation againſt the article paſſed by the commiſſioners, and when they had drawn it, they committed it to one Hewet, to preſent it to the king. Hewet being come into his majeſty's anti-chamber, in order to execute his commiſſion, the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's civilly accoſted him, deſiring to ſee the proteſtation, which the miniſter readily ſhewed him. As ſoon as he had it in his hands, he would have put it in his pocket, but Hewet ſeized the paper, which could not be done without making ſome noiſe. Upon which the king coming out and hearing the occaſion of the buſtle, ſpoke ſo roughly to the miniſter, that the poor man, all in a fright, fell on his knees and begged pardon, proteſting never more to meddle in the affair [l].

But though the king had obtained what he wanted of the commiſſioners, he found however he ſhould never attain his ends without the conſent of the miniſters, eſpecially as their proteſtation was public, and many copies, which continually increaſed, were already diſperſed. He addreſſed therefore to the biſhops, an order to ſummon the miniſters to meet on the 10th of July, at St. Andrews, where he would come and ſpeak to them in perſon. The miniſters obeying the ſummons, the king called them all to witneſs his great care of the church of Scotland, as well before as ſince his acceſſion to the crown; adding, he expected however no thanks for his zeal for the true worſhip of God, and for maintaining good order in the church. Then he told them, that before he departed for Scotland, he had ſent them four articles to be inſerted in their canons; which were rejected, and yet he was ſilent: that having lately deſired, it might be declared, that by virtue of his prerogative, he had power to make eccleſiaſtical laws, they mutinied and proteſted againſt him: however, he was very willing to paſs by all theſe, with many other affronts, received at their hands. "But now, continued he, the errand for which I have called you, is to know your reaſons, why this ſame power ought not to be admitted? I mean not to do any thing againſt reaſon; and on the other part, my demands being juſt and religious, you muſt not think that I will be refuſed, or reſiſted." He ſpoke theſe laſt words knitting his brows, and looking at them, ſays the author of the Annals, with a majeſtical and ſtern eye, which made them all fall down on their knees. Then continuing his ſpeech, he ſaid, "It is a power innate, and a ſpecial prerogative which we that are chriſtian kings have, to order and diſpoſe of eternal things in the policy of the church, as we by advice of our biſhops ſhall find moſt fitting. And, ſirs, for your approving or diſapproving, deceive not yourſelves, I will never regard it, unleſs you bring me a reaſon which I cannot anſwer."

The miniſters ſeeing how peremptory the king was, deſired leave to confer among themſelves. Their requeſt being granted, they returned in a few hours, with a petition for a general aſſembly, that what his majeſty propoſed might be received with common conſent. "Aye, ſays the king, but what aſſurance have I of their conſenting?" Whereupon ſome of them ſaid, they ſaw no reaſon to the contrary. "But, ſays the king, if the general aſſembly be of another mind, and your reaſon now be none of theirs then, and the articles are rejected, my difficulty will be the greater; for when I ſhall hereafter uſe my own authority in eſtabliſhing them, I ſhall be pulpited a tyrant and perſecutor; ye were wont to do ſo." Then all cried out, that none durſt be ſo mad. "Yet experience tells (ſays the king) that it hath been ſo; therefore unleſs I be made ſure, I will not give way to an aſſembly."

It was, however, eaſy to perceive, that without an aſſembly, the king could not poſſibly compaſs his ends. Though he ſhould have extorted the conſent of the miniſters then preſent, it would have been to no purpoſe, ſince they were not authoriſed. And if the king had cauſed theſe articles to be paſſed by an order flowing from his abſolute power, he ſhould have been firſt ſecure of the obedience of his ſubjects, or at leaſt of a ſufficient power to compel them, both which were equally difficult, not to ſay impracticable. So the king having conſidered the thing more maturely, agreed at length, that a general aſſembly ſhould be held at St. Andrews, in November. In this interval, Sympſon the miniſter, who drew up and ſigned the proteſtation, was committed to Edinburgh-caſtle, and Catherwood, who carried letters to other miniſters to encourage them to adhere to it, was baniſhed. After this the king returns to England.

The general aſſembly, held at St. Andrews, in November, reſolved to defer the reception of the four articles, till all the churches of the kingdom were informed of the affair, and then ſeparated. The king was extremely incenſed, and looking upon this delay as a contempt of his authority, ordered the payment of the miniſters ſtipends to be ſtopped for a year [m]. But finding this only exaſperated the people, and retarded his deſign, he gave leave at length that another general aſſembly ſhould be held at Perth, on Auguſt the 25th the next year. And there, by fair or foul means, he obtained the churches conſent to the four articles. But withal, he ſowed in Scotland the ſeeds of thoſe troubles which diſtracted the kingdom in the following reign, and deprived his ſon and ſucceſſor both of crown and life. Thus, his zeal againſt the puritans cauſed him to forſake the principles of equity and moderation, which he thought ſo reaſonable in the caſe of the catholics. He would not force the conſcience of theſe, provided they lived like good ſubjects; but the preſbyterians were to ſubmit, though ever ſo unwilling, to what he ſhould think proper. What has been ſaid upon this ſubject, is taken almoſt word for word out of the Annals, the author whereof cannot be ſuſpected of repreſenting things to the king's diſadvantage.

Before he left Scotland, the king made the earl of Buckingham privy counſellor of that kingdom, as he had been ſo for ſome time in England.

Whilſt the king was returning to London, he received a petition from ſome ſervants, labourers, mechanics, and other vulgar perſons, complaining, that they were debarred from dancing, playing, church-ales, in a word, from all recreations on Sundays after divine ſervice. Whereupon it was ſuggeſted to the king, that the puritans meant to perſuade the people, ſuch diverſions were contrary to the regard due to the Lord's-day. That theſe men went upon erroneous principles, namely, that Chriſtians were obliged to keep the day of reſt with the ſame ſtrictneſs as the Jews, and therefore affected to call Sunday the ſabbath. This was a ſufficient inducement to the king to condemn this puritannical ſcruple, and the rather, as he was not himſelf very ſcrupulous in that point. A book therefore was publiſhed in his name, wherein he maintained by ſeveral arguments, that paſtimes on Sundays, after evening ſervice, were allowable, and withal, commanded that none ſhould be hindered or diſcouraged from any lawful recreations. The book [n] made a great noiſe, neither was it exclaimed againſt by the preſbyterians alone [o]. Many churchmen diſapproved of it, and particularly the lord-mayor of London, who, notwithſtanding the prohibition, commanded the king's own carriages to be ſtopped, as they were paſſing through the city on a Sunday [p]. But the king himſelf, regardleſs of theſe murmurs, and willing to ſupport what he had done, enjoined all miniſters to read his book publicly in their churches; and thoſe that refuſed were ſeverely puniſhed by the high commiſſion. Some pretend this order was a ſnare to ſurpriſe certain miniſters, who though puritans, ſcrupled not be of the church of England, and preach their doctrines there [q].

Theſe were the moſt material affairs then in England. The king, as I ſaid, never concerning himſelf in any foreign matters, left the government of the kingdom to the care of his miniſters. The earl of Buckingham was the head manager. He ruled with an abſolute ſway both in church and ſtate, diſpoſing of all places and preferments. If we may believe certain authors, he beſtowed nothing without money or a yearly penſion [r]. As the king was always in want, the

[l] Spotiſwood, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, ſays, that this proteſtation was tumultuouſly formed, and that the next morning the chief perſons, by whom it was ſubſcribed, came and entreated him to ſtop the preſenting thereof, which he ſhewed he might eaſily do, by taking it from Peter Hewet, p. 532.

[m] And commanded the biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, in their own perſons to keep Chriſtmas-day next, preaching upon texts proper for the time. Annals, p. 29. Spotiſwood, p. 535, &c. The king's letters enjoining this, are dated at New-Market, December 6, and 11.

[n] It was called the Book of Sports. No recuſant was to have the benefit of this liberty. Collier, tom. II. p. 712.

[o] There were ſeveral biſhops that declared their opinions againſt the Book of Sports.

[p] The court was to remove next day to Theobalds. It put the king into a great rage, "Swearing, he thought there had been no more kings in England but himſelf." Cooling a little, he ſent a warrant to the lord mayor, ordering him to let them paſs, which he obeyed with this anſwer, "While it was in my power I did my duty, but that being taken away, it is my duty to obey." The king upon ſecond thoughts took this well, and thanked him for it. Wilſon. p. 709.

[q] Archbiſhop Abbot being at Croydon the day it was ordered to be read in churches, flatly forbid it to be read there; which king James winked at, notwithſtanding the daily endeavours that were uſed to irritate the king againſt him. Welwood's Notes on Wilſon.

[r] Chancellor Bacon paid a penſion, attorney-general Heath paid a penſion, dean Bargrave paid a penſion, Fotherby biſhop of Sarum paid 3500l. with many others. Nor were fines or penſions certain; but where men were rich, there fines without reſervation of rent; where poor, there penſions, no fines. There were books of rates, penſions, and fines, on all offices, biſhopries, and deanries in England. Weldon, p. 130.

Much

favourite was obliged to find means to maintain, and even enrich, his numerous kindred, who flocked to court to partake of his greatneſs. Not to return to theſe matters, I ſhall ſay here at once, that the favourite's elder brother was made viſcount Purbeck; his younger brother, earl of Angleſey; his mother, though a papiſt, was created counteſs of Buckingham, without her huſband enjoying the ſame honour. In a word, all his female relations were married into the richeſt and moſt noble families of the kingdom. The favourite's mother being a papiſt, and ruling her ſon, who was properly of no religion, with the ſame eaſe as he himſelf governed the king, it was not very ſtrange, the papiſts conceived great hopes, and ſwarmed in the kingdom. The king gave himſelf little trouble about it. Provided a man took the oath of allegiance, and was not puritan, every thing elſe was indifferent to him. He was almoſt wholly employed in his diverſions; and as he very frequently hunted, his admirers pretended he took thoſe times to conſider of the affairs of the government [s].

I ſhall cloſe the events of this year 1617, with the ſad cataſtrophe of ſir Walter Raleigh. He had been a priſoner twelve years [t], ever ſince his condemnation, during which time, he had employed himſelf in compiling his Hiſtory of the World. At laſt, he obtained his liberty, though without the king's pardon [u]. As his eſtate was all forfeited, and given to the earl of Somerſet, he was very much embarraſſed when he came out of priſon. The court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a ſtrange country to him. For this reaſon, he formed the project of ſeeking his fortune in diſtant climates. He had formerly traverſed the ſeas of America, and knew all the coaſts, particularly that of Guiana. Nay, it is ſaid, he ſet up marks to direct him again to a certain place, where was a gold mine, and that Keymis his old attendant [w], brought him from thence a piece of ore, which made him think the mine very rich. However, as he knew not where to lay his head, he found means to acquaint the king, that he knew of a very rich mine in America, from whence he hoped to bring mountains of gold, if his majeſty would be pleaſed to grant him a private commiſſion. The mine lying in a country belonging to the Spaniards, it could not be ſeized without breaking the peace with Spain. Nevertheleſs, the king, tempted no doubt with the golden hopes inſpired by Raleigh, granted him a commiſſion, directed to "Our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh, knight, &c. [x]." It was ſaid afterwards, the king granted the commiſſion with this limitation, that he ſhould not injure the ſubjects of Spain. But how was it poſſible to bring away gold from a mine belonging to the Spaniards, without doing them damage?

However, Raleigh, by virtue of his commiſſion, engaged ſeveral perſons in the project [y]. He was ſupplied with money to fit out twelve ſail [z], and departed in Auguſt 1617 [a], in ſearch of the mine. At his arrival upon the coaſt of Guiana, he found not the marks he had left there, neither could he know again the place he thought he had ſo well obſerved. He detached however his ſon, and captain Keymis, with five ſhips [b], to ſail up the river Oronoque as high as poſſible, in order to diſcover the mountain where the ſuppoſed mine lay. The mountain not appearing, the Engliſh landed, and putting the Spaniards to flight who oppoſed their deſcent, purſued them to the town of St. Thomas, which they took and plundered. Sir Walter's Raleigh's ſon was killed in the aſſault. Then, leaving a garriſon in the place, they advanced farther into the country, without being able to find the ſo much deſired mine. At laſt, weary with ſearching, they returned to Sir Walter, who finding himſelf diſappointed of his hopes, threatened Keymis with the king's indignation, and ſome days after, Keymis was found dead in his cabin [c]. The ſailors, vexed at this ill ſucceſs, loudly complained of their being drawn into a chimerical project, and compelled Sir Walter to ſail back for England. When they arrived at Kingſale in Ireland, he would have perſuaded them to go with him into France; but inſtead of liſtening to his propoſal, they carried him againſt his will to Plymouth, where he was arreſted by the king's orders, and conveyed to the Tower of London.

During his abſence, don Diego de Sarmiento, count of Gondemar, the Spaniſh embaſſador in England, making great complaints about Sir Walter's commiſſion, which was become public [d], the king found no better way to appeaſe him, than by diſowning it, or at leaſt by aſſuring, that Raleigh had expreſs orders not to act againſt the Spaniards [e]. Raleigh returning without gold, his cauſe was ſo much the worſe. Beſides, the embaſſador openly inſiſted upon his being puniſhed, and told the king, there was no other way to continue the treaty of the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta. Wherefore the king reſolved at length to ſacrifice Raleigh to the Spaniard. But as he could not be tried upon his late expedition, for which he had a commiſſion in form, it was determined he ſhould loſe his head by virtue of the ſentence paſſed upon him fourteen years before. In vain did he plead that his commiſſion, wherein the king ſtiled him faithful ſervant, and gave him power of life and death over thoſe who were under his command, was equivalent to a pardon. The judges told him, "That treaſon could not be pardoned but by expreſs words." So, without being called to an account for his late expedition, it was ordered that the former ſentence ſhould be executed [f].

Thus died Sir Walter Raleigh, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age. He was a man that deſerved a better fate, and had a large ſhare of merit. He had alſo ſome faults, which are leſſened or aggravated, in order to render his execution more or leſs odious, according as the hiſtorians are for or againſt king James. Moſt certain it is, he fell a ſacrifice to the mortal hatred conceived by the Spaniards againſt him in queen Elizabeth's time, and to the king's unhappy deſire to accompliſh the prince his ſon's marriage with the infanta of Spain [g].

[1618] Since James had been on the throne, the Engliſh had lived in peace with all their neighbours, without being diſturbed by any war. The king and his miniſters pretended, this was the chief point of government, and that nothing more plainly diſcovered the capacity of thoſe that ruled, than to cauſe the ſubjects to live in peace. Mean while, the people were not ſatisfied. Many affirmed, this maxim was falſe when carried too far, and that war often happens to be no leſs neceſſary than peace, for the welfare of a nation. It was diſliked, that the king ſhould let the Hollanders fiſh upon the Engliſh coaſt, without aſking leave of him, or the governor of Scarborough, as was cuſtomary, before they had recovered their cautionary towns. It was thought no leſs ſtrange that they ſhould be ſuffered to come upon the coaſt with a fleet to ſupport their fiſhermen, as if they meant to bully the king, and ſhew they would fiſh on his coaſt in ſpite of him; and it was openly ſaid, to preſerve peace by bearing ſuch affronts, was no great ſign of ability. It was alſo complained, that the king deſerted the cauſe of the proteſtant religion, at a time when France, the emperor, the king of Spain, and the pope, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to

[s] Much of his moſt ſerious affairs (ſays the author of the Annals) were ſhadowed from the vulgar, nay, from the obſerving politician, by his public paſtimes, p. 31.

[t] Prince Henry uſed to ſay, That no other king but his father would keep ſuch a bird as ſir Walter Raleigh in a cage, i. e. the Tower. Coke, p. 66.

[u] He was releaſed in 1615. Some ſay, that after the publication of his Hiſtory, he petitioned the king, whoſe love to learning induced him now at laſt to grant ſir Walter his liberty. Annals, p. 31.

[w] Captain Keymis, maſter of arts, of Baliol college, Oxford, had been his companion in the Guiana voyage, in the year 1595. Rapin, my miſtake, calls him his footman.

[x] Dilecto & fideli. Coke, p. 94.—There is in Rymer's Fœdera, a commiſſion for him, directed only to ſir Walter Raleigh, knight, without any other addition of beloved or faithful. In that commiſſion he hath authority and licence to go into the ſouth parts of America, or elſewhere, within "America, poſſeſſed and inhabited by heathen and ſavage people, to the end to diſcover and finde out ſome commodities and merchandizes in thoſe countries that be neceſſary and profitable for the ſubjects of theis kingdomes and dominions, whereof the inhabitants there make little or no uſe or eſtimation; whereupon alſoe may enſue ſome propagation of the chriſtian faithe, and reformed religion, &c." But not a word of the Spaniards. In this commiſſion, ſir Walter is ſaid to ſtand in the peril of the lawe. See tom. XVI. p. 798.

[y] As ſir John Pennington, ſir Warham St. Leger, ſir John Fern, captain Parker, captain North, captain Chudleigh of Devonſhire, major Pigot, captain Thornhurſt. Wilſon, p. 712.

[z] Two of his ſhips deſerted before he reached Guiana. Ibid.

[a] Camden ſays, he departed from London, March 28, 1617. Ann.

[b] And five companies of foot, commanded by his ſon, and the captains in the note above. Sir Walter himſelf was ſick, and ſo weak, as to be carried in a chair. Wilſon, p. 712.

[c] He firſt ſhot himſelf, but that not doing his buſineſs, he thruſt a knife into his body, up to the haft, and expired. Wilſon, p. 713.

[d] Sir Walter gave king James a plan of his deſign, together with the number of his men, burden of his ſhips, the country and river he was to enter, &c. which the king promiſed to keep ſecret; but it was ſent by Gondemar to Spain, and thence to the Indies, before Raleigh went out of the Thames; and that very original paper was found in the Spaniſh governor's cloſet at St. Thomas's. State Trials, vol. I. p. 219. Welwood, p. 23.

[e] So it is ſaid in the warrant for apprehending Sir Walter, "We did, ſays the king, by expreſs limitation and caution reſtrayne and forbid them, from attemptinge any acte of hoſtility, wronge, or violence whatſoever upon any of the territories, ſtates, or ſubjectes of any forrayne princes with whom we are in amity, and more peculiarly of thoſe of our deare brother the king of Spayne, in reſpect of his domynions and intereſtes in that continent, &c." Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 92.

[f] He was not beheaded till October 29, 1618. Rapin.—It was done in the Old Palace-yard at Weſtminſter. Wilſon, p. 714.

[g] Weldon obſerves, That he was executed without all precedent, without any juſt cauſe, and even againſt king James's will; who in many things was over-awed by his timorous diſpoſition. But the Spaniſh faction, and Spaniſh gold, betrayed his life, as they had done the kingdom before; and it was one of Gondemar's greateſt maſter-pieces to purchaſe Raleigh's head; yet, had not the earl of Briſtol, who was poſſeſſed of Sherborne caſtle, formerly ſir Walter's, co-operated, the king would never have conſented, p. 28, 29. This year, on May 7, died the learned Jacobus Auguſtus Thuanus, called otherwiſe Le Preſident de Thou. Camden's Ann.

Camden

deſtroy it, and had but too much hopes of ſucceeding, ſince the defender of the faith remained unconcerned. The king's extreme jealouſy with reſpect to his prerogative, was another and great occaſion of diſcontent. It did not appear wherein this prerogative had been infringed; but it was thought very manifeſt, he intended to ſtretch it farther than any of his predeceſſors. It was conſidered, he had impriſoned ſeveral members of parliament, ſolely for inſiſting in the houſe upon the people's grievances; had granted divers monopolies; and raiſed money upon the ſubject without conſent of parliament: That his ſpeeches to the houſes, to the judges, and in the ſtar-chamber, tended only to exalt the regal authority, and make it, as it were, equal to God's: from whence it was inferred, that he deſigned to deſtroy the conſtitution. People could not behold, without indignation, a young man of twenty-five imperiouſly governing the whole kingdom, diſpoſing of all preferments in favour of his relations and friends, inveſted with the office of lord high admiral, though he had never been at ſea, except from Dover to Calais; and laſtly, honoured with the title of marquis of Buckingham, without having ever done the ſtate any ſervice during the two years he had been at court. Theſe two dignities were lately beſtowed on the favourite, the firſt, by the earl of Nottingham's reſignation, who had amaſſed great ſums, and got a penſion for the reſidue of his life. But there was ſtill farther complaints. It was ſaid, the court gave a very ill example to the whole kingdom: Nothing was heard there but blaſphemy and oaths; and the king himſelf was not free from that vice: that one of the two ſecretaries of ſtate was a papiſt, as well as the favourite's mother; that though it was not known what religion her ſon was of, his debaucheries were public, and gave univerſal offence; the number of papiſts daily increaſed; the prince's marriage with a papiſt, daughter to the mortal enemy of the proteſtant religion, ſhewed how little the king regarded the concerns of religion; that if any one repreſented to the king or the miniſters, the inconveniencies ariſing from ſuch a marriage, he was ſilenced by being told, it was an attempt upon the prerogative royal, and that every man, who without a call, pried into the ſecrets of the government, was guilty of rebellion.

But on the other hand, the king was no leſs offended with this boldneſs in cenſuring his conduct, as if a king was to be guided by the caprice of his ſubjects. What moſt troubled him was, that the puritans were not the only perſons who dared to complain of the government, but that even the greateſt friends to the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy could not bear an arbitrary power in the ſtate. The parliament itſelf had plainly ſhewed him, how far they were from ſubmitting to any laws but thoſe which had been hitherto in uſe.

Thus the king and the people were equally diſſatisfied. It is true, the king ſeemed to have a great advantage, as there not being a parliament, no man had a right openly to arraign his conduct; but then, money did not flow into the exchequer ſo plentifully as under the kings his predeceſſors, who knew how to manage the parliament. He choſe however to be without any, or to procure it by ſuch means as increaſed the peoples diſcontent, rather than run the hazard of ſeeing the parliament queſtion his prerogative, of which he was ſtrangely jealous. He comforted himſelf with the hopes of ſpeedily concluding his ſon's marriage, by which he was to receive a dowry of two millions. It is certain the court of Spain had offered that ſum; but I have not been able to diſcover what ſort of money was meant. I imagine, the Spaniard left that undetermined, to have an opportunity of prolonging the negotiation as much as he pleaſed, and of breaking it off at laſt when he thought proper.

When the king of Spain's proceedings with reſpect to the marriage are conſidered, it muſt be thought, that he did not intend to conclude it, either at the time the negotiation was begun, or long after [h]. At firſt, his ſole aim was to amuſe king James, and hinder him from interpoſing in the affair of Cleves. The emperor had a mind either to keep that duchy for himſelf, or to give it to ſome prince of his family, under colour of holding it in ſequeſtration till the diſpute was decided. But the ſtates of the United Provinces avoiding this ſnare, ſeized part of the country in queſtion, proteſting to reſtore it to the perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged. Beſides, they openly protected the elector of Brandenburgh, who was one of the chief claimants, and a proteſtant; as on the contrary, the houſe of Auſtria favoured the duke of Newburgh, who was turned catholic. On this pretence, prince Maurice on the one ſide, and Spinola on the other, endeavoured to become maſters of the country, and ſo a kind of religious war enſued, wherein England not interpoſing was of great conſequence to the houſe of Auſtria. For thus it was, that James was allured by the Spaniard with the hopes of the marriage and dowry of two millions.

Pretences were not wanting to prolong the negotiation. The union of a catholic princeſs with a proteſtant prince, required that care ſhould be taken to ſecure to the infanta the liberty of profeſſing her religion, in a manner becoming the princeſs of Spain. This was the only article inſiſted upon at firſt, the two courts being of opinion, that before this was ſettled, it was in vain to treat of the reſt. As it was the Spaniard's intereſt to lengthen the negotiation, ſo it was neceſſary to ſatisfy king James of his ſincerity, to keep him ſtill at bay. To that purpoſe, after a two years debate, fearing at laſt that James would be diſcouraged, he agreed with Digby and Cottington, the Engliſh embaſſadors, upon five articles; the firſt whereof facilitated the continuance or even the entire interruption of the treaty, when it ſhould be no longer his intereſt to diſſemble. The articles were theſe:

1. That the pope's diſpenſation be firſt obtained by the mere act of the king of Spain.

2. That the children of this marriage be not conſtrained in matter of religion, nor their title prejudiced in caſe they prove catholics.

3. That the infanta's family, being ſtrangers, may be catholics, and ſhall have a decent place appointed for all divine ſervice, according to the uſe of the church of Rome; and the eccleſiaſtics and religious perſons may wear their proper habits.

4. That the marriage ſhall be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, according to the inſtructions of the council of Trent; and after the infanta's arrival in England, ſuch a ſolemnization ſhall be uſed, as may make the marriage valid, according to the laws of that kingdom.

5. That ſhe ſhall have a competent number of chaplains, and a confeſſor, being ſtrangers, one whereof ſhall have power to govern the family in religious matters.

Theſe articles being tranſmitted to England, the king in allowing and ſigning them, thus expreſſed himſelf: "Seeing this marriage is to be with a lady of different religion from us, it becometh us to be tender, as on the one part, to give them all ſatisfaction convenient, ſo on the other, to admit nothing that may blemiſh our conſcience, or detract from the religion here eſtabliſhed." I confeſs I do not ſee how this maxim agreed with the ſecond article. For the firſt, he ſuppoſed as previous, the pope's diſpenſation, which was expected ſeveral years, and at laſt came clogged with additions and limitations, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

Hitherto the Spaniard in prolonging the negotiation had only the ſucceſſion of Cleves in view. But this year the affairs of Germany and Bohemia began to give occaſion to fear, a religious war would be kindled in thoſe countries. This was a freſh reaſon for the Spaniard's amuſing king James, leſt he ſhould ſide with the proteſtants, and ſend them a powerful aid. For the better underſtanding of the ſequel, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to know in what ſituation the affairs of Germany and Bohemia then were.

As for Germany, it ſuffices to ſay, that for ſome time there had been great jealouſies and mutual ſuſpicions between the catholics and the proteſtants. Theſe complained, that they could not have juſtice either from the emperor or the imperial chamber. The catholics complained in their turn, that the proteſtants were continually endeavouring to extend their privileges beyond what the laws of the empire allowed; that after pretending to be ſatisfied with a bare toleration, they had aſpired to an equality, and not content with that, had plotted to baniſh the catholic religion out of all Germany. On this pretence it was that the catholics had entered into a confederacy, which occaſioned the like among the proteſtants. The proteſtants being aſſembled at Hailbrun, the emperor Matthias wrote to exhort them to diſſolve their league. But they thought not proper to ſubmit to his exhortations, by reaſon their league was only defenſive, and the catholics did not offer to break their confederacy. This was a motive for the Spaniard to amuſe king James, and hinder him from uniting with the proteſtants of Germany. But the troubles this year in Bohemia, furniſhed him with a motive of much greater conſequence, which muſt be explained as briefly as poſſible, becauſe that affair continually influences all the reſt of this reign.

In Bohemia were two religions eſtabliſhed by law the one was called "ſub una," and the other "ſub utraque." The former was profeſſed by the catholics, who communicated in one kind only, the latter by the Huſſites, who received

[h] Camden ſays, that the Spaniard's aim in this negotiation was to diſjoin and ſeparate England from the United Provinces, that he might the more eaſily reduce them to obedience. Annals.

In

the euchariſt in both kinds, and ſince the reformation were become true proteſtants. I have ſpoken elſewhere of the religious wars which afflicted that kingdom under the emperor Sigiſmund. It ſuffices therefore to add here, that Sigiſmund was forced, in order to be owned for king of Bohemia, to grant the Huſſites an edict, whereby among other privileges, it was decreed there ſhould be no magiſtrate or inhabitant in Prague but what was of their religion. This edict, granted in the year 1435, was obſerved till 1570, when by order of Maximilian II. a catholic was made citizen of Prague. Another of that religion obtained the ſame favour in 1599, and withal a place in the magiſtracy. From that time, Sigiſmund's edict was frequently violated, and at laſt the jeſuits were admitted into Prague, and built there a ſtately college. Thus, by degrees, the number of the catholics was conſiderably increaſed in the city, by means of the governors and the emperor's other officers, who were all of the ſame religion. The more they increaſed, the higher they carried their pretenſions, and at laſt, if we may believe the Apology publiſhed afterwards by the Bohemians, the edict of Sigiſmund was continually tranſgreſſed. However, in the reign of Rodolphus II. the proteſtants, by the interceſſion of prince Matthias, obtained of the emperor a ſecond edict, which under colour of confirming their privileges, put them upon a ſort of equality with the catholics, though they had enjoyed the ſuperiority for one hundred and fifty years. Nevertheleſs, this equality was as much as they could expect, conſidering the preſent juncture of time. But, though it was far ſhort of their antient privileges, the emperor's officers in Bohemia thinking ſuch an edict prejudicial to the catholic religion, refuſed to publiſh it, affirming, it was extorted from the emperor whilſt at war with the Turks. Very likely they were privately countenanced by the court of Vienna.

Rodolphus II. dying in 1614 [i], his brother Matthias ſucceeded him both in the kingdom of Bohemia and the imperial dignity. Under the new king the privileges of the proteſtants were violated much more openly, and with greater haughtineſs than under the laſt, if any credit is to be given to their Apology. But this was not all, Matthias having adopted his nephew [k], Ferdinand of Auſtria, had a mind alſo to ſecure him the crown of Bohemia. The execution of this project would doubtleſs have been very difficult, had not the emperor uſed artifice. Sileſia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Luſatia, being annexed to Bohemia, had a right to ſend deputies to the aſſembly of the ſtates of that kingdom. But as theſe countries were proteſtant, their deputies very probably would join with thoſe of Bohemia of the ſame religion, and fruſtrate the emperor's deſign. Wherefore he convened the ſtates of Bohemia without ſummoning the others. The proteſtants complained of the innovation, and not to authoriſe it, refuſed for the moſt part to ſend deputies to the ſtates. This was what the emperor foreſaw and wiſhed; for the catholic deputies being the majority, Ferdinand was declared Matthias's preſumptive ſucceſſor, and ſhortly after crowned at Prague; after which he reſided at Gratz. The defenders, for ſo were called a certain number of eminent perſons, choſen and appointed by the ſtates to ſee the edicts put in execution, perceiving the deſigns of the imperial court, ſummoned the ſtates purſuant to their power, and forgot not to call the incorporated provinces. This aſſembly only drew a petition to be preſented to the emperor, wherein the ſtates demanded the execution of the laws of the kingdom, and a juſt reparation for the injuries done them. Mean while, as they could come to no reſolution before the emperor's anſwer was received, they adjourned to the Monday after Rogation-week in the year 1618.

The emperor, inſtead of being inclined to ſend a favourable anſwer to the ſtates petition, ordered his lieutenant in Bohemia to hinder the next ſeſſion of the aſſembly, called without his licence. But the lieutenant was not ſtrong enough to execute the order. His oppoſition ſerving only to exaſperate the ſtates, who were aſſembled on the day appointed in the college of Charles IV. they went in a body to the chancery, and ſeizing the emperor's officers, pitched upon three, and threw them out of the caſtle-window [l]. After that, they drove the jeſuits out of Prague.

Things being come to this extremity, the ſtates publiſhed an Apology, to inform the public why they had puniſhed theſe officers. But as they believed the emperor would not hear their reaſons, they ſigned a confederacy, promiſing mutual aſſiſtance againſt all oppoſers. In the mean time, hearing the emperor was making preparations to attack them, they choſe four and twenty protectors, impowering them to raiſe forces, and lay upon the kingdom and the incorporated countries what taxes they ſhould judge neceſſary. Thus, a war being unavoidable, each took ſuch meaſures as he deemed requiſite to attack or defend.

At the time the Bohemian ſtates were taking theſe reſolutions, the cardinal infant was preparing an army in the Low-Countries to aſſiſt the emperor. Whilſt the army was levying, he ſent Charles de Bucquoy count de Longueval, to the emperor, who made him general of the army deſigned againſt Bohemia. The ſtates choſe for their generals, count Erneſt of Mansfeldt, and the count de la Tour. This war was of ſo great moment to the houſe of Auſtria, that it is not very ſtrange the Spaniards ſhould ſtill continue to amuſe king James with the hopes of ſeeing the projected marriage ſpeedily concluded. Very likely the war would at laſt become a religious war, and in that caſe, England could very much ſtrengthen the proteſtant party. Afterwards, the king of Spain had ſtill farther motives to continue this management. But the wonder is, though James had very ſtrong reaſons to ſuſpect the Spaniard of artifice, he ſtill obſtinately relied on his ſincerity. "It ſeemeth unto us here in England," (ſays one of his miniſters in a letter to Cottington) "that Conde Gondemar hath gone but very ſlowly in his journey; and divers (ſeeing how long time he hath ſpent in the way) do make conjecture, that it proceedeth from the ſmall affection that he judgeth to be there, towards the effecting of the main buſineſs.—But if the Spaniards act inſincerely, I ſhall judge them the moſt unworthy and perfidious people of the world, and the more, for that his majeſty hath given them ſo many teſtimonies of his ſincere intentions towards them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the cauſing ſir Walter Raleigh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them ſatisfaction, when by preſerving him, he might have given great ſatisfaction to his ſubjects, and had at command upon all occaſions as uſeful a man as ſerved any prince in Chriſtendom [m]." It is certain however the king was amuſed by the Spaniſh court. Count Gondemar undertaking to carry into Spain the articles ſigned by the king, was ſo very long on the road, that it was evident he fought only to delay the time. Notwithſtanding this, king James continued wilfully to ſhut his eyes, which will appear ſtill plainer in the ſequel.

Though the people of England were not informed of the contents of the articles agreed upon by the two courts, they knew however the marriage was going to be concluded, and thought it could not but be prejudicial to religion. This occaſioned many complaints and murmurs amongſt the proteſtants [n], whilſt the catholics triumphed, knowing the king of Spain would not give his daughter to prince Charles, without procuring them great advantages. At the worſt, they were ſure of having in that princeſs a powerful protectreſs, who would never forſake the intereſts of her religion. We ſhall ſee in the following years how artfully the Spaniard prolonged the negotiation, till he had drawn from it all poſſible advantages, as well for the houſe of Auſtria as for the catholic religion.

[1619] In the beginning of the year 1619, the earl of Northumberland, who had been in the Tower ever ſince the gunpowder plot, obtained his liberty at laſt, by means of the lord Hay, his ſon-in-law, lately made viſcount Doncaſter [o].

About the ſame time, doctor Williams dean of Weſtminſter, was made privy counſellor, and ſhortly after biſhop of Lincoln [p]. I purpoſely mention this prelate's promotion, becauſe he will often occur in the hiſtory of this as well as of the next reign.

[i] in 1612.

[k] He was his conſin only, being ſon to Charles, younger brother to his father Maximilian I.

[l] Slabata the chief juſtice, Smeſantius one of the council, and Fabritius the ſecretary. Wilſon, p. 720.

[m] The author of the Annals inſinuates, that this letter might be an invention of Ruſhworth's, but gives no reaſon for it. Rapin. His words are, "The reader is to take notice that this letter, as to its value and reputation, muſt ſolely reſt upon Ruſhworth's credit." p. 40.

[n] They would have bought off this match at the deareſt rate; and, as far as they durſt, oppoſed it by ſpeeches, counſels, wiſhes, prayers, &c. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 4.

[o] James lord Hay it ſeems had married, on November 6, 1617, Lucy the duke's youngeſt daughter without his conſent, and he was ſo much diſpleaſed with the match, that he could hardly be brought to accept of his liberty from the hands of his ſon-in-law. The fine of 30,000l. which he had been condemned to, was compounded at 11,000l. State of the Revenue, p. 11. His daughter was the ſame lady, who, under the title of counteſs of Carliſle, made the moſt ſhining figure in the court of Charles I. as a beauty, wit, and politician. The old duke, when he came out of the Tower, hearing that Buckingham was drawn about with ſix horſes in his coach (being the firſt that was ſo) put on eight to his, and in that manner was drawn through the city in his way to Bath. Wilſon, p. 720.

[p] Doctor Williams was not made dean of Weſtminſter till July the 12th 1620. Nor biſhop of Lincoln till July 1621. Philips, p. 57, 68, 76.—He was reported to be married to Buckingham's mother. Weldon, p. 138.

In March this year[q] the king loſt his queen in the forty-ſixth year of her age. Shortly after he was himſelf ſeized with a great illneſs, which brought him, as I may ſay, to the brink of the grave. It would have been well for his reputation had he died at this time, ſince the reſt of his reign, which laſted ſix years longer, was not much to his honour. In this ſpace he more plainly diſcovered his ſettled deſign to ſtretch the prerogative-royal as high as poſſible. Beſide, he gave very convincing proofs, that though he defended the proteſtant religion by his writings, he had not its intereſt much at heart. In fine, his eager deſire to conclude the Spaniſh match diſplayed all his weakneſs, and the affair of Bohemia, in which he could not but be concerned, fully ſatisfied the world of his ſlender capacity.

The emperor Matthias dying the 20th of March 1619, Ferdinand his couſin and adopted ſon, was proclaimed king of Bohemia, as well in conſequence of his election, as in virtue of his pretended hereditary right to the crown. Mean while, as his chief aim was to obtain the imperial dignity, and as he ſtood in need for that purpoſe of the proteſtant electors, he feigned a willingneſs to end amicably the war now begun in Bohemia, by giving the ſtates a reaſonable ſatisfaction with reſpect to their privileges. But the ſtates thought not fit to truſt to his promiſes. In the mean time, he endeavoured to gain the electors, and make alliances with the catholic princes of Germany. James, who gloried in being ſtiled the pacific king, thought himſelf obliged as ſuch, to try to appeaſe by his mediation the troubles of Bohemia. To that end, he choſe the viſcount Doncaſter to go and endeavour to procure a peace between Ferdinand and the Bohemian ſtates. There was not a prince in Europe ſo improper as he for a mediation of this nature, conſidering his principles with reſpect to monarchy. This embaſſy was very expenſive, the embaſſador, who was a ſort of favourite, and extremely profuſe, having been very laviſh of his maſter's money. Mean while, I know not whether he could obtain ſo much as a ſingle audience of Ferdinand, who ſtill removed as the embaſſador approached. Thus much is certain, the embaſſy was entirely fruitleſs, and ſerved only to ſhew the little account Ferdinand made of the king of England's mediation.

The time appointed for the election of an emperor approaching, the elector of Mentz ſummoned the reſt of the electors, and particularly Ferdinand as king of Bohemia. The ſtates of that kingdom proteſted againſt the ſummons, ſaying, Ferdinand could not be received as elector in quality of the king of Bohemia, ſince he was not in poſſeſſion of that kingdom. But their oppoſition was ineffectual. Ferdinand was not only acknowledged for king of Bohemia and elector, but was alſo choſen emperor the 8-18th of Aug. 1619[r]. Then the ſtates of Bohemia, ſeeing they had not been able to hinder Ferdinand from being emperor, took an oath never to own him for their ſovereign; and at the ſame time, namely, on the 5th of September[s], choſe for their king, Frederic elector Palatine, and ſent deputies to acquaint him with his election, and pray him to repair to Prague[t]. Frederic did not want much ſollicitation to accept of a crown offered him by thoſe who in his opinion had a right to diſpoſe of it. He ſent however baron d'Aulné[u] to the king his father-in-law for his advice, but it was a mere compliment. As he knew him to be a prince not very ready to engage in great undertakings, he did not ſtay for his anſwer, but aſſembling ſome troops, came to Prague, where he was crowned the 4th of November.

Before Frederic's envoy reached England, James hearing the news of his ſon-in-law's election, called a council to debate whether the elector ought to accept or refuſe the crown of Bohemia. The archbiſhop of Canterbury not being preſent by reaſon of the gout, which confined him to his bed, wrote to ſecretary Naunton, "That it was his opinion the elector ſhould accept of the crown, and England openly ſupport him. And therefore as ſoon as there ſhould be certain news of his coronation, the bells ought to be rung, guns fired, and bonfires made, to let all Europe ſee the king was determined to countenance him." But this advice was not followed. The king maintained in the council Ferdinand's cauſe againſt the ſtates of Bohemia, and without knowing any thing of their privileges, as he afterwards owned, decided that the Bohemian ſtates were in actual rebellion[w]. As for the reaſons with which the archbiſhop ſupported his opinion in his letter to Naunton, the king rejected them as built upon puritan-principles[x]. For, as I have elſewhere obſerved, there were in this reign ſtate-puritans as well as church-puritans, whom the court took great care to confound one with another, and this confuſion of ideas has been perſerved to this day. Hence the obſcurity which ſtill occurs in the notion of the two parties of whigs and tories. It was therefore reſolved, the king ſhould admoniſh the elector to refuſe the offered crown, not only becauſe it was agreeable to the king's principles, but for another, and no leſs ſtrong reaſon, namely, the king rightly judged that the elector's acceptance could not but be extremely prejudicial to the negotiation of the Spaniſh match, conſidering the ſtrict union between the princes of the houſe of Auſtria.

But the elector Palatine had broken theſe meaſures by accepting the crown, without ſtaying for the council of England's reſolution. The king was ſo angry, that he refuſed to give baron d'Aulné an audience, who ſince his departure had received orders to excuſe the elector from the neceſſity he was under of proceeding with all poſſible expedition. If the ſtates of Bohemia had deſigned to gain king James by electing his ſon-in-law, they were very much deceived, ſince they were never aſſiſted by him. The very embaſſadors ſent by king James on this occaſion to the emperor, and ſeveral German princes, did great injury to the ſtates; for theſe embaſſadors had expreſs orders to diſavow Frederic's proceedings; and of all the proteſtant princes, James alone never gave him the title of king.

Mean while, though the elector was now crowned, the king his father-in-law fancied he could perſuade him to quit the crown, and induce the ſtates of Bohemia to acknowledge Ferdinand. To that purpoſe he ſent two embaſſadors to Prague, namely, ſir Richard Weſton a papiſt, and ſir Edward Conway a proteſtant. Conway being afterwards made ſecretary of ſtate, the king uſed to ſay to him merrily, that never prince had ſuch a ſecretary, who could neither read nor write[y]. This embaſſy was very fruitleſs, as it was eaſy to foreſee.

Mean time the king of Spain did not forget to do the emperor good ſervice in keeping king James in his pacific diſpoſition. Nothing was talked of at the court of Madrid but the king of England's generoſity, juſtice, and equity: in fine, to amuſe him the better, the negotiation of the marriage was renewed, having been interrupted in expectation of the pope's diſpenſation; nay, it was intimated to Cottington, that if the diſpenſation did not quickly arrive, the marriage ſhould be concluded without it, or means found to force the pope to grant it. Cottington, who knew the Spaniſh court, fell not into the ſnare: he ſent word to England, that nothing more was to be expected concerning the marriage; that the king of Spain's intent was only to amuſe his majeſty; and therefore he believed the negotiation ought to be broke off. But inſtead of ſeeing his advice followed, he received orders to declare to the king of Spain, that his maſter was not concerned in the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia: that his

[q] Ruſhworth places the queen's death, on the 17th of November 1619. Rapin.—Camden ſays, ſhe died March the 1ſt, 1619, of a dropſy, in the night. Annals. Howes, p. 1031. The character of this queen is variouſly drawn. Some repreſent her as a vicious, lewd, and luxurious woman; but this, upon the beſt enquiry, ſeems to be only calumny. Wilſon more juſtly affirms, that ſhe was a good woman, and may have engraven upon her monument a character of virtue. See ſir E. Peyton, p. 27, 28. Wilſon, p. 719. &c.

[r] He was elected by the archbiſhop of Mentz, the duke of Saxony, and the electors of Brandenburgh, Colen, and Triers. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 11.

[s] The 26th of Auguſt. Rapin makes uſe ſometimes of the new ſtile, which in the laſt century was ten days before our reckoning, and is now eleven. The elector Palatine was crowned November 4. Wilſon, p. 721.

[t] They offered the crown firſt to the duke of Saxony, who refuſed it. The elector Palatine accepted it, through the perſuaſion of his two uncles, Maurice prince of Orange, and the duke of Bouillon. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 13.

[u] Some ſay, it was the baron of Dhona. I own, I am not certain, whether it was d'Aulné, or Dhona. Rapin.—Moſt of our hiſtorians call that perſon the baron Done; as the Annals, p. 42. Wilſon, p. 721, &c. In Rymer's Fœd. he is called the baron de Dona. Tom. XVII. p. 160.

[w] He was ſo poſſeſſed of the opinion of a divine right in all kings, that he could not bear that even an elective and limited king ſhould be called in queſtion by his ſubjects. Burnet's Hiſt. p. 13.

[x] The archbiſhop ſays in his letter, "It is a great honour to his majeſty, to have ſuch a ſon made a king; and methinks I do foreſee in this the work of God, that by degrees the kings of the earth ſhall now leave the whore to deſolation, as St. John ſays. Our ſtriking in will comfort the Bohemians, honour the palſgrave, ſtrengthen the union, bring on the Dutch, ſtir up Denmark, &c. to caſt in their ſhares, and Hungary I hope will run the ſame fortune; and for money and means to ſupport the war, providebit Deus. This from my bed, and when I can ſtand, I hope to do better ſervice. September 12, 1619." The letter in Ruſhworth is ſomething different from this; particularly, he makes the archbiſhop ſay, "The parliament is the old and honourable way of raiſing money, and all that may be ſpared is to be turned this way. And perhaps God has provided the jewels which were laid up in the Tower by the mother for the preſervation of the daughter. Certainly, if countenance be given to this action, many brave ſpirits will offer themſelves." Tom. I. p. 12.

[y] It was a pleaſant remark of the king's, that Stenny had given him three notable ſervants: a gentleman of the bedchamber (Clark) who could not help him to untruſs a point, for he had but one hand. A chaplain (Dr. Preſton) who could not ſay prayers, for he ſcrupled the uſe of the liturgy. And a ſecretary of ſtate (Conway) who could neither write nor read. Conway had been bred a ſoldier, being governor of the Briel when England gave up the cautionary towns.

This

ſon-in-law had proceeded without his approbation or knowledge, and therefore he intirely diſowned him. Philip anſwered, he was glad to find the king his brother in ſo equitable a diſpoſition, and that nothing could ſooner gain his eſteem and affection than the continuance of this expreſs diſavowal of an action ſo repugnant to juſtice [z].

[1620] The affair of Bohemia put ſeveral of the princes of Europe in motion, and held the reſt in ſuſpence. Ferdinand and Frederic had each their friends and allies, who were preparing to aſſiſt them, whilſt James ſtood neuter, imagining that by making a ſhew of neutrality, he ſhould induce the two competitors to make him arbiter of their difference. But both were jealous of him: the one becauſe he was a proteſtant and father-in-law of his adverſary; the other, becauſe he had openly declared he diſapproved of his conduct: ſo, without much regarding his ſollicitations, both ſides prepared to decide the quarrel by arms.

Had England eſpouſed Frederic's cauſe, and with a good fleet kept Spain and the Netherlands in awe, the elector very probably would have preſerved his crown, in ſo good a ſituation were his affairs the beginning of the year 1620. Several princes of Germany had formed a league to ſupport him, and were now levying an army, to be commanded by the prince of Anſpach [a]. On the other hand, Bethlem Gabor prince of Tranſilvania had excited the Hungarians to rebel againſt Ferdinand, and moſt part of Auſtria had followed the example of Hungary and Bohemia. All this confounded the emperor, and would have confounded him more if the elector of Saxony had ſtill remained neuter according to his firſt reſolution; but the emperor offering him Upper Luſatia, on condition he would conquer it, he could not withſtand the temptation of acquiring a country which lay ſo convenient for him. Moreover, the duke of Bavaria and the three eccleſiaſtical electors [b] declared for the emperor; the pope ſupplied him with money, and the king of Spain ordered his forces at Naples and in the Milaneſe to march to his aſſiſtance.

But this was not all the aid the Spaniard gave the emperor; he aſſiſted him ſtill more conſiderably in hindering James from aiding his daughter and ſon-in-law, and keeping him immoveable, and as it were enchanted with the hopes of the marriage and the dowry of two millions. To hold him the faſter in his chains, Philip ſent back count Gondemar under colour of finiſhing the affair. He diſſembled ſo artfully, that James, who had recalled Digby [c] from Spain, ſent thither ſir Walter Aſton, to endeavour with Cottington to finiſh the treaty, which he thought very near a concluſion. Gondemar being returned to England with great ſums of money, laid them out ſo pertinently, and made ſuch good uſe of his talents and knowledge of the court, that he became as maſter of the king, the favourite, and the miniſters, and governed them as he pleaſed.

To this aid, which was not inconſiderable, Philip was preparing to add another more effectual, to enable the emperor to get the advantage of his enemy. Frederic had drawn ten thouſand men out of the Palatinate, and ſent them into Bohemia. This inſpired the emperor with the thoughts of invading him on that ſide; and to execute the project, Philip and the archduke Albert levied in the Low-Countries an army of twenty-ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, to be commanded by Ambroſe Spinola. The truce between Spain and the United Provinces not being yet near expired, it was evident theſe forces could be deſigned only againſt the palatinate. The Hollanders warned king James of it; and ſuch of the courtiers as were not bribed with Spaniſh gold, never ceaſed to repreſent to him the danger to which the elector's dominions would be expoſed, if he did not ſuddenly reſolve to prepare for their defence. But James could not think of taking ſuch meaſures on bare ſuſpicions. He contented himſelf with ordering ſir Thomas Edmonds, his embaſſador at Bruſſels, to aſk the archduke the reaſon of ſo conſiderable an armament. The archduke anſwered, it was by the king of Spain's order, and the reaſon might be known of Spinola, who had the command of the army. Spinola being aſked the ſame queſtion, replied, that indeed he was ordered by the king of Spain to raiſe forces, but did not know for what purpoſe; that his orders being ſealed, he could not open them till his march; and if the embaſſador would follow him, he might then be reſolved. A man muſt have been wilfully blind not to ſee what this myſtery tended to, and yet James ſtill continued immoveable, relying on the Spaniard's friendſhip, and Gondemar's fair promiſes.

The whole kingdom was extremely ſurpriſed at the king's inſenſibility for his ſon-in-law, his daughter, and their children; but for his part he looked upon the quarrel between the emperor and Frederic in quite another light. He was juſt going to be ſtrictly united with the houſe of Auſtria by his ſon's marriage with the infanta of Spain, and at that very time the elector his ſon-in-law had broken all his meaſures by a raſh, unjuſt, and inconſiderate action, for ſo he termed the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. "Is it reaſonable (ſaid he) I ſhould ſuffer myſelf to be drawn by a ſon-in-law's ambition and humour into a war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, who have done me no wrong? Muſt I alter all my projects, all my meaſures, becauſe the elector Palatine has been pleaſed to accept the crown of Bohemia, without ſo much as aſking my advice [d]?" However, by much perſuaſion, he was prevailed with at length to ſuffer a regiment of two thouſand two hundred men to be raiſed, which was done moſtly at the charge of ſome lords. Sir Horatio Vere, who had long ſerved in Holland, where he had acquired great reputation, commanded this regiment, having under him Burroughs and Herbert for major-generals. The earls of Oxford and Eſſex accompanied him, and commanded each a company of gentlemen volunteers [e].

This regiment being raiſed with great expedition, was tranſported to Holland. Then they paſſed the Rhine below Weſel, to avoid Spinola, who was at Aix la Chapelle. It was not without danger that the Engliſh croſſed ſo many countries to reach the Palatinate; nay, they durſt not have attempted it, if prince Frederic Henry of Naſſau, with two thouſand horſe and ſome foot, had not conducted them to Francfort, and deceived Spinola's vigilance, who expected them on another road. It was the 1ſt of October before they joined the army of the king of Bohemia's allies [f], commanded by the margrave of Anſpach.

Spinola, who departed from Bruſſels the 8th of Auguſt, being come to Coblintz, opened his orders in the preſence of the Engliſh embaſſador, who had accompained him thus far. The orders were, to make war upon all who ſhould declare for the elector Palatine. This was all Edmonds could know of Spinola's deſigns. The reſt was eaſy to be gueſſed, conſidering which way he was marching. He arrived in the Palatinate before the Engliſh had joined the confederate army, and took ſeveral ſmall places. The two armies tried one another for ſome time, and were once in ſight of each other ready to engage, but no action of moment enſued [g]. The ſeaſon, which daily grew worſe, obliging them at laſt to retire to winter quarters, the confederate princes led home their troops, leaving the Engliſh in garriſon at Heidelbergh, Manheim, and Frankendal.

In April this year the king of France ſent to the emperor and ſeveral German princes, the duke of Angouléme, the duke of Bethune [h], and Mr. des Preaux, to endeavour to appeaſe the Bohemian and Hungarian troubles. At the ſame time James diſpatched ſir Henry Wotton [i] on the ſame errand, and to exhort to peace all the princes engaged in the quarrel between the emperor and the palſgrave. If, whilſt he ſent this embaſſador, he had armed by land and ſea, and put himſelf in a condition to ſtrike terror, his remonſtrances doubtleſs would have been hearkened to, and his mediation perhaps accepted [k]: but Wotton having traverſed moſt part of Germany, and talked with ſeveral princes of both parties, brought back only general expreſſions, which ſhewed

[z] This year, Auguſt 2, Robert Sidney viſcount Liſle, was created earl of Leiceſter, William lord Compton earl of Northampton, William Cavendiſh earl of Devonſhire, and Robert lord Rich earl of Warwick. Howes, p. 1029. Dugdale, vol. II.—On July 17, one Bernard Calvert, ſetting out of Southwark about three o'clock in the morning, embarked at Dover about eight, went to Calais, and returned to Southwark again the ſame day about eight in the evening. Howes, p. 1032.

[a] The preference given to this prince before the counts Mansfeldt and De la Tour, occaſioned ſome diſcontent in the two latter, which was very prejudicial to the elector Palatine's affairs. Wilſon, p. 722.

[b] The archbiſhops of Mentz (who only has power to ſummon the reſt to an election when the empire is vacant), Triers, and Cologne.

[c] He was created lord Digby of Sherborne, November 25, 1618. Howes, p. 1031.

[d] The king uſed to ſay, "The Bohemians made uſe of the palſgrave as the fox did of the cat's tail, to pull the apple out of the fire for his own eating." Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 12.

[e] Conſiſting of two hundred and fifty. There were among them ſir Edward Sackville, ſir Gerard Herbert, ſir Robert Knolles, captain Stafford, Wilmot, Burroughs, Knightly, William Fairfax, &c. Ruſhworth, p. 15. So many flocked to Eſſex, that beſide the two hundred and fifty in his camp, he paid fifty himſelf. Wilſon, p. 722. This hiſtorian attended the earl of Eſſex in this expedition. See p. 723.

[f] They only joined then part of it, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. Idem, p. 723.

[g] There was a ſkirmiſh on the 10th of March between the two armies, wherein the elector Palatine's got the victory. Wilſon, p. 74.

[h] It was not the duke Bethune, but Philip de Bethune baron of Rhoſney, who died 1649, aged eighty-four.

[i] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, Sir Edward. See Annals, p. 43.

[k] Had he, as Weldon rightly obſerves, ſpent half the money in ſwords inſtead of words, for which he was but ſcorned, it had kept his ſon-in-law in his own inheritance, and ſaved much chriſtian blood ſince ſhed, p. 83.

The

how little the king his maſter was regarded. At laſt he came to Vienna[l], where he found the French embaſſadors. In the audience he had of the emperor, he made two propoſitions, each divided into three articles, according to the king's uſual cuſtom, who was very fond of diviſions and ſubdiviſions. It muſt be obſerved, the emperor had now publiſhed a ban againſt the elector Palatine[m], wherein he had fully ſet forth the reaſons moving him to come to ſuch extremities: that Spinola was marching to the Palatinate; that the duke of Bavaria was leading his troops to Bohemia, to join the emperor's forces[n]; and the elector of Saxony going to invade Luſatia[o]. In this juncture Wotton made his two propoſitions to the emperor.

The firſt general propoſition was, that the emperor might truſt the king, as it appeared by the three following reaſons:

1. The king was never concerned in the acceptance of the crown of Bohemia.

2. The elector Palatine did not impart the affair to him before his election, and he had diſapproved of it. This was evident from the king's never ſuffering him to be ſtiled King of Bohemia, or to be prayed for as ſuch in the churches.

3. The king never aſſiſted the elector with men or money.

The ſecond propoſition was concerning the means of procuring a peace, and contained theſe three articles:

1. He deſired the emperor to let him know whether he was content to treat of an accommodation by his maſter's and the French king's mediation: adding, if his imperial majeſty expected the affairs of Bohemia ſhould be reſtored to their former ſtate, he conceived that his ſtay at Vienna and the king his maſter's mediation would be fruitleſs.

2. He prayed the emperor to inform him of the ſtate of affairs in Bohemia.

3. And that he would be pleaſed to grant a ceſſation of arms, and let the roads be open between Vienna and Prague during the negotiation.

The emperor, ſurpriſed to hear ſuch propoſitions in the preſent ſtate of affairs, told the embaſſador he did not fully underſtand his diſcourſe, and deſired a clearer and more circumſtantial memorial, that he might be able to give him a ſuitable anſwer. Whether the embaſſador could explain the king's mind concerning the firſt article of the ſecond propoſition, or for ſome other reaſon unknown, the memorial was never preſented, at which the emperor was much diſpleaſed. Thus ended this embaſſy.

The elector of Saxony, the duke of Bavaria, and the marquis of Spinola, commiſſioned to execute the imperial ban, began all three to act in September. I have already ſpoken of what Spinola did in the Palatinate, during this firſt campaign. The elector of Saxony, at the head of twenty thouſand men, entered Luſatia, and by the end of October conquered the whole country, which he kept for himſelf according to his agreement with the emperor.

Whilſt the elector of Saxony was in Luſatia, the duke of Bavaria having ſubdued Upper Auſtria the beginning of September, joined count Bacquoy who commanded the imperial army in Bohemia. As Frederic had all his forces there, the emperor's two generals were obliged to take ſome places before ther could advance to Prague. At length, having opened a paſſage, they came in the beginning of November within ſight of that metropolis and of the enemy's army poſted between them and the city. A few days after[p] was fought the battle of Prague, wherein Frederic's army was entirely routed. This prince, who ſtaid at Prague during the battle, haſtily retired with his wife and children, leaving all his baggage and money in the city, which on the morrow opened her gates to the Imperialiſts and Bavarians. Weſton and Conway, the Engliſh embaſſadors, followed the king in his flight: but finding he intended to withdraw into Holland, they obtained a paſſport to return to Prague, where they remained not long, their ſtay being entirely needleſs[q]."

The victory lately gained by the emperor's arms produced great effects, the firſt whereof was, that the palſegrave was forſaken by moſt of the princes his confederates. The prince of Anhalt himſelf, who commanded his army, entered into the emperor's ſervice. Count Mansfeldt alone remained faithful, and was ſtill ſerviceable to him[r].

This ſame year the Hugonots of France being vigorouſly puſhed by Lewis XIII. James ſent ſir Edward Herbert[s] to ſollicit him in their behalf; nay, he had orders to uſe menaces if the court of France refuſed to regard his remonſtrances. Herbert diſcharged his commiſſion ſo bluntly, that the conſtable Luynes, being offended at it, cauſed him to be recalled. Herbert would have afterwards ſent a challenge to the conſtable for miſrepreſenting his words, but the king would not ſuffer it. The viſcount Doncaſter, lately made earl of Carliſle, was ſent to France in Herbert's room. He ſpent immenſe ſums, without effecting any thing for the Hugonots. This is not ſurpriſing, ſince the French court knew king James was neither able nor willing to aſſiſt them.

The campaign of the Palatinate was no ſooner ended, than the earl of Eſſex poſted away, to repreſent to the king the impoſſibility of ſaving that country, without a ſpeedy and powerful aid[t]. But it was not by way of arms that James meant to ſupport his ſon-in-law's intereſt. Count Gondemar ruled him as he pleaſed, by feeding him with continual hopes of the good ſucceſs of the marriage, provided he would not diſturb the negotiation by proceedings offenſive to the king of Spain: nay, he told him, that ſhould the emperor become maſter of the Palatinate, it would only be a ſurer means to put an end to the war, becauſe then it would be given to the infanta for a preſent to the prince her ſpouſe, who might reſtore it to the count Palatine. All this paſſed current with the king: he was ſo poſſeſſed with the project of ending the war by means of this match, that nothing was capable of altering his belief. Count Gondemar had bribed with preſents and penſions all thoſe who had the king's ear[u], and who took care to cheriſh him in this vain project[w]. The reſt of the world were aſtoniſhed to ſee the king take ſuch wrong meaſures; but no man durſt preſs him upon that head, knowing he did not care any but his miniſters ſhould ſpeak to him of ſtate-affairs. He verily believed there was no other way to ſave the Palatinate, than to preſerve a good underſtanding with the king of Spain and the emperor, by ſtanding neuter. This he declared himſelf to the council, adding however, if his inſtances were rejected he would have recourſe to arms at laſt. Not that he had any intent to go to war with the houſe of Auſtria let what would happen, but hoped this would be a good pretence to get money, which he wanted very much. To that end likewiſe it was debated in council, how to make preparations for the defence of the Palatinate, in caſe the king's mediation was rejected. Gondemar having notice of what had paſſed at the board, wrote to the marquis of Buckingham, deſiring to know what was the king's intention. Here is the favourite's anſwer, which plainly diſcovers the king's thoughts:

SIR,

"I ſhewed your letter to the king, who thinks your requeſt reaſonable. He has ordered me to tell you, that the ſpeech he lately made to the council, contained two principal points: firſt, whereas the world talked ſo variouſly of him, he declared, he was ſo far from adviſing the elector Palatine to accept the crown of Bohemia, that he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to diſſuade him from it. For the particulars of what he ſaid upon this ſubject, he refers to the lord Digby, who being preſent, can inform your excellency. His majeſty declared moreover, he was reſolved to continue neuter for three reaſons: Firſt, Becauſe his conſcience obliged him to it. Secondly, Becauſe his honour was concerned. Thirdly, Not to give an ill example. Upon the firſt reaſon he ſaid, he was ſure the religion he profeſſed, did not allow that crowns ſhould be removed from one head to another on account of religion: that our church very juſtly oppoſed the principle of the jeſuits, who

[l] The 1ſt of September. Rapin.

[m] Ever ſince April 30, 1620. Ibid.

[n] Count Bucquoy joined the duke of Bavaria the 6th or 7th of September. Rapin.

[o] He began the ſiege of Baudien, September 8. Ibid.

[p] On the 8th of November. There were ſix thouſand Bohemians ſlain, and more taken priſoners. Coke, p. 108.

[q] It is ſaid that Frederic's ill ſucceſs was owing in ſome meaſure to his niggardlineſs; for though he had great ſums of money by him, yet was he ſo ſlow in paying his ſoldiers, that they were neceſſitated to take free quarters upon the Bohemians. The jealouſy alſo that the Lutherans had of the aſcendant the Calviniſts might gain by this acceſſion, had an unhappy ſhare in the coldneſs which all the princes of that confeſſion ſhewed towards him, though Saxony only declared againſt him. Coke, p. 108. Wilſon, p. 724. Burnet, p. 13.

[r] He had an army of between fourteen and fifteen thouſand men. Wilſon p. 725.

[s] Afterwards lord Herbert of Cherbury.

[t] King James ſent the elector Palatine thirty thouſand pounds to keep the princes of the union in arms. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 18.

[u] Particularly the earls of Worceſter and Arundel, the lord Digby, ſir George Calvert, ſir Richard Weſton, and others popiſhly affected; together with Buckingham and his numerous train. But the duke of Lenox, the marquis of Hamilton, and William earl of Pembroke, were againſt the Spaniſh match. Wilſon, p. 725, 726.

[w] Wilſon ſays, he bribed the very ladies, eſpecially thoſe who talked much, and to whom much company reſorted, that they might allay ſuch as were too four in their expreſſions, and ſtop them if they run on too faſt. But it ſeems he had neglected the lady Jacobs, who, upon his paſſing by her window in his chair, inſtead of anſwering his ſalutation as uſual, only gaped with her mouth, which repeating again next day, he ſent to know the reaſon: ſhe replied, "That ſhe had a mouth to ſtop, as well as other ladies." p. 726.

The

take upon them to enthrone and dethrone kings according to their fancy: that our religion enjoins us to obey our princes and ſovereigns, though they ſhould be Turks or Infidels: that the world was inclined to turn this to a religious war, to which his majeſty is entirely averſe. As to the point of honour, the king ſaid, that being ſollicited by the king of Spain to uſe all his intereſt to procure a peace between the emperor and the Bohemian ſtates, and this accident, of accepting the crown of Bohemia, happening whilſt his embaſſador was in Germany mediating an accommodation, he was obliged to make known his innocence, in order to ſave his honour: that if now he aſſiſted his ſon-in-law in this affair, his actions would be directly contrary to his proteſtation, which would be very diſhonourable. Upon the third reaſon, his majeſty declared, it was a very dangerous precedent againſt all chriſtian princes, to allow of the tranſlation of a crown by the peoples authority: that though he was king by hereditary right, yet it could not be ſufficiently conſidered how far this miſchief might reach if once it took root; and that this example might very ſenſibly affect the king of Denmark his brother-in-law, whoſe crown was elective: that as for the privileges the Bohemians might have, in this caſe, by the antient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, it would be neceſſary to turn over many volumes, read abundance of hiſtories, and carefully examine what their rights are, before this point could be determined, with which he has nothing to do, not being made judge of the diſpute. The ſecond thing, concerning which the king declared himſelf, was the affair of the Palatinate. Upon this point he firſt informed his council, that he had omitted nothing, as well by means of his embaſſadors, as by his own mouth, in ſpeaking to your excellency: that moreover, he had ſent an embaſſador to the German princes, who were concerned in the affair, to remonſtrate to them, that ſince he had with ſo much ſincerity and candor continued neuter, he had great reaſon, on the other hand, to repreſent to them how much he was concerned in the invaſion of the Palatinate, ſince he had given his daughter to the elector Palatine, bonâ fide, whilſt that prince was in poſſeſſion of his dominions, and long before theſe troubles could be foreſeen: that at preſent his grand-children were lawful heirs to it, and it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to deprive them of their inheritance, ſince they are not guilty, conſidering the ſincerity of the king their grandfather; that indeed, it cannot be denied, there was notice given from Spain, that the emperor would be forced to make this diverſion, to free himſelf from the oppreſſion he endured in Bohemia and Auſtria: that your excellency ſaid the ſame thing, which was confirmed by his embaſſadors: that the invaſion being really made, nature obliged him to provide for the defence of his grand-children by all poſſible and lawful ways: that the approaching winter allowed him to make two ſorts of preparations: Firſt, To endeavour that a peace may be concluded before ſummer; and if, as he hoped, the elector his ſon-in-law would be guided by him, and the emperor be willing to hearken to the overtures which would be made to him, he did not queſtion but a peace would enſue, and the calamities Chriſtendom was threatened with, both by a Turkiſh invaſion and an inteſtine war, would be happily prevented. But if the elector would be willing to yield to reaſonable terms, and the emperor refuſe to comply, in that caſe he would not loſe the opportunity of the winter to prepare for the defence of the Palatinate: and if, on the contrary, the elector remained obſtinate, he would then leave him to his own counſels.

"After the king had thus ſpoken, it was debated in council concerning the means of defending the Palatinate, as the lord Digby could have informed your excellency. To conclude this letter, his majeſty commands me to aſſure you, upon the honour of a Chriſtian king, that this is all that he has paſſed in this affair either in public or private. He is perſuaded, not only your excellency, but the king of Spain alſo, will believe it, ſooner than all the informations which through ignorance or malice may be given you from any other place."

The king's whole conduct, whether at the time this letter was wrote or afterwards, agrees ſo exactly with the ſentiments therein expreſſed, that it would be in vain to queſtion its being genuine [x]. It is certain, the king never intended to defend the Palatinate by arms, whilſt he had any hopes of concluding his ſon's marriage with the infanta. He uſed however that pretence to draw money from his ſubjects, and to ſend a letter ſigned by the council to all the nobility, and to the lord mayor of London, for benevolence [y]. But probably this method was unſucceſsful, ſo much were the people diſſatisfied with the government. At the very time he ſeemed deſirous to defend the Palatinate, invaded by the Spaniards, count Gondemar governed England by his influence over the king [z]. All who had any expectations from the court, were extremely careful not to offend him in any thing whatever, knowing how much it was in his power to prejudice ſuch as he was diſpleaſed with. Secretary Naunton failing on ſome occaſion to uſe this policy, loſt his place, which was given to Conway.

On the other hand, the marquis of Buckingham ruled in the king's name, without bearing the leaſt contradiction. He abſolutely diſpoſed of all offices, or rather his mother, ſince he could not deny her any thing [a]. As ſhe was extremely greedy of money, and a great bigot of the Romiſh religion, none were preferred but ſuch as could make large preſents to the favourite's mother, and were well inclined to Rome, or at leaſt indifferent in point of religion. Nay, places were frequently taken from thoſe who had paid dear for them, in order to diſpoſe of them to new purchaſers. Montague having given twenty thouſand pounds for the office of lord treaſurer, was removed before the year expired [b], and ſir Lionel Cranfield put in his place, and created ſoon after earl of Middleſex [c]. Cranfield had been a merchant in London, and afterwards a cuſtom-houſe officer, from whence he was introduced into court as a projector: a name given to ſuch as ſuggeſted to the miniſters expedients to bring money into the king's exchequer, when there was no parliament.

The marquis of Buckingham, about the end of the year, married the earl of Rutland's only daughter, the richeſt heireſs in the kingdom. Some ſay, he debauched her before marriage, and the earl of Rutland ſent him word, if he did not eſpouſe her, the king's favour ſhould not ſcreen him from his revenge. Buckingham readily complied, ſince it was a very advantageous match for him. But as the young lady was bred a papiſt by her mother, ſhe muſt, for form's ſake, be inſtructed by Dr. White, who, as it is pretended, made her a good proteſtant. However, ſhe was brought by her mother-in-law into the old way again.

The affairs of the proteſtant religion in Germany and France were in a very ill ſituation. On the other hand, the king of Bohemia being driven out of his kingdom, ſaw himſelf upon the point of loſing alſo the Palatinate. All the world murmured to behold the king's extreme indolence with reſpect to theſe two affairs, wherein he was particularly concerned as a father, as a king of England, and as a proteſtant. Theſe murmurs produced at length a parliament. Not that the court's intent was to ſatisfy the people: but it was judged, ſince they were ſo deſirous, that proper meaſures ſhould be taken for the defence of religion and the Palatinate, the houſe of commons would be ready to grant the king an aid anſwerable to ſo important a deſign. A parliament was therefore ſummoned to meet on the 20th of January 1621 [d]. But the better to perſuade the public the king was really bent upon a war, the council nominated, a few days before the parliament met, a certain number of the moſt noted lords and officers, who had orders to meet and give their opinion concerning the means of vigorouſly carrying on the war. Mean while, as the people talked too freely of the king's and his miniſtry's conduct, they were forbid by proclamation to diſcourſe of ſtate-affairs. But this prohibition produced a quite contrary effect, it being hardly poſſible to ſtop people's tongues by ſuch means.

[1621] The king, no doubt, wiſhed to preſerve the Palatinate for his ſon-in-law. All he could be blamed for was, his taking a wrong courſe to that end. Amuſed, or as it

[x] The ſubſtance of this letter is in Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 16.

[y] This circular letter is to be ſeen in Ruſhworth. Ibid.

[z] Ruſhworth obſerves, that he had the acceſs of a favourite, rather than of an embaſſador from a foreign prince. Tom. I. p. 18.

[a] Gondemar perceiving moſt addreſſes were made to her firſt, and by her conveyed to her ſon, among other his witty pranks wrote merrily in his diſpatches to Spain: "That never was there more hope of England's converſion to Rome than now; for there are more prayers offered here to the mother than to the ſon." Wilſon, p. 708.

[b] He was made lord treaſurer December 4, 1620, and removed September 28, 1621. He was on December 4, created baron of Kimbolton, and viſcount Mandeville, and ſoon after earl of Mancheſter; upon reſigning his office of lord treaſurer, he was made preſident of the council. Howes, p. 1034.

[c] He had married Ann, daughter to James Bret of Howby in Leiceſterſhire, eſq; by Ann his wife, ſiſter to Mary Beaumont, counteſs of Buckingham. From the heireſs of his family is deſcended the duke of Dorſet. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 446.

[d] It was ſummoned to meet on January 16. Journ. Procer. The king iſſued a proclamation, on November 6, wherein he ordered, that the knights and burgeſſes ſhould be choſen of the graveſt, ableſt, and beſt affected myndes that could be found.—Perſons approved for their ſinceryty in religion, and not noted, either for ſuperſtitious blindneſs, or turbulent humours—Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 270.

were bewitched by Gondemar's charm, he believed the prince's marriage with the infanta was the moſt proper means, not perceiving that this marriage was only a decoy to deceive and hinder him from taking better meaſures. It will doubtleſs be thought ſtrange, that James ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus managed by a Spaniſh embaſſador, in an affair which ſo much concerned the houſe of Auſtria: but it will be the leſs ſurpriſing, if his ſituation be conſidered. Firſt, He had an averſion to war; and though he would have made believe, it was out of reaſon and choice, it is certain however, this averſion was ſo natural, that it was almoſt impoſſible for him to overcome it.

In the next place, his opinion concerning the extent of the regal power, made him dread all occaſions of cauſing his prerogative to be queſtioned. If he engaged in a war, he muſt call a parliament, and the parliament had already convinced him, they were not of his ſentiment concerning the extent of the prerogative royal, of which he was ſo jealous. It is therefore no wonder, that of the two ways which offered to preſerve the Palatinate, namely, war and the prince's marriage, he ſhould chuſe that which was moſt agreeable to his temper and inclination. What is more ſtrange is, that in comparing theſe two ways, he ſhould be ſo blind as to think the marriage the eaſieſt and moſt proper, and would not ſee that it was only a ſnare to deceive him. On the other hand, he was not ſatisfied with reſolving to take this method rather than the other, but even affected to intimate to the houſe of Auſtria, that he ſhould not, till the laſt extremity, think of having recourſe to arms, and thereby marred all his affairs. The emperor and the king of Spain knew how to improve theſe wrong proceedings. Gondemar having eaſily diſcovered the king's ſcheme, failed not to encourage him to purſue it ſteadily, by putting him in hopes of ſucceſs. There was another and very ſtrong reaſon for Gondemar's keeping the king in this ſituation. The truce between Spain and Holland being about to expire, if the king ſhould reſolve to ſupport his ſon-in-law by arms, he would be able to make ſuch a diverſion in the Low-Countries, as would make Auſtria pay dear for the conqueſt of the Palatinate. For this reaſon chiefly the courts of Vienna and Madrid flattered him with the hopes of obtaining an honourable peace for the prince Palatine. But theſe were only words, which James, too credulous, took for deeds.

Though the king did not intend to declare war with Spain, he was very glad however that the people were inclined to ſupport by arms the elector's intereſt. He hoped the parliament would grant him large ſums to enable him to make himſelf feared, and then he fancied, it would be eaſy for him to determine his ſon-in-law's affairs without drawing the ſword, and conſequently without employing the money which ſhould be given him by the parliament. Herein he meant to imitate his great-grandfather Henry VII. who often uſed this expedient to fill his coffers. But he ſhould alſo have imitated his addreſs in concealing his deſigns, whereas, on the contrary, James's intentions were known to all.

The parliament being aſſembled, the king made a ſpeech to both houſes, which he divided into three heads. In the firſt, he told them what a parliament was, under colour of reminding them of ſo neceſſary and fundamental a point. The ſecond contained the reaſons for their meeting. In the third, he ſpoke of the grievances which the people thought to have cauſe to complain of, and endeavoured to juſtify his conduct. As this ſpeech is very long, I ſhall only cite ſuch paſſages as may ſerve to diſcover both the king's principles and deſigns. He begins thus:

"My lords ſpiritual and temporal, and you the commons. IN multiloquio non deeſt peccatum, ſaith the wiſeſt man that ever was; and this experience I have found in mine own perſon: for it is true there have been many ſeſſions of parliament before this, wherein I have made many diſcourſes to the gentlemen of the lower houſe, and in them delivered a true mirror of my heart; but as no man's actions are free from cenſure, in regard of the excellency of perfection, ſo, it may be, it pleaſed God, ſeeing ſome vanity in me, to ſend back my words as wine ſpit into my own face, ſo as I may truly ſay, "I have piped unto you, and you have not danced; I have mourned, and you have not lamented."

Concerning the conſtitution of a parliament.

"What is a parliament? It is an aſſembly compoſed of a head and a body; the monarch is the head, and the three eſtates[e] the body, which are called in a monarchy a parliament, 'which was uſed and created by monarchs; for kings were before parliaments, who as ſoon as they had ſettled a form of government, and were willing that the people ſhould be governed by laws, called their parliaments,' &c.---Only this I would have you to obſerve, that it is a vain thing for a parliament to preſs to be popular; there is in no ſtate a parliament without a monarchy.---This I put you in mind of, that you ſerve under a monarchy, and that we muſt ſtand and fall with it. Now conſider, firſt, Who called you? Your king. Secondly, Whom he calls? The peers, who in reſpect of the eminency of their places and highneſs have an intereſt therein by birth and inheritance, becauſe they are to aſſiſt the king in his great affairs. In the next, the church, the clergy, not all, but the principal heads thereof, the biſhops.---The knights ſtand for the ſhires, and the other gentlemen for the burroughs: of theſe is the whole body compact.

"Thirdly, Why are ye called? To give the king your advice in ſuch errands as he ſhall aſk of you, or you ſhall think fit to aſk his advice in.

"The king makes laws, and ye are to adviſe him to make ſuch as will be beſt for the commonwealth. There is another cauſe for which the houſe of commons is called, for that they beſt know the particular eſtate of their country; and if the king ſhall aſk their advice, they can beſt tell what is amiſs, as being moſt ſenſible, and alſo petition him to redreſs and amend it: they are the authors of ſuſtenance alſo to him, to ſupply his neceſſities; and that is the proper uſe of a parliament. Here they are to offer what they think fit to ſupply his wants, and he is in lieu thereof to afford them mercy and juſtice.

"And this I dare boldly ſay, and am not aſhamed to ſpeak it, that all people owe a kind of tribute to their king, as a thankfulneſs for his love to them; and where there is this ſympathy between a king and his people, it breeds a happy parliament."

Concerning religion.

"As for religion there are laws enough, ſo as the true intent and execution follow:———

"As touching the rumour which is ſpread, that I ſhould tolerate religion in reſpect to the match which hath been long in treaty with Spain for my ſon; I profeſs I will do nothing therein which ſhall not be honourable and for the good of religion, elſe am I not worthy to be your king; and if any thing break off this match, it ſhall be the cauſe of religion. The trial which you have had of my words and writings, wherein I have been a martyr, tortured in the mouths of many idle fellows, may give you ample teſtimony of my integrity, in ſuch ſort, as I hope you will truſt the wiſdom of your king ſo far, as I will never do one thing in private and another in public: 'but if after this my declaration any ſhall tranſgreſs, blame me not if I ſee them ſeverely puniſhed.'

Concerning the reaſons of calling a parliament.

"Now the major errand (I ſpeak the truth) for which I have called you, is for a ſupply of my urgent neceſſities in urgent cauſes: ye can all bear me witneſs, that I have reigned above eighteen years among you; if it hath been a fault in me that you have been at peace all this time, I pray you pardon it; for I took it for an honour unto me, that you ſhould live quietly under your vines and fig-trees, reaping the fruits of your own labours, and myſelf to be a juſt and merciful king among you. You have not been troubled with preſſing of men, nor with other inconveniencies which the diſaſters of war produce, and yet in theſe eighteen years have I had leſs ſupplies than any king before me. The late queen, of famous memory, was ſo far ſupplied in her time, that it grew to an annual contribution of one hundred thirty-five thouſand pounds a year: I had never above four ſubſidies and ſix fifteenths. I challenge not more of deſert than ſhe; but ſure I am, I have governed as peaceably. The time ſince my ſupply hath been as the time of women with child, 'Quæ decem tulerint faſtidia menſes,' who after ten months longings, are delivered of their burthens; but I have travelled ten years, and therefore full time to be delivered of my wants.

"Now you have ſeen a trial of my late care in divers years laſt paſt in looking into the particulars of my eſtate, wherein I muſt confeſs I have found my revenue (as Job's friends)

[e] As in the following reign there were great diſputes, whether the biſhops were a ſtate or a body apart by themſelves in the parliament, each ſide grounded their aſſertion upon theſe words of this ſpeech; the one affirming the king ſaid, the Three Eſtates, and the other maintaining he mentioned only Two Eſtates: This is the reaſon of the difference which occurs in the ſeveral copies. Ruſhworth and Wilſon have Two Eſtates. Franklin, Nelſon, &c. Three Eſtates.

Theſe

forſaking me [in my houſhold expences I have abated ten thouſand pounds per annum; in my navy I have abated twenty-five thouſand pounds; and ſhortly I hope to abate ten thouſand pounds more. In my ordinary I have brought the expence from thirty-four thouſand to fourteen thouſand pounds], and yet I was loth to believe at firſt that theſe were ſo much out of order; but at laſt, by the information of ſome private gentlemen, I was induced to enter into a particular ſurvey; and herein was the love of my young admiral to me, as he took the envy of all upon himſelf for my ſake: and though he be but young, yet I find him true in faith, and an honeſt man, and hath had the beſt ſucceſs in all he hath taken in hand: he appointed under himſelf divers commiſſioners, as a young commander ſhould do, the better to preſerve himſelf from errors, and yet ſought no reward but my good and ſervice, nevertheleſs went through with great diligence and good ſucceſs: and therefore I hope the kingdom ſhall ſay I have now a true care of my eſtate, not taking from others by violence, houſe or land, but governing my own with good huſbandry."

Concerning the affair of Bohemia, he ſaid much the ſame things as the marquis of Buckingham wrote in his letter to count Gondemar, after which he added:

"I am now to take for a worſe danger againſt next ſummer, albeit I will leave no travel untried to obtain a happy peace; but I thought good to be armed againſt the worſe time, it being beſt to treat of peace with the ſword in my hand: Now I ſhall labour to preſerve the reſt of the Palatinate, wherein I declare, That if by fair means I cannot get it, my crown, my blood, and all ſhall be ſpent, with my ſon's blood alſo, but I will get it for him: and this is the cauſe of all, that the cauſe of religion is involved in it, for they will alter religion where they conquer, and ſo perhaps my grandchild may ſuffer, who hath committed no fault at all. But this is nothing without a ſpeedy ſupply, 'Bis dat qui citò dat.'

"Conſider who it is that moves you? your king; and the care of the reformation, and the charges which he hath diſburſed, beſides forty thouſand pounds upon the pyratical wars; and conſider if I deſerve not your reſpects.

"It is ſtrange that my mint hath not gone this eight or nine years, but I think the fault of the want of money is in the uneven balancing of trade; for other things I confeſs I have been liberal, but the main cauſe of my wants has been the ill government of thoſe whom I have truſted under me, for I will not make every day a Chriſtmas; and yet it may be in ſome grants I have hurt myſelf, and in others my ſubjects; but if I be truly informed, I will rightly reform them.

"But for you to hunt after grievances to the prejudice of the king and yourſelves, is not the errand: deal with me as I ſhall deſerve it at your hands: I will not leave anything undone that becomes a juſt king, if you deal accordingly.

"I know this parliament hath ben of great expectation, and ſo was that at my firſt coming: You I knew, but not the laws and cuſtoms of this land. I was led by the old counſellors I found, which the old queen left, and it may be there was a miſtaking and miſunderſtanding between us, which bred an abruption. And at the laſt parliament there came up a ſtrange kind of beaſt called Undertakers [f], a name, which in my nature I abhor, which cauſed a diſſolution.

"Now you have that advantage that I call you out of my own free motion, and my truſt is in your good offices: For my good ſtates, even all and every one ſhall find an honeſt king of me.

"How happy a fame will that be, that he is reverenced and loved of all his people, and he reciprocally loves them. So ſhall I then be honoured by my neighbour princes, and peradventure my government be made an example for poſterity to follow [g]."

Many remarks and reflections might be made upon this ſpeech; but as that would lead me too far, I ſhall content myſelf with making one ſingle obſervation. This ſpeech contained ſome maxims concerning the regal power, which certainly the Engliſh in general did not then admit, as they do not even at this day. If ſince king James's acceſſion, the parliament, or the commons in particular, had endeavoured to incroach upon his prerogative, it might not be thought ſtrange that he ſhould let them know his reſolution to maintain it, and mark out the bounds they were not to exceed. But if we conſider what paſſed in the two firſt parliaments of this reign, the commons did not begin to attack the king, but the king himſelf gave the parliament cauſe to complain. And ſuppoſing the grievances complained of by the lower-houſe were groundleſs, to repreſent them to the king was no attempt upon the prerogative royal; and yet this was the only reaſon of diſſolving the two firſt parliaments. It appears moreover, not only in this to the preſent parliament, but alſo in his former ſpeeches, that he made his prerogative to conſiſt in an unlimited power, ſince he ſaid in expreſs terms, "That as to diſpute what God may do, is blaſphemy; ſo is it ſedition in ſubjects to diſpute what a king may do in the height of his power [h]." Hence it was eaſy to infer, he ſet no bounds to the prerogative royal.

The occaſion of calling the parliament was ſo plauſible, that the commons eaſily perceived, if they began, according to cuſtom, with the conſideration of the grievances before they gave the king money, he would not fail to ſay, that a delay in ſo important a juncture was the ſame as a denial.

The people were extremely incenſed againſt Spain for invading the Palatinate. They dreaded the prince's marriage with the infanta, and the deſtruction of the proteſtant religion abroad. So to deny the king money on this occaſion, would be juſtifying his indolence. Some members, however, believing the king had no deſign to make war, were deſirous to ſpare the people's purſes. But the reſt demonſtrated to them, the neceſſity of ſacrificing a ſum of money, whether the king employed it in defence of the Palatinate, or put it to other uſes. In the firſt caſe, the public would have what they wiſhed, and the money given the king, would be only a ſmall part of what was farther to be expended in ſupport of the war. In the ſecond caſe, the king's intentions would be manifeſtly known, and that would afford a juſt motive to refuſe him money hereafter for imaginary undertakings. So, without any ſollicitation, the commons granted the king two entire ſubſidies [i], with which he was ſatisfied, in expectation of obtaining much more hereafter on the ſame account.

Not long after, the king ſent the lord Digby to Vienna, to endeavour to adjuſt the elector Palatine's affair, or at leaſt, to obtain a truce which ſhould ſecure the Palatinate from the danger it was threatened with in the next campaign. I ſhall ſpeak of this negotiation, after the recital of what paſſed in the parliament.

The ſubſidy act was no ſooner paſſed, but many petitions were received by the houſe of commons, as well againſt the increaſe of popery, and impunity of recuſants, as againſt monopolies, informers, or projectors. Of the monopolies, three were chiefly complained of. The firſt was concerning inns, which no man could keep without a licence from certain perſons, to whom the king had granted a patent. The ſecond was of the ſame nature with reſpect to ale-houſes. The third was the moſt enormous: It was a patent granted by the king to ſir Giles Monpeſſon and ſir Francis Michel, for the ſole making and ſelling of gold and ſilver lace. By this means, they ſold great quantities of counterfeit gold lace inſtead of real, and if any perſon preſumed to make or ſell any other, he was thrown into gaol, and fined ſeverely [k]. The two patentees being informed againſt in the houſe of commons, were immediately committed to priſon; but Monpeſſon, Buckingham's creature, found means to make his eſcape. As ſoon as he was ſafe, the king publiſhed a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon that ſhould take him.

Mean while, the two houſes applied themſelves cloſely to the affair of monopolies. The commons would know how theſe two perſons obtained their patent, whilſt the lords were diligently forming their proceſs. In the mean time the king was very uneaſy. He ſaw the affair was examining in ſuch a manner, that the odium could not but fall upon himſelf or favourite. Wherefore, to prevent the conſequences, he came to the houſe of lords, and made a ſpeech full of tender and affectionate expreſſions. He affirmed, he was ignorant of the ill effects his patent had cauſed, and charged them to bring the offenders to ſpeedy and ſevere juſtice: adding, his intention was to revoke all his patents which had been ſo injurious to the people, and particularly that of gold and ſilver lace,

[f] Theſe were the earl of Somerſet, and ſome others, who undertook to procure the king a parliament at his devotion.

[g] This ſpeech is taken out of the Annals of King James I. For the author pretends, that in Wilſon is not the true one. Rapin.—Neither Ruſhworth's, nor Wilſon's, nor Franklin's, ſeem to be the true ſpeech; but that in Nelſon's Introduction.

[h] See the king's ſpeech, March 21, 1609, in his own Works, p. 531.

[i] And the clergy three. Coke, p. 111.

[k] The lace was made of copper, and other ſophiſticated materials, which were of ſo poiſonous a nature, that they rotted the hands and arms, and brought lameneſs and blindneſs upon thoſe that wrought this compoſition. Wilſon, p. 731.

And

which was a kind of falſe coin. He exhorted them moreover, to diſpatch the bill they were preparing againſt informers and projectors, ſaying, he had before, in the ſtar-chamber, ſhewn his diſlike of ſuch people, and to be rid of them would be the greateſt eaſe to himſelf, and all thoſe about him. For, continued he, Buckingham told me he never found ſuch quiet and reſt as in this time of parliament from projectors and informers, who at other times miſerably vexed him at all hours." In ſhort, he told them, he thought till then the people had never been ſo happy as in his reign; but now he was aſhamed to conſider how his people had been vexed and polled, by the vile execution of projects, patents, bills of conformity, and the like, which have more exhauſted their purſes than ſubſidies would have done. Having thus obviated the complaints which could be made againſt him, by condemning firſt the occaſion of them, he taught the lords how they were to proceed in equitably judging the matters before them, namely, not to ſuffer themſelves to be carried away with an inconſiderate zeal for juſtice, in hearkening to thoſe who accuſed the innocent as well as the guilty.

Every one knew that he meant to hinder the marquis of Buckingham from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief author of the monopolies. He had indeed the ſatisfaction to ſee that the parliament did not carry this affair very far. But though he had ordered his ſpeech to be printed, and diſperſed, he could not hinder reflections to his diſadvantage. For inſtance, he ſaid in his ſpeech, that "he aſſured them in the heart of an honeſt man, and by the faith of a Chriſtian king, if theſe grievances had been complained of to him before the parliament, he would have puniſhed them more ſeverely than perhaps the parliament intended to do," and yet he was contented with abandoning Monpeſſon and Michel, whilſt he deſired the perſon who procured them their patent ſhould be left unmoleſted.

However, the lords were ſatisfied with puniſhing Monpeſſon and Michel. They confiſcated Monpeſſon's eſtate, who had made his eſcape, and degraded him of his knighthood [l]. Michel was likewiſe degraded, fined a thouſand pounds, impriſoned for life, and carried on horſeback with his face to the tail, through the public ſtreets in London.

Shortly after, the king hearing complaints were brought before the peers againſt chancellor Bacon, came to the houſe of lords, and ſending for the commons, made a ſpeech, wherein he chiefly inſiſted upon the neceſſity of puniſhing corruption and bribery in judges. Then he thanked the commons for the two ſubſidies, but ſaid, the money had been employed before-hand for the defence of the Palatinate, and maintenance of his children, who were fled to Holland for refuge: That he had procured a ſhort truce, and hoped ſoon to obtain a general peace; but the great charges of ſending embaſſadors over all Europe, or an army into the Palatinate in caſe his negotiations became fruitleſs, required a much larger ſum than what had been granted him. He concluded, with proteſting before God, he would not diſſolve the parliament till the affairs in agitation were finiſhed.

Mean while, the houſe of commons having demanded a conference of the lords, repreſented to them, that the chancellor being accuſed of ſeveral crimes, it was not fit he ſhould continue any longer in ſo eminent a poſt if he was guilty, or be expoſed to calumny if innocent. Whereupon the lords ſent the chancellor to the Tower, and prepared for his trial. He uſed all poſſible endeavours to avoid the ſhame of a particular and full confeſſion. To that end he preſented an humble ſubmiſſion to the houſe, confeſſing himſelf guilty in general, and imploring pardon, or at leaſt, that his puniſhment might not extend farther than the taking from him the great ſeal. But the lords were inexorable. They required him to confeſs the particulars of the charge, which conſiſted in the enumeration of ſeveral bribes he had taken. He was ſo very expreſs, that he confeſſed, one of his ſervants took a dozen of buttons as a gift, in a cauſe depending before him [m]. But this confeſſion, however full and plain it was, did not hinder him from being declared unworthy, not only of the office of chancellor, but even of having a place for the future in the houſe of peers [n], though he had been created baron of Verulam, and viſcount of St. Albans [o]. Nay, he was like to have been deprived of this dignity [p]. He was a very great genius, and one of the moſt learned men in Europe, but a ſervile flatterer, extremely haughty whilſt fortune ſmiled upon him, and cringing when ſhe frowned. After his diſgrace, he compoſed ſeveral works, and amongſt others, the Hiſtory of King Henry VII. to whom certainly he has not given a juſt character. This is not ſurpriſing; for as his eſtate was forfeited by the ſentence paſſed upon him, and as he lived only on a penſion from the king, who always ſpoke of Henry VII. his great grandfather with high commendations, he made his court to the king, by repreſenting that prince as a pattern of wiſdom and virtue [q].

It was properly in this third parliament that two parties were formed, the one for the court, the other for the people, who began from this time to oppoſe one another on all occaſions. The people had the ſtrongeſt party among the commons, and the king in the houſe of lords. Not but that the kings had always their adherents in both houſes, and the miniſters and favourites their enemies and enviers. But till this parliament, there were not properly any formed parties, or, if any, they were not long-lived. But thoſe that began to be formed this year, continually encreaſed. Theſe are the ſame parties which ſtill ſubſiſt, under the names of Tories and Whigs; the firſt of which labours inceſſantly to ſtretch the prerogative royal as high as poſſible, when favoured by the king; and the other is always inſiſting on the rights and privileges of the people. The mutual animoſity of theſe two parties, when firſt they were formed, was nothing in compariſon of what it is at this day. When all parliamentary affairs came to be tranſacted with a ſpirit of party, every thing tended by degrees to confuſion. As one of the parties was always ready to increaſe the king's power, the others uſed their utmoſt endeavours, not only to keep it within due bounds, but alſo to leſſen it, for fear the king's prerogatives might ſerve him for ſteps to mount higher. Thus both went too far. James I. gave birth to theſe two parties (who occaſioned ſo many calamities to England and his own family) by haughtily eſtabliſhing prerogatives, which perhaps would never have been queſtioned, had he not founded them upon principles that opened a door to arbitrary power. He met however, with great oppoſition, not only in the houſe of commons, but among the peers themſelves, ſeveral of whom did not ſcruple to contradict him openly. Of this number were the earls of Eſſex, Oxford, Southampton, and Warwick; the lord Say and Seal, the lord Spenſer, and ſome others. It was then become cuſtomary, that when one lord had ſpoken for or againſt the government, he was anſwered by another of the oppoſite party, and very often with a heat and paſſion unbecoming the dignity of the houſe. One day, as the lord Spenſer was ſpeaking about the government, and alleging ſeveral examples of their great anceſtors, Arundel ſuddenly interrupted him, ſaying, "My lord, when theſe things you ſpeak of were doing, your anceſtors were keeping ſheep [r]." Spenſer inſtantly replied, "When my anceſtors (as you ſay) were keeping ſheep, your's were plotting treaſon." Whereupon the houſe ordering them both to withdraw, it was reſolved, in ſpite of the moſt zealous courtiers, that the earl of Arundel, as aggreſſor, ſhould give the lord Spenſer ſatisfaction, which he refuſing, was ſent to the Tower, and not releaſed till he had ſubmitted to the commands of the houſe.

Mean while, the commons finding the king made no preparations for war, but only ſent Digby to the emperor, were not forward to give him a freſh ſupply, eſpecially as they knew the two ſubſidies already granted had been put to other uſes. They were not ignorant moreover, that the king built all his hopes upon the Spaniſh match, and conſequently would not eaſily reſolve to take up arms againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and the more, becauſe Gondemar had ſtill a great influence over him. The truth is, had the king really intended to wreſt from the Spaniard what was taken from the Palatinate, it was not natural for the Spaniſh embaſſador to have ſo much power at court. The people were extremely diſpleaſed with it, and looked upon the Spaniſh marriage as a very great misfortune to the nation and the proteſtant reli-

[l] And alſo outlawed, and condemned him to perpetual baniſhment. See Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 27.

[m] That dozen of buttons was valued at fifty pounds. The reader may ſee an account of the proceedings againſt him (which continued from March 15 to May 3), in State Trials, tom. I. p. 353, &c.

[n] He was alſo condemned in a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure; and declared for ever incapable of any office or place. State Trials.

[o] He was created ſo July 11, 1617. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 17.

[p] To heighten his miſery the more, many others were cruſhed by his fall, for he was vaſtly in debt, and notwithſtanding his penſion, he wanted to his laſt, living obſcurely in his lodgings at Grey's-Inn. Wilſon, p. 735.—His too great indulgence to his ſervants was the cauſe of his ruin; he connived at their takings, and they were profuſe and expenſive, and had at command whatever he was maſter of. His decrees in chancery, were generally made with ſo much equity, that never was any one of them reverſed as unjuſt. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 31.

[q] He was of a middling ſtature, his countenance indented with age before he was old; his preſence grave and comely, of a high-flying and lively wit, ſtriving in ſome things to be rather admired than underſtood; yet ſo quick and eaſy where he would expreſs himſelf, and his memory ſo ſtrong and active, that he appeared the maſter of a large and plenteous ſtore-houſe of knowledge. Wilſon, p. 736.

[r] The lord Spenſer, it ſeems, took great delight in a country life, and eſpecially in flocks of ſheep, which made Wilſon ſay, "He was more vigilant to keep the people's liberties from being a prey to the incroaching power of monarchy, than his harmleſs and tender lambs from foxes, and ravenous creatures." p. 737.

Gondemar

gion. Of this they gave Gondemar himſelf a ſenſible proof, who was reviled and inſulted by the populace of London ſtreets [s]. The king hearing of it, ordered one of the inſolent mob to be publicly whipped by the hangman.

The king perceiving the commons would never think of granting him a freſh aid, before it was more certainly known whether there would be peace or war, ordered the lord treaſurer to go in his name, on June 4, and adjourn the parliament to the 14th of November. The ſpirit of jealouſy, which then reigned among the commons, cauſed them to conſider the adjournment as an incroachment upon their privileges. They pretended, the king had indeed power to prorogue and diſſolve the parliament, but that adjournment was the peculiar privilege of each houſe. So they deſired a conference with the lords, to perſuade them to concur with them in preſenting a petition to the king upon the occaſion. But the king acquainting the lords, that ſuch a petition would be very diſpleaſing to him, and that he would not ſuffer his power to call, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve the parliament, to be diſputed, the lords refuſed to join with the commons. Whereupon the commons declared, that they were extremely concerned at the king's reſolution, becauſe it deprived them of the means of finiſhing what was begun for the public good.

This declaration brought the king to the houſe of peers, and after thanking their lordſhips for acknowledging his prerogative, and refuſing to join with the commons, he told them, if they deſired it, he would grant them a delay of eight or ten days, but would not do it at the requeſt of the commons. Upon this offer the lords, after a conference with the commons, moved the king to continue their ſitting for fourteen days, which was granted. Some days after, a committee of both houſes attending the king, he took occaſion to tell them, how ill he took it that the commons ſhould diſpute his undoubted right to adjourn the parliament. Probably, this power was not confirmed by cuſtom, ſince the commons conſidered it as an invaſion of their privileges, whereas they never thought of queſtioning his right to prorogue and diſſolve the parliament. Be this as it will, the commons, ſeeing the lords, who were equally concerned in the affair, refuſe their concurrence, proceeded no farther. Nevertheleſs, on the day they were to break up, they drew the following declaration, "That taking into moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent ſtate of the king's children abroad, and the generally afflicted ſtate of the true profeſſors of the ſame Chriſtian religion, profeſſed by the church of England in foreign parts, and being touched with a true ſenſe and fellow-feeling of their diſtreſſes, as members of the ſame body, they do with unanimous conſent declare———They ſhall be ready to the utmoſt of their power, both with their lives and fortunes, to aſſiſt his majeſty, ſo, as that he may be able to do that with his ſword, which by a peaceable courſe ſhall not be effected."

Preſently after, the king publiſhed a proclamation, wherein he ſet forth, That as many great affairs debated in parliament, could not be brought to perfection in ſo ſhort a time, "the commons thought it convenient to continue the ſame ſeſſion in courſe of adjournment:" That as for the grievances, they were ſuch as he needed not the aſſiſtance of parliament to reform the ſame, and would have redreſſed them himſelf, had they been ſooner made known to him. Adding, that by his own regal authority, he annulled and revoked the patent for gold and ſilver thread, and ſome others mentioned in the proclamation. At the ſame time a ſecond proclamation was publiſhed againſt ſuch as were ſo bold as to talk of ſtate-affairs, notwithſtanding his majeſty's former command, with threats of ſevere puniſhment, as well againſt the concealers of ſuch diſcourſes, as againſt audacious tongues and pens.

On the 20th of July, John Williams dean of Weſtminſter was ſworn lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, the chancellorſhip having been vacant ever ſince Bacon's condemnation.

I muſt now briefly relate what paſſed in Bohemia and the Palatinate, after the battle of Prague. This knowledge is abſolutely neceſſary for the clear underſtanding of the affairs of England.

The day after the battle, the city of Prague ſurrendered at diſcretion, and the duke of Bavaria returned to Munich, leaving his army in Bohemia under the command of count Tilly his general. On the other hand, count Bucquoy departed the 12th of December for Moravia, which voluntarily ſubmitted, as deſpairing of aſſiſtance. After Bucquoy had ſpent part of the winter in Moravia and at Vienna, he went and commanded the imperial army in Hungary, where he was ſlain, after ſome progreſs. A little before, Sileſia had likewiſe ſubmitted to the emperor.

Mean while, count Mansfeldt had fortified himſelf in Bohemia, from whence the imperialiſts, would have found it difficult to drive him. But the king of Bohemia, who was ſtill in Holland, hearing the duke of Bavaria was preparing to invade the Upper Palatinate, cauſed Mansfeldt to march his army thither, having obtained of the Hollanders a hundred and fifty thouſand florins to pay his troops. Mansfeldt was not however in condition to withſtand Tilly, who being entered the Upper Palatinate with twenty-five thouſand men, had taken Bamburgh and ſome other places. Mean while as Mansfeldt had intrenched himſelf behind a moraſs, where it was impracticable to attack him, count Tilly, to make him quit the country, concluded a treaty with him, by which he promiſed to ſupply him with two hundred thouſand florins. The treaty was concluded the 27th of September 1621, but ſome difficulty ariſing, it was not executed. So Mansfeldt kept his poſt till the lord Digby's arrival, who paſſing that way in his return from Vienna, prevailed with him to march into the Lower Palatinate, which was in extreme danger. By that means the Upper Palatinate was really loſt and ſubdued by the duke of Bavaria.

In the year 1620, Spinola, as I ſaid, began his conqueſts in the Lower Palatinate. Since the ſubmiſſion of the king of Bohemia's allies to the emperor after the battle of Prague, Spinola had continued his conqueſts with rapidity, for there was no army to ſtop him, and the Engliſh were too weak to oppoſe his progreſs. However, on the 2d of Auguſt 1620, a five weeks truce was concluded at Haguenau, which was the truce mentioned by king James in his ſpeech to the parliament. The archduke had made him believe he agreed to the truce purely on his account; but in reality it was only to give the emperor time to ſend forces into the Lower Palatinate in the room of thoſe Spinola was leading back to the Netherlands, becauſe of the expiration of the twelve years truce between Spain and Holland. Spinola leaving but very few troops with don Gonſales de Cordova, who was come to command in the Palatinate, the truce was as much for the Spaniard's advantage as for the king of Bohemia's. Shortly after, the Spaniſh army being ten thouſand ſtrong, Vere was forced to retire to Wormes. Mean while, the Spaniſh general became maſter of Stein, Ladenburg, and Keiſers-Lautern, and in October beſieged Frankendal, where Vere had retired. There was no other way to ſave that important place, than, as I ſaid, by cauſing Mansfeldt to come from the Upper Palatinate. Upon Mansfeldt's approach, Gonſales raiſed the ſiege of Frankendal. But preſently after, Tilly arriving in the Lower Palatinate with the Bavarian army, and ſome troops of Mentz and Wirtzburgh, Mansfeldt was forced to retire into Alſatia. This campaign ended with the loſs of all the towns in the Lower Palatinate, except Manheim, Heidelburgh, and Frankendal, which were the moſt important. Vere continued at Frankendal, Herbert commanded in Manheim, and Borroughs in Heidelbergh.

Philip III. king of Spain, died the 31ſt of March this year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Philip IV.

In France, Lewis XIII. vigorouſly preſſed the Hugonots and inveſted Montauban, but the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, compelled him to deſiſt.

The twelve years truce between Spain and the United Provinces being about to expire, the archduke was afraid James would ſend a ſtrong aid to the ſtates, in order to oblige the Spaniards to reſtore what was taken in the Palatinate. To divert him from ſuch a thought, he intimated to him, that a peace between the elector Palatine and the emperor was not ſo difficult as was imagined, and the emperor doubtleſs would agree to it upon reaſonable terms. Nay, he ſent the emperor in the elector's behalf a very preſſing letter, which was ſhewn to the king. This was attacking him on his weak ſide; for he was ever of opinion, that juſtice, honeſty, and the regard the world had for him, were ſufficient to determine this affair. To inſnare him the more eaſily, the emperor wrote to the archduke, that at his inſtances, and out of his great reſpect to the king of England, he was ready to embrace all proper methods for a peace with the elector Palatine. On the other hand, the king of Spain told the emperor, that if he gave the Upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria, as was reported, he muſt expect no farther aſſiſtance from Spain. All theſe

[s] Gondemar uſed all poſſible methods to weaken this nation. For he cauſed ordnance, and other warlike proviſions, to be conveyed from England, to furniſh the Spaniſh arſenals. And procured, under-hand, the ſending of ſir Robert Manſel into the Mediterranean, to deſtroy the Algerines, which ſecured the Spaniſh coaſts and ſhipping, and diverted to another uſe that money and ſtrength which ſhould have been employed for the defence of the Palatinate. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 3.

letters were communicated to the king or his embaſſadors, which confirmed him in his opinion, that there would be no occaſion for war, and to ſhew the leaſt miſtruſt would ſpoil all. Thus the princes of the houſe of Auſtria amuſed the king, to induce him to remain in his fatal neutrality. Upon theſe hopes therefore, without queſtioning in the leaſt their ſincerity, he diſpatched the lord Digby to Vienna, the ſucceſs of whoſe negotiation I muſt now relate.

This embaſſador having an audience of the emperor the 15th of July, confined his demands to theſe two heads: Firſt, That the elector Palatine ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſtate he was in before he was choſen king of Bohemia. Secondly, That the imperial ban ſhould be revoked, or at leaſt ſuſpended, for which the king his father-in-law would undertake to oblige him to give the emperor due ſatisfaction.

The emperor, who only ſought to gain time, anſwered in writing, that at the requeſt of the king of England, and ſome other princes who had wrote to him in the Palſgrave's behalf, he was ready to pardon him. That the difficulty of the affair conſiſted in two principal points: the firſt was, that the Palſgrave ſhould pay him the obedience due to the head of the empire; the ſecond, that he ſhould give him a reaſonable ſatisfaction. As this was exactly James's ſcheme for an accommodation, a peace ſeemed not to be very remote. But the term, Satisfaction, being capable of a more or leſs extenſive meaning, it was eaſy for the emperor to prolong the negotiation, as he pleaſed. However, for fear he ſhould be taken at his word, he added in his anſwer, that as he had undertaken the war, with the advice and aſſiſtance of divers princes, he could do nothing without their conſent, but had called a diet at Ratiſbon, the reſolutions whereof ſhould be communicated to the king of England. It muſt be obſerved, this diet did not meet till January 1623.

A few days after the emperor had delivered this anſwer to the embaſſador, he received a letter from the infanta Iſabella, notifying the death of her huſband the archduke at Bruſſels the 13th of July, and repeating withal her inſtances in the elector's behalf. Whereupon Digby preſented a freſh memorial, demanding a truce for the Lower Palatinate on three conditions: 1. That count Mansfeldt ſhould obſerve the truce, otherwiſe the elector Palatine ſhould revoke his commiſſion. 2. That the commiſſion of John-George de Brandenburg, marquis of Jagerndorf, who ſerved the elector, ſhould be likewiſe revoked. 3. That as ſoon as the truce was publiſhed, the elector ſhould deliver to the emperor, Tabor and Witigaw, the only places he ſtill held in Bohemia.

The emperor receiving theſe propoſals, communicated them to the elector of Saxony and the duke of Bavaria, who returned both the ſame anſwer, as if they had given each other the word, namely, they adviſed him to omit nothing to reſtore peace to Germany: looſe expreſſions without any meaning, but which however gave occaſion to believe they were inclined to peace. After that, the emperor wrote a letter to the infanta, which was imparted to Digby, telling her, that at her requeſt, and out of his great regard for the king of England, who had ſhewn ſo much prudence, ſincerity, and moderation, he was reſolved to treat of a truce, on the conditions propoſed by the Engliſh embaſſador himſelf. Adding, that during the truce, conferences might be held, to try to come to a peace. Thus James was obliged either to ſit ſtill and expect the event of theſe conferences, or to break with the emperor and Spain, when the peace ſeemed to be upon the point of concluſion, to which it was well known he would not eaſily be determined.

Some time after, the emperor, whether to gain time, or to be freed from Digby's importunities, told him, he intended to grant a truce for the Palatinate, if the duke of Bavaria would conſent to it. Nay, he adviſed him to go and negotiate the truce with the duke. Digby leaving Vienna the 11th of September, came into the Upper Palatinate, where the duke of Bavaria then was, at the time Mansfeldt was concluding the forementioned truce with Tilly. When Digby talked of a truce, the duke told him, "There was no need to labour for a truce, for the wars were at an end, in that he had agreed with count Mansfeldt; nor did he doubt of keeping both Palatinates in peace, till the emperor and Palſgrave were agreed," The emperor hearing by Digby this anſwer, wrote him word, that the face of affairs being altered in the Upper Palatinate by Mansfeldt's fault, who had entered that country with his troops, the duke of Bavaria was under a neceſſity of raiſing an army to drive him thence, and it was not reaſonable he ſhould be at that charge to no purpoſe. Then it was that Digby, having informed the king of the ſtate of affairs in Germany brought Mansfeldt into the Lower Palatinate, where his coming ſaved Frankendal. After that, he borrowed upon his own credit ten thouſand pounds ſterling to pay the Engliſh troops, who had for a long time received nothing.

The king being informed, by his embaſſador's letter, of the duke of Bavaria's anſwer, wrote to the emperor, to complain of the invaſion of the Palatinate, and to tell him in what manner he conceived the elector Palatine was to give him ſatisfaction, in order to fix the ſenſe of the word. 1. That he ſhould renounce the crown of Bohemia. That as prince of the empire he ſhould ſubmit to his imperial majeſty. 3. That he ſhould aſk pardon on his knees. 4. That for the future he ſhould remain quiet, and raiſe no diſturbance in the empire. 5. That he ſhould be reconciled to all the princes. 6. That if this was not ſufficient, he would undertake to procure what other terms ſhould be deemed reaſonable. Laſtly, He told him, that if he could not obtain his ſon-in-law's pardon by fair means, he was reſolved to have recourſe to arms. The emperor, without being frighted at this menace, ſtill continued to amuſe him; and the better to perſuade him he was inclined to peace, he diſpatched count Schwatzenburgh to ſettle with him the conditions of a truce. The count was very magnificently received at London. But before I ſpeak of the ſucceſs of his embaſſy, I muſt relate what paſſed in England till the end of the year.

The king had farther adjourned the two houſes from the 14th of November to the 8th of February 1622. But Digby's return occaſioned his ordering them to meet the 20th of November. As he was a little indiſpoſed, he commanded the lord keeper, the lord treaſurer, and the lord Digby, to acquaint the parliament with his intentions. The lord keeper ſaid, that ſince the laſt adjournment the king had taken great care of the nation, reforming by his proclamations thirty-ſeven ſeveral grievances complained of by the people, without demanding any thing in return for theſe favours, as was uſual in former times. That he had re-aſſembled the parliament, upon the declaration of the commons to aſſiſt him powerfully in the recovery of the Palatinate. That he had uſed his endeavours to procure a good peace, but with little ſucceſs, as the lord Digby would inform them. Then, he put them in mind, that the king had advanced forty thouſand pounds to keep together an army in the Lower Palatinate: "But, continued he, unleſs the parliament take farther reſolution, and imitate rather antient than modern principles, and be more expeditious in what they do, his majeſty's endeavours will fall to the ground." He concluded, with ſaying, the king had reſolved to continue the ſeſſion till ſeven or eight days before Chriſtmas, and renew it the 8th of February.

The lord Digby ſpeaking next, gave a brief account of his embaſſy to Vienna, and ſaid, he plainly diſcovered, it was the emperor's intent to give the Upper Palatinate to the duke of Bavaria. Adding, that a good ſum of money was abſolutely neceſſary, both to keep count Mansfeldt's army together, and to ſend a ſtrong ſupply of Engliſh troops to the Palatinate.

The lord treaſurer ſaid, the king's coffers were empty, his treaſure being exhauſted by the ſums employed in the defence of the Palatinate. Nevertheleſs, though the king declared for war, he was reſolved to conclude the Spaniſh marriage, hoping by that means to heal the breach.

It is certain, the king had no deſign to go to war, ſince it could be only with the Spaniard, whom he conſidered as his beſt friend, and with whom he was going to be allied by his ſon's marriage with the infanta. But he made as if he intended to take up arms, in caſe he was obliged to it. To that end, it was neceſſary, in his opinion, to prepare betimes, and begin with ſending money to Mansfeldt to pay his troops and continue the war in the Palatinate, till the ſucceſs of the negotiations at Vienna and Madrid ſhould be known. The king would therefore have it ſuppoſed, as a thing certain, that in caſe theſe negotiations were fruitleſs, he was bent to begin the war and vigorouſly ſupport it. Conſequently, he demanded money to enable him to make the neceſſary preparations, and required that the affair ſhould be left entirely to his management. Indeed parliaments are wont to act thus, when they think the king is undertaking a juſt and neceſſary war: ſo James proceeded upon the uſual cuſtom and method of the parliament. There was only one objection to be made, on which however no man durſt ſpeak his mind freely, namely, that the conduct of the former parliaments was grounded upon their good opinion of their kings, and their confidence in them. But the commons had no ſuch confidence in James I. He demanded money for a war, to which they were perſuaded he had no inclination; and therefore they could not help fearing, that the money which ſhould be granted him, would be employed other ways than in a war

with

with Spain. On the other hand, the commons were taken in their own ſnares: to ſhew that the delay of a war, deemed neceſſary by all the world, did not proceed from them, they had promiſed to put the king in a condition to begin and purſue it vigorouſly; but when this promiſe came to be performed, their little confidence in the king made them very reſerved: it was neceſſary however to ſatisfy the public, and ſhew they meant to keep their promiſe, provided they could be certain it would be for the advantage of the ſtate. To that end they reſolved to make a remonſtrance to the king, and repreſent to him what they thought requiſite in the preſent juncture: not that they expected the king would grant their requeſts, but to leave him without excuſe in caſe he refuſed them, which was ſcarce to be doubted. Such were the effects the diſtruſt between the king and the parliament began to produce: inſtead of uſing their joint endeavours for the public good, each ſtrove to take advantage of the other. For the better underſtanding the events of this reign, which were the origin and ſpring of the troubles in the next, it will not be improper to inſert the whole remonſtrance, notwithſtanding its length.

"Moſt gracious and dread ſovereign,

"WE your majeſty's moſt humble and loyal ſubjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, now aſſembled in parliament, who repreſent the commons of your realm, full of hearty ſorrow, to be deprived of the comfort of your royal preſence, or the rather, for that it proceeds from the want of your health, wherein we all unfeignedly do ſuffer; in all humble manner, calling to mind your gracious anſwer to our former petition concerning religion, which, notwithſtanding your majeſty's pious and princely intentions, hath not produced that good effect, which the danger of theſe Times doth ſeem to us to require: and finding how ill your majeſty's goodneſs hath been requited by princes of different religion, who, even in time of treaty, have taken opportunity to advance their own ends, tending to the ſubverſion of religion, and diſadvantage of your affairs, and the eſtate of your children; by reaſon whereof, your ill-affected ſubjects at home, the popiſh recuſants, have taken too much encouragement, and are dangerouſly increaſed in their number, and in their inſolencies. We cannot but be ſenſible thereof, and therefore humbly repreſent what we conceive to be the cauſes of ſo great and growing miſchiefs, and what be the remedies.

"I. The vigilancy and ambition of the pope of Rome, and his deareſt ſon, the one aiming at as large a temporal monarchy, as the other at a ſpiritual ſupremacy.

"II. The deviliſh poſitions and doctrines, whereon popery is built, and taught with authority to their followers, for advancement of their temporal ends.

"III. The diſtreſſed and miſerable eſtate of the profeſſors of true religion in foreign parts.

"IV. The diſaſtrous accidents to your majeſty's children abroad, expreſſed with rejoicing, and even with contempt of their perſons.

"V. The ſtrange confederacy of the princes of the popiſh religion, aiming mainly at the advancement of theirs, and ſubverting of ours, and taking the advantages conducing to that end upon all occaſions.

"VI. The great and many armies raiſed, and maintained at the charge of the king of Spain, the chief of that league.

"VII. The expectation of the popiſh recuſants of the match with Spain, and feeding themſelves with great hopes of the conſequences thereof.

"VIII. The interpoſing of foreign princes, and their agents, in the behalf of popiſh recuſants, for connivance and favour unto them.

"IX. The open and uſual reſort to the houſes, and, which is worſe, to the chapels of foreign embaſſadors.

"X. Their more than uſual concourſe to the city, and their frequent conventicles and conferences.

"XI. The education of their children in many ſeveral ſeminaries and houſes of their religion in foreign parts, appropriated to the Engliſh fugitives.

"XII. The grants of their juſt forfeitures intended by your majeſty, as a reward of ſervice to the grantees; but, beyond your majeſty's intention, transferred or compounded for, at ſuch mean rates, as will amount to leſs than a toleration.

"XIII. The licentious printing and diſperſing of popiſh and ſeditious books, even in the time of parliament.

"XIV. The ſwarms of prieſts and jeſuits, the common incendiaries of all Chriſtendom, diſperſed in all parts of your kingdom.

"And from the cauſes, as bitter roots, we humbly offer to your majeſty, that we foreſee and fear there will neceſſarily follow very dangerous effects both to church and ſtate.

For,

"I. The popiſh religion is incompatible with ours in reſpect of their poſitions.

"II. It draweth with it an inviolable dependency on foreign princes.

"III. It openeth too wide a gap for popularity, to any who ſhall draw too great a party.

"IV. It hath a reſtleſs ſpirit, and will ſtrive by theſe gradations; if it once get but a connivance, it will preſs for a toleration: if that ſhould be obtained, they muſt have an equality; from thence they will aſpire to ſuperiority; and will never reſt till they get a ſubverſion of the true religion.

"The remedies againſt theſe growing evils, which, in all humility, we offer unto your moſt excellent majeſty, are theſe:

"I. That ſeeing this inevitable neceſſity is fallen upon your majeſty, which no wiſdom or providence of a peaceful and pious king can avoid, your majeſty would not omit this juſt occaſion, ſpeedily and effectually to take your ſword in your hand.

"II. That once undertaken upon ſo honourable and juſt grounds, your majeſty would reſolve to purſue, and more publicly avow the aiding of thoſe of our religion in foreign parts, which, doubtleſs, would reunite the princes and ſtates of the union, by theſe diſaſters diſheartened and diſbanded.

"III. That your majeſty would propoſe to yourſelf to manage this war with the beſt advantage, by a diverſion or otherwiſe, as in your deep judgment ſhall be found fitteſt, and not to reſt upon a war in theſe parts only, which will conſume your treaſure, and diſcourage your people.

"IV. That the bent of this war, and point of your ſword, may be againſt that prince (whatſoever opinion of potency he hath) whoſe armies and treaſures have firſt diverted, and ſince maintained the war in the Palatinate.

"V. That for ſecuring our peace at home, your majeſty would be pleaſed to review the parts of our petition, formerly delivered unto your majeſty, and hereunto annexed, and to put in execution, by the care of choice commiſſioners to be thereunto eſpecially appointed, the laws already, and hereafter to be made, for preventing of dangers by popiſh recuſants, and their wonted evaſions.

"VI. That to fruſtrate their hopes for a future age, our moſt noble prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own religion.

"VII. That the children of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, and of others, ill affected and ſuſpected in their religion, now beyond the ſeas, may be forthwith called home by your means, and at the charge of their parents or governors.

"VIII. That the children of popiſh recuſants, or ſuch whoſe wives are popiſh recuſants, be brought up during their minority, with proteſtant ſchool-maſters and teachers, who may ſow, in their tender years, the ſeeds of true religion.

"IX. That your majeſty will be pleaſed ſpeedily to revoke all former licences for ſuch children and youth to travel beyond the ſeas, and not grant any ſuch licence hereafter.

"X. That your majeſty's learned council may receive commandment from your highneſs, carefully to look into former grants of recuſants lands, and to avoid them, if by law they can; and that your majeſty will ſtay your hand from paſſing any ſuch grants hereafter.

"This is the ſum and effect of our humble declaration, which we (no ways intending to preſs upon your majeſty's undoubted and regal prerogative) do, with the fulneſs of our duty and obedience, humbly ſubmit to your moſt princely conſideration: the glory of God, whoſe cauſe it is; the zeal of our true religion, in which we have been born, and wherein (by God's grace) we are reſolved to die; the ſafety of your majeſty's perſon, who is the very life of your people; the happineſs of your children and poſterity; the honour and good of the church and ſtate, dearer to us than our lives, having kindled theſe reflections, truly devoted to your majeſty.

"And ſeeing, out of our duty to your majeſty, we have already reſolved to give, at the end of this ſeſſion, one entire ſubſidy, for the preſent relief of the Palatinate only, to be paid in the end of February next, which cannot well be effected but by paſſing a bill in a parliamentary courſe before

before Chriſtmas; we moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty (as our aſſured hope is) that you will then alſo vouchſafe to give life by your royal aſſent to ſuch bills as before that time ſhall be prepared for your majeſty's honour, and the general good of your people: and that ſuch bills may be alſo accompanied (as hath been accuſtomed) with your majeſty's gracious pardon, which proceeding from your own mere grace, may, by your highneſs's direction, be drawn to that latitude and extent, as may beſt ſort with your majeſty's bounty and goodneſs. And that not only felons and criminal offenders may take benefit thereof, but that your good ſubjects may receive eaſe thereby. And if it ſhall ſo ſtand with your good pleaſure, that it may extend to the relief of the old debts and duties to the crown before the firſt year of your majeſty's reign, to the diſcharge of alienations without licence, and miſuſing of liveries, and ouſtre le maine, before the firſt ſummons of this parliament and of concealed wardſhips, and not ſuing of liveries, and ouſtre le maines, before the twelfth year of your majeſty's reign: which gracious favour would much comfort your good ſubjects, and eaſe them from vexation, with little loſs or prejudice to your own profit.

"And we by our daily and devout prayers to the Almighty, the great King of Kings, ſhall contend for a bleſſing upon our endeavours; and for your majeſty's long and happy reign over us: and for your children's children after you, for many and many generations."

The king had taken great care, at the opening of the parliament, to mark out the bounds which the commons were not to exceed: above all things he intimated to them, that they ought not to give him advice without being aſked. They neglected this charge very much in their remonſtrance, and plainly ſhewed they did not believe it belonged to the king to determine how far the duty of the people's repreſentatives in parliament reached. The king's principles were ſo different from thoſe of the commons, that it is no wonder their inferences were directly contrary. The king did not expect the commons ſhould adviſe him, and the commons pretended it was their indiſpenſible duty to repreſent to him the dangers of the church or ſtate, with the propereſt remedies. The king reſted upon the prerogative royal; but the commons did not agree to the extent he gave this prerogative, by virtue whereof he pretended to hinder them from taking care of the church and ſtate when they were in danger, or their concerns neglected. It is very difficult, not to ſay impoſſible, to mark out the bounds of the royal prerogative, as well as of the privilege and duty of the nation's repreſentatives, in all caſes which may occur. So, without undertaking to decide this point, I ſhall only ſay, the commons diſtruſt made them take an extraordinary courſe, which doubtleſs they would not have followed, had they been to deal with a prince more eſteemed. On the other hand, it cannot be denied the king gave great occaſion of ſuſpicion and jealouſy, in affecting to eſtabliſh his prerogative upon general principles, which will never be received in England, without the proper reſtrictions to the nature of the Engliſh conſtitution.

But the attempt upon the royal prerogative was not the only thing that offended the king. The remonſtrance contained what could not but be very diſagreeable to him, ſince, in obſcure terms, he was taxed with neglecting the welfare of religion and the nation; with tolerating recuſants; with having no deſign to engage in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, though he deſired money for that purpoſe; with granting licences prejudicial to the kingdom; and laſtly, having little or no concern for the intereſt of religion, in marrying the prince his ſon with a Spaniſh princeſs. The commons not daring to ſpeak their thoughts freely on this occaſion, were contented with giving intimations. The king perceived it, but forbore in his own vindication to enter into particulars, which would not have been for his advantage. It was much more agreeable to his intereſt and dignity to hinder ſo ungrateful a remonſtrance from being preſented to him. And that was the courſe he took. As ſoon as he heard the remonſtrance was ready, he ſent the following letter to the ſpeaker:

To our truſty and well-beloved ſir Thomas Richardſon, knight, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

"Mr. Speaker,

"We have heard by divers reports, to our great grief, that our diſtance from the houſes of parliament, cauſed by our indiſpoſition of health, hath emboldened ſome fiery and popular ſpirits of ſome of the houſe of commons, to argue and debate publicly of the matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high diſhonour, and breach of prerogative royal. Theſe are therefore to command you to make known, in our name, unto the houſe, that none therein ſhall preſume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our government, or deep matters of ſtate; and namely, not to deal with our deareſt ſon's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that king, or any other our friends and confederates; and alſo not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of juſtice. And whereas we hear they have ſent a meſſage to ſir Edward Sandys, to know the reaſons of his late reſtraint, you ſhall in our name reſolve them, that it was not for any miſdemeanour of his in parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any queſtion of that nature that may ariſe among them hereafter, you ſhall reſolve them in our name, that we think ourſelf very free and able to puniſh any man's miſdemeanours in parliament, as well during their ſitting as after: which we mean not to ſpare hereafter, upon any occaſion of any man's inſolent behaviour there that ſhall be miniſtred unto us; and if they have already touched any of theſe points, which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs, which is to be ſent unto us, it is our pleaſure that you ſhall tell them, that except they reform it before it comes to our hands, we will not deign the hearing, nor anſwering of it."

"Dated at Newmarket, Dec. 3, 1621.

This letter being read and examined in the houſe, the commons did not think proper to keep ſilence, but to let the king ſee his threats ſhould not deter them from doing their duty, as they pretended. They drew therefore a petition, which was preſented to the king, with the foregoing remonſtrance. The petition ran thus:

"Moſt dread and gracious ſovereign,

"We your moſt humble and loyal ſubjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, aſſembled in the commons houſe of parliament, full of grief and unſpeakable ſorrow, through the true ſenſe of your majeſty's diſpleaſure expreſſed by your letter lately ſent to our ſpeaker, and by him related and read unto us: yet comforted again with the aſſurance of your grace and goodneſs, and of the ſincerity of our own intentions and proceedings, whereon with confidence we can rely, in all humbleneſs beſeech your moſt excellent majeſty, that the loyalty and dutifulneſs of as faithful and loving ſubjects as ever ſerved or lived under a gracious ſovereign, may not undeſervedly ſuffer by the miſinformation of partial and uncertain reports, which are ever unfaithful intelligencers: but that your majeſty would in the clearneſs of your own judgment, firſt vouchſafe to underſtand from ourſelves, and not from others, what our humble declaration and petition (reſolved upon by the univerſal voice of the houſe, and propoſed with your gracious favour to be preſented unto your ſacred majeſty) doth contain. Upon what occaſion we entered into conſideration of thoſe things which are therein contained, with what dutiful reſpect to your majeſty, and your ſervice, we did conſider thereof, and what was our true intention thereby. And that when your majeſty ſhall thereby truly diſcern our dutiful affections, you will, in your royal judgment, free us from thoſe heavy charges, wherewith ſome of our members are burthened, and wherein the whole houſe is involved.

"And we humbly beſeech your majeſty, that you would not hereafter give credit to private reports, againſt all or any of the members of our houſe, whom the whole have not cenſured, until your majeſty have been truly informed thereof from ourſelves: and that in the mean time, and ever, we may ſtand upright in your majeſty's good grace and opinion, than which no worldly conſideration is or can be dearer unto us.

"When your majeſty had reaſſembled us in parliament by your royal commandment, ſooner than we expected, and did vouchſafe, by the mouths of three honourable lords, to impart unto us the weighty occaſions moving your majeſty thereunto, and from them we did underſtand theſe particulars:

"That notwithſtanding your princely and pious endeavours to procure peace, the time is now come, that Janus's temple muſt be opened.

"That the voice of Bellona muſt be heard, and not the voice of a turtle.

"That there was no hope of peace, nor any truce to be obtained, no not for a few days.

"That your majeſty muſt either abandon your own children, or engage yourſelf in a war, wherein conſideration is to be had, what foot, what horſe, what money will be ſufficient.

"That

"That the Lower Palatinate was ſeized upon by the army of the king of Spain as executor of the ban there in quality of the duke of Burgundy, as the Upper Palatinate was by the duke of Bavaria.

"That the king of Spain, at his own charge, had now at leaſt five armies on foot.

"That the princes of the union were diſbanded, but the catholic league remained firm, whereby thoſe princes ſo diſſevered, were in danger, one by one, to be ruined.

"That the eſtate of thoſe of the religion in foreign parts was miſerable; and that out of theſe conſiderations we were called to a war, and forthwith to adviſe for a ſupply of keeping the forces in the Palatinate from diſbanding, and to foreſee the means for raiſing and maintaining the body of an army for the war againſt the ſpring. We therefore, out of our zeal to your majeſty and your poſterity, with more alacrity and celerity than ever was precedented in parliament, did addreſs ourſelves to the ſervice commended unto us. And although we cannot conceive that the honour and ſafety of your majeſty and your poſterity, the patrimony of your children invaded and poſſeſſed by their enemies, the welfare of religion and ſtate of your kingdoms, are matters at any time unfit for the deepeſt conſideration in time of parliament; and although before this time we were in ſome of theſe points ſilent, and yet being now invited thereunto, and led on by ſo juſt an occaſion, we thought it our duties to provide for the preſent ſupply thereof, and not only to turn our eyes on a war abroad, but to take care for the ſecuring of our peace at home, which the dangerous increaſe and inſolency of popiſh recuſants, apparently, viſibly, and ſenſibly did lead us unto. The conſideration whereof did neceſſarily draw us truly to repreſent unto your majeſty, what we conceive to be the cauſes, that we feared would be the effects, and what we hoped might be the remedies of theſe growing evils; among which, as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon ſome things which ſeem to touch upon the king of Spain, as they have relation to popiſh recuſants at home, to the wars by him maintained in the Palatinate againſt your majeſty's children, and to his ſeveral armies now on foot; yet, as we conceived, without touch of diſhonour to that king, or any other prince your majeſty's confederate.

"In the diſcourſe whereof, we did not aſſume to ourſelves any power to determine of any part thereof, nor intend to encroach or intrude upon the ſacred bounds of your royal authority, to whom, and to whom only, we acknowledge it doth belong to reſolve of peace and war, and of the marriage of the moſt noble prince your ſon; but as your moſt loyal and humble ſubjects and ſervants, repreſenting the whole commons of your kingdom (who have a large intereſt in the happy and proſperous eſtate of your majeſty, and your royal poſterity, and of the flouriſhing eſtate of our church and commonwealth), did reſolve, out of our cares and fears, truly and plainly to demonſtrate theſe things to your majeſty, which we were not aſſured could otherwiſe come ſo fully and clearly to your knowledge; and that being done, to lay the ſame down at your majeſty's feet, without expectation of any other anſwer of your majeſty, touching theſe higher points, than what at your good pleaſure, and in your own time, ſhould be held fit.

"This being the effect of what we had formerly reſolved upon, and theſe the occaſions and reaſons inducing the ſame, our humble ſuit to your majeſty and confidence is, that your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive, at the hands of theſe our meſſengers, our former humble declaration and petition, and vouchſafe to read, and favourably to interpret the ſame: and that ſo much thereof as containeth our humble petition concerning jeſuits, prieſts, and popiſh recuſants, the paſſage of bills, and granting your royal pardon, you will vouchſafe an anſwer unto us.

"And whereas your majeſty, by the general words of your letter, ſeemeth to reſtrain us from intermeddling with matters of government, or particulars which have their motion in the courts of juſtice, the generality of which words, in the largeneſs of the extent thereof (as we hope beyond your majeſty's intention) might involve thoſe things which are the proper ſubject of parliamentary occaſions and diſcourſe.

"And whereas your majeſty doth ſeem to abridge us of the antient liberty of parliament, for freedom of ſpeech, juriſdiction, and juſt cenſure of the houſe, and other proceedings there (wherein, we truſt in God, we ſhall never tranſgreſs the bounds of loyal and dutiful ſubjects), a liberty which we aſſure ourſelves ſo wiſe and ſo juſt a king will not infringe, the ſame being our antient and undoubted right and inheritance received from our anceſtors; without which we cannot freely debate, nor clearly diſcern of things in queſtion before us, nor truly inform your majeſty; in which we have been confirmed by your majeſty's moſt gracious former ſpeeches and meſſages. We are therefore now again inforced in all humbleneſs to pray your majeſty to allow the ſame, and thereby to take away the doubts and ſcruples your majeſty's late letter to our ſpeaker hath wrought upon us.

"So ſhall we your loyal and loving ſubjects ever acknowledge your majeſty's juſtice, grace, and goodneſs, and be ready to perform that ſervice to your majeſty, which in the true affection of our hearts we profeſs, and pour out our daily and devout prayers to the Almighty for your majeſty's long life, happy and religious reign, and proſperous eſtate, and for your royal poſterity after you for ever."

This petition, with the remonſtrance annexed, was ſent to the king by twelve members, at the head of whom the houſe affected to ſet ſir Richard Weſton, a privy counſellor, a known papiſt, and thought to be the perſon that moſt incenſed the king againſt the commons. Then the houſe reſolved to proceed to no other affair, till they had an anſwer to their petition. The king received the twelve members very roughly. Some ſay, he called for twelve chairs for them, ſaying, 'Here are twelve kings come to me.' He received from them the laſt petition, but rejected the remonſtrance, with the copy of the petition already preſented to him againſt the recuſants. Some days after, he ſent the commons an anſwer in writing. As nothing can better diſcover that prince's deſigns and character than his ſpeeches, though generally very long, the reader perhaps will be glad to ſee the anſwer at length.

"We muſt here begin in the ſame faſhion that we would have done, if your firſt petition had come to our hands, before we had made a ſtay thereof; which is to repeat the firſt words of the late queen of famous memory, uſed by her, in an anſwer to an inſolent propoſition made by a Polonian embaſſador unto her; that is, 'Legatum expectabamus, heraldum accipimus.' For we had great reaſon to expect, that the firſt meſſage from your houſe ſhould have been a meſſage of thankſgiving for our continued gracious behaviour towards our people, ſince your laſt receſs, not only by our proclamation of grace, wherein were contained ſix or ſeven and thirty articles, all of ſeveral points of grace to the people, but alſo by the labour we took for the ſatisfaction of both houſes, in thoſe three articles recommended unto us in both their names, by the right reverend father in God the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and likewiſe for the good government of Ireland, we are now in hand with at your requeſt: but not only have we heard no news of all this, but contrary, great complaints of the danger of religion within the kingdom, tacitly implying our ill-government in this point. And we leave you to judge, whether it be your duties, that are the repreſentative body of the people, ſo to diſtaſte them with our government; whereas by the contrary it is your duty, with all your endeavours, to kindle more and more a dutiful and thankful love in the peoples hearts towards us, for our juſt and gracious government.

"Now whereas, in the very beginning of this your apology, you tax us in fair terms of truſting uncertain reports and partial informations concerning your proceedings, we wiſh you to remember, that we are an old and experienced king, needing no ſuch leſſons, being in our conſcience freeſt of any king alive from hearing or truſting idle reports, which ſo many of your houſe as are neareſt us can bear witneſs unto you, if you would give as good ear to them, as you do to ſome tribunitial orators among you: and for proof in this particular, we have made your own meſſengers confer your other petitions ſent by you, with the copy thereof, which was ſent us before; between which there is no difference at all; but that ſince our receiving the firſt copy, you added a concluſion unto it, which could not come to our hands till it was done by you, and your meſſenger ſent, which was all at one time. And if we had no copy of it beforehand, we muſt have received your firſt petition, to our great diſhonour, before we had known what it contained, which would have enforced us to return you a far worſe anſwer than now we do; for then your meſſengers had returned with nothing, but that we have judged your petition unlawful and unworthy of an anſwer: for as to your concluſion thereof, it is nothing but Proteſtatio contraria facto; for in the body of your petition, you uſurp upon our prerogative royal, and meddle with things far above your reach; and then in the concluſion you proteſt the contrary; as if a robber would take a man's purſe, and then proteſt he meant not to rob him. For firſt, you preſume to give us your advice concerning the match of our deareſt ſon with ſome proteſtant (we cannot ſay princeſs, for we know none of theſe fit for him), and diſſuade us

from his match with Spain: urging us to preſent war with that king: and yet in the concluſion, forſooth, ye proteſt ye intend not to preſs upon our moſt undoubted and regal prerogative; as if the petitioning of us in matters that yourſelves confeſs ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

" And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited to this courſe by the ſpeeches of three honourable lords; yet by ſo much as yourſelves repeat of the ſpeeches, nothing can be concluded, but that we were reſolved by war to regain the Palatinate, if otherwiſe we could not attain it. And you are invited to adviſe forthwith upon a ſupply, for keeping the forces in the Palatinate from diſbanding, and to foreſee the means for the raiſing and maintenance of the body of an army for that war againſt the ſpring. Now, what inference can be made upon this, that therefore we muſt preſently denounce war againſt the king of Spain, break our deareſt ſon's match, and match him to one of our religion, let the world judge. The difference is no greater, than if we would tell a merchant, that we had great need to borrow money from him for raiſing an army; that thereupon it would follow, that we were bound to follow his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon: but yet not contenting yourſelves with this excuſe of yours, which indeed cannot hold water, ye come after to a direct contradiction to the concluſion of your former petition, ſaying, that the honour and ſafety of us and our poſterity, and the patrimony of our children, invaded and poſſeſſed by their enemies, the welfare of religion, and ſtate of our kingdome, are matters at any time not unfit for your deepeſt conſiderations in parliament. To this generality, we anſwere with the logicians, that where all things are contained, nothing is omitted. So as this plenipotencie of yours, inveſts you in all power upon earth, lacking nothing but the pope's to have the keys alſo both of heaven and purgatory: and to this vaſte generality of yours, we can give no other anſwer; for it will trouble all the beſt lawyers in the houſe to make a good commentary upon it: for ſo did the puritan miniſters in Scotland bring all kinde of cauſes within the compaſſe of their juriſdiction, ſaying, that it was the church's office to judge of ſlander, and there could no kinde of crime or fault be committed, but there was a ſlander in it, either againſt God, the king, or their neighbour; and by this means they hooked in to themſelves the cognizance of all cauſes: or like Bellarmine's diſtinction of the pope's power over all kings, in ordine ad ſpiritualia, whereby he gives them all temporal juriſdiction over them.

" But to give you a direct anſwere to the matter of war for which you are ſo earneſt. We confeſs, we rather expect you ſhould have given us great and heartie thanks, for the long maintaining a ſettled peace in all our dominions, when all our neighbours about are in a miſerable combuſtion of war; but, 'Dulce bellum inexpertis.' And we indeed find by experience, that a number of our ſubjects are ſo pampered with peace, as they are deſirous of change, though they know not what.

" It is true, that we have ever profeſſed, and in that minde with God's grace we will live and die, that we will labour by all means poſſible, either by treaty or by force, to reſtore our children to their antient dignity and inheritance: and whatſoever chriſtian princes or potentates will ſet themſelves againſt it, we will not ſpare any lawful means to bring our ſo juſt and honourable purpoſe to a good end; neither ſhall the match of our ſon, or any other worldly reſpect, be preferred to this our reſolution. For by our credit and intervention with the king of Spain, and the archduchеſs and her huſband, now with God, we preſerved the Lower Palatinate one whole year from any further conquering in it, which in eight days ſpace, in that time might have eaſily been ſwallowed up by Spinola's army without any reſiſtance. And in no better caſe was it now at our embaſſador the lord Digby's coming through Heidelburgh, if he had not extraordinarily ſuccoured it.

" But becauſe we conceive that ye couple this war of the Palatinate with the cauſe of religion, we muſt a little unfold your eyes herein.

" The beginning of this miſerable war, which hath ſet all Chriſtendom on fire, was not for religion, but only cauſed by our ſon-in-law his haſty and harſh reſolution, following evil counſel, to take to himſelf the crown of Bohemia.

" And that this is true, himſelf wrote letters unto us at that time, deſiring to give aſſurance both to the French king, and ſtate of Venice, that his accepting of the crown of Bohemia, had no reference to the cauſe of religion, but only by reaſon of his right of election (as he called it). And we would be ſorry that that aſperſion ſhould come upon our religion, as to make it a good pretext for dethroning of kings, and uſurping their crowns; and we would be loth that our people here ſhould be taught that ſtrange doctrine: no, let us not ſo far wrong the jeſuits, as to rob them of their ſweet poſitions and practice in that very point.

" And upon the other part, we aſſure ourſelf ſo far of your charitable thoughts of us, that we would never have conſtantly denied our ſon-in-law both the title and aſſiſtance in that point, if we had been well perſwaded of the juſtice of his quarrel. But to conclude; this unjuſt uſurpation of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungaria from the emperor, hath given the pope and all that party too fair a ground, and opened them too wide a gate for curbing and oppreſſing of many thouſands of our religion, in divers parts of Chriſtendom.

" And whereas you excuſe your touching upon the king of Spain, upon occaſion of the incidents by you repeated in that place, and yet affirm, that it is without any touch to his honour; we cannot wonder enough that you are ſo forgetful both of your words and writs, for in your former petition ye plainly affirm, that he affects the temporal monarchy of the whole earth; than which there can be no more malice uttered againſt any great king, to make all other princes and potentates both envy and hate him; but if ye liſt it may eaſily be tried, whether that ſpeech touched him in honour or not, if ye ſhall aſk him the queſtion, whether he means to aſſume to himſelf that title or no, for every king can beſt judge of his own honour. We omit the particular ejaculations of ſome foul-mouthed orators in your houſe, againſt the honour of that king's crown and ſtate.

" And touching your excuſe of not determining any thing concerning the match of our deareſt ſon, but only to tell your opinion, and lay it down at our feet. Firſt, we deſire to know, how you could have preſumed to determine in that point, without committing of high treaſon. And next, you cannot deny but your talking of his match after that manner, was a direct breach of our commandment, and declaration out of her own mouth, at the firſt ſetting down of this parliament, where we plainly profeſſed that we were in treaty of this match with Spain; and wiſhed you to have that confidence in our religion and wiſdom, that we ſhould ſo manage it, as our religion ſhould receive no prejudice by it: And the ſame we now repeat unto you, profeſſing that we are ſo far engaged in that match, as we cannot in honour go back, except the king of Spain perform not ſuch things as we expect at his hands. And therefore we are ſorry, that you ſhould ſhew to have ſo great diſtruſt in us, as to conceive that we ſhould be cold in our religion, otherwiſe we cannot imagine how our former public declaration ſhould not have ſtopped your mouths in this point.

" And as to your requeſt, that we would now receive your former petition; we wonder what could make you preſume that we would receive it, whereas in our former letter we plainly declared the contrary unto you.

" And therefore we have juſtly rejected that ſuit of yours: For what have you left unattempted in the higheſt points of ſovereignty, in that petition of yours, except the ſtriking of coin? For it contains the violation of leagues, the particular way how to govern a war, and the marriage of our deareſt ſon, both negative with Spain, nay, with any other popiſh princeſs; and alſo affirmatively, as to the matching with one of our religion; which we confeſs is a ſtrain beyond any providence or wiſdom God hath given us, as things now ſtand.

" Theſe are unfit things to be handled in parliament, except your king ſhall require it of you: For who can have wiſdom to judge of things of that nature, but ſuch as are daily acquainted with the particulars of treaties, and of the variable and fixed connexion of affairs of ſtate, together with the knowledge of the ſecret ways, ends, and intentions of princes in their ſeveral negotiations? Otherwiſe, a ſmall miſtaking of matters of this nature may produce more effects than can be imagined; and therefore, 'Ne ſutor ultra crepidam.' And beſides, the intermeddling in parliament with matters of peace or war, and marriage of our deareſt ſon, would be ſuch a diminution to us, to our crown in foreign countries, as would make any prince neglect to treat with us, either in matters of peace or marriage, excepting they might be aſſured by the aſſent of the parliament. And ſo it proved long ago with the king of France [a], who upon a trick procuring his ſtate to diſſent from ſome treaty which before he had made, was after refuſed treating with any other princes, to his great reproach, unleſs he would firſt procure the aſſent of his eſtates

[a] Francis I.

to their propoſition. And will you caſt your eyes upon the late times, you ſhall find that the late queen, of famous memory, was humbly petitioned by a parliament to be pleaſed to marry: But her anſwer was, That ſhe liked their petition well, becauſe it was ſimple, not limiting her to place or perſon, as not befitting her liking to their fancies; and if they had done otherwiſe, ſhe would have thought it a high preſumption in them. Judge then what we may do in ſuch a caſe, having made our public declaration already (as we ſaid before) directly contrary to that which you have now petitioned.

"Now to the points in your petition, whereof you deſire an anſwer, as properly belonging to the parliament: The firſt and greateſt point is that of religion; concerning which, at this time, we can give you no other anſwer than in general; which is, that you may reſt ſecure, that we will never be weary to do all we can for the propagation of our religion, and repreſſing of popery: But the manner and form you muſt remit to our care and providence, who can beſt conſider of times and ſeaſons, not by undertaking a public war of religion through all the world at once (which how hard and dangerous to taſk it may prove, you may judge). But this puts us in mind, how all the world complained the laſt year of plenty of corn; and God ſent us a cooling card this year for that heat: And ſo we pray God, that this deſire among you of kindling wars (ſhewing your wearineſs of peace and plenty) may not make God permit us to fall into the miſeries of both. But as we already ſaid, our care of religion muſt be ſuch as on the one part we muſt not, by the hot perſecution of our recuſants at home, irritate foreign princes of contrary religion, and teach them the way to plague the proteſtants in their dominions, with whom we daily intercede, and at this time principally, for eaſe to them of our profeſſion that live under them; yet upon the other part, we never mean to ſpare from due and ſevere puniſhment any papiſt that will grow inſolent for living under our ſo mild government. And you may alſo be aſſured, we will leave no care untaken, as well for the education of the youth at home, eſpecially the children of papiſts, as alſo for preſerving at all times hereafter the youth that are or ſhall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous places, and ſo poiſoned in popiſh ſeminaries. And as in this point, namely, the good education of popiſh youth at home, we have already given ſome good proofs, both in this kingdom and in Ireland, ſo will we be well pleaſed to paſs any good laws that ſhall be made, either now, or at any time hereafter to this purpoſe.

"And as to your requeſt of making this a ſeſſion, and granting a general pardon; it ſhall be in your defaults, if we make not this a ſeſſion before Chriſtmas.

"But for the pardon, ye crave ſuch particulars in it, as we muſt be well adviſed upon, leſt otherwiſe we give you back the double or treble of what we are to receive by your entire ſubſidy without fifteenths. But the ordinary courſe we hold fitteſt to be uſed ſtill in this caſe, is, That we ſhould of our free grace ſend you down a pardon from the higher houſe, containing ſuch points as we ſhall think fitteſt, wherein, we hope, ye ſhall receive good ſatisfaction.

"But we cannot omit to ſhew you, how ſtrange we think it, that you ſhould make ſo bad and unjuſt a commentary upon ſome words of our former letter, as if we meant to reſtrain you thereby of your antient privileges and liberties in parliament. Truly, a ſcholar would be aſhamed ſo to miſplace and misjudge any ſentences in another man's book. For, whereas in the end of our former letters, we diſcharge you to meddle with matters of government, and myſteries of ſtate, namely, matters of war or peace, of our deareſt ſon's match with Spain; by which particular denominations we interpret and reſtrain our former words: And then, after we forbid you to meddle with ſuch things as have their ordinary courſe in courts of juſtice; ye couple together theſe two diſtinct ſentences, and plainly leave out theſe words, 'Of myſteries of ſtate;' ſo as ye err, 'à bene diviſis ad male conjuncta:' For of the former part concerning myſteries of ſtate, we plainly reſtrain our meaning to the particulars that were after mentioned; and in the latter, we confeſs we meant it by ſir Edward Coke's fooliſh buſineſs [b]. And therefore it had well become him, eſpecially being our ſervant, and one of our council, to have complained unto us, which he never did, though he was ordinarily at court ſince, and never had acceſs refuſed unto him.

"And although we cannot allow of the ſtile, calling it 'your antient and undoubted right and inheritance;' but could rather have wiſhed, that ye had ſaid, 'That your privileges were derived from the grace and permiſſion of our anceſtors and us' (for moſt of them grow from precedents, which rather ſhew a toleration than inheritance): yet we are pleaſed to give you our royal aſſurance, that as long as you contain yourſelves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preſerve your lawful liberties and privileges, as ever any of our predeceſſors were; nay, as to preſerve our own royal prerogative, ſo as your houſe ſhall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown; which would enforce us, or any juſt king, to retrench them of their privileges, that would pare his prerogative, and flowers of the crown: But of this, we hope, there ſhall never be cauſe given."

"Dated at Newmarket the 11th day of December, 1621 [c]."

The laſt part of the king's anſwer was ſo clear, as to want no explanation. He had contented himſelf hitherto with inſinuating certain principles, the conſequences whereof he had carefully concealed, and thereby ſeemed to reſerve to himſelf the power either of admitting theſe conſequences, in their utmoſt extent, or with reſtrictions, or of denying them, according as occaſion ſhall require. But now, whether he gave way to his paſſion, or was glad at laſt to ſpeak his thoughts clearly, not to be conſtrained any longer to uſe doubtful expreſſions, which very often were pretended not to be underſtood, he put the commons under a neceſſity either of granting his pretenſions, or oppoſing them openly. But if I may venture to ſay it, he committed an inexcuſable error, in not diſſolving the parliament, before the commons had time to debate upon his anſwer. He would thereby have eſtabliſhed his pretenſions without incurring the vexation of an open and public oppoſition, which he muſt have expected, unleſs he was wilfully blind. The commons having read the anſwer, the conſequences whereof they plainly perceived, and knowing the parliament was going to be diſſolved or prorogued, drew up the following proteſtation:

"The commons now aſſembled in parliament, being juſtly occaſioned thereunto concerning ſundry liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of parliament, amongſt others here mentioned, do make this proteſtation following; that the liberties, franchiſes, privileges, add juriſdiction of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the ſubjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, ſtate, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redreſs of miſchiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper ſubjects and matter of counſel and debate in parliament; and that in the handling and proceeding of thoſe buſineſſes, every member of the houſe of parliament hath, and, of right, ought to have, freedom of ſpeech, to propound, treat, reaſon, and bring to concluſion the ſame; and that the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of theſe matters in ſuch order, as in their judgments ſhall ſeem fitteſt; and that every member of the ſaid houſe hath like freedom from all impeachment, impriſonment, and moleſtation (other than by cenſure of the houſe itſelf), for, or concerning, any ſpeaking, reaſoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament or parliament-buſineſs: And that if any of the ſaid members be complained of, and queſtioned for any thing done or ſaid in parliament, the ſame is to be ſhewed to the king by the advice and aſſent of all the commons aſſembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

The king being informed of the proteſtation, called a council, and came in perſon, to cauſe what is contained in the following memorial, to be ordered.

Whitehall, Dec. 30, 1621.

"His moſt excellent majeſty coming this day to the council, the prince his highneſs, and all the lords, and others of his majeſty's privy council ſitting about him, and all the judges then in London, which were ſix in number, there attending upon his majeſty; the clerk of the commons houſe of parliament was called for, and commanded to produce his journal-book, wherein was noted, and entries made of moſt paſſages that were in the commons houſe of parliament; and amongſt other things, there was written down, the form of a proteſtation, concerning ſundry liberties, privileges, and franchiſes of parliament; with which form of proteſtation his majeſty was juſtly offended. Nevertheleſs, his majeſty, in a moſt gracious manner, there expreſſed,

[b] This fooliſh buſineſs was a deſign formed by chancellor Bacon, one Lepton, and Goldſmith, againſt ſir Edward Coke, after he was diſcharged from being chief juſtice, namely, to exhibit an information againſt him in the ſtar-chamber, or ſend him into Ireland. This buſineſs was debated in the houſe of commons. Coke, p. 118.

[c] The lord keeper Williams adviſed, that the harſhneſs of this anſwer might be mitigated and ſoftened, for he could never bear that there ſhould be a miſunderſtanding between the king and his people, if it were poſſible to prevent it. Philips, p. 98.

Formerly,

that he never meant to deny that houſe of commons any lawful privileges that ever they had enjoyed, but whatſoever privileges or liberties they had by any law or ſtatute, the ſame ſhould be inviolably preſerved unto them; and whatſoever privileges they enjoyed by cuſtom, or uncontrolled and lawful precedent, his majeſty would be careful to preſerve. But this proteſtation of the commons houſe, ſo contrived and carried as it was, his majeſty thought fit to be razed out of all memorials, and utterly to be annihilated, both in reſpect of the manner by which it was gained, and the matter therein contained. For the manner of getting of it, firſt in reſpect of the time: for after ſuch time as his majeſty, out of his princely grace, and to take away all miſtakings, had directed his letter to ſecretary Calvert, dated at Royſton, 16 Decembris, and therein had ſo explained himſelf in the point of maintaining the privileges of the houſe of commons, as that moſt of the ſaid houſe reſted fully ſatisfied, and freed from any ſcruple of having their liberties impeached; and after that, by his majeſty's letters, directed to the ſpeaker, dated 18th December, being Tueſday, his majeſty, at the humble ſuit of the houſe of commons, condeſcended to make this meeting a ſeſſion before Chriſtmas, and for that purpoſe had aſſigned Saturday following. Now upon this very Tueſday, and while the meſſengers from the houſe of commons were with his majeſty at Theobalds, to return thanks unto his majeſty, and therewith an excuſe from them not to make it a ſeſſion, in reſpect of the ſtrait of time whereunto they were driven; which deferment his majeſty admitted of at their deſires, and thereupon gave orders for the adjournment of the parliament until the 8th of February next, which was the firſt day formerly appointed by his majeſty for the meeting together of the parliament; and whilſt their meſſengers were with his majeſty, and had received a gracious anſwer to return unto their houſes; even that afternoon, a committee was procured to be made for taking their liberties into conſideration; and this afternoon a proteſtation was made (to whom appears not) concerning their liberties; and at ſix a clock at night, by candle-light the ſame proteſtation was brought into the houſe by the committee, and at that time of night it was called upon to be put to the queſtion, there not being the third part of the houſe then preſent; whereas in all matters of weight, their uſual cuſtom is, to put nothing of importance to the queſtion, till the houſe be full; and at this time many of them that were preſent, expected the queſtion would have been deferred to another day, and a fuller houſe; and ſome then preſent ſtood up to have ſpoken to it, but could not be ſeen or heard in that darkneſs and confuſion. Now for the matter of the proteſtation, it is penned in ſuch ambiguous and general words, as may ſerve for future times to invade moſt of the rights and prerogatives annexed to the imperial crown; the claim of ſome privileges being grounded upon the words of the writ for aſſembling the parliament, wherein ſome words, viz. 'Arduis Regni,' are cunningly mentioned; but the word 'quibuſdam,' which reſtraineth the generality to ſuch particular caſes as his majeſty pleaſeth to conſult with them upon, is purpoſely omitted [d].

"Theſe things conſidered, his majeſty did, this preſent day, in full aſſembly of his council, and in the preſence of the judges, declare the ſaid proteſtation to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no effect; and did farther, 'manu ſuâ propria,' take the ſaid proteſtation out of the journal-book of the clerk of the commons houſe of parliament, and commanded an act of council to be made thereupon, and this act to be entered in the regiſter of council cauſes."

Six days after, the king diſſolved the parliament by proclamation, declaring, he was not obliged to give an account thereof to any, ſince the diſſolving of the parliament, when he pleaſed, was confeſſedly in his power [e]. That however, he was willing to inform the public, it was becauſe the commons took the liberty not only to treat of his high prerogatives, which belonged not to them, but alſo to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of foreign princes; that they ſpent the time in diſputing about their privileges, without regarding the public wants; that ſome ill-tempered ſpirits ſowed tares among the corn, and by their cunning devices, had impoſed upon him a neceſſity of diſcontinuing the preſent parliament, without putting it to the name or period of a ſeſſion. Then he declared, that though the parliament was broken off, he intended to govern well, and ſhould gladly embrace the firſt occaſion to call another at a proper ſeaſon.

This proclamation was followed by another, forbidding under ſevere penalties, to talk of ſtate affairs, and charging the judges in their circuits, to put the laws in force againſt licentious tongues.

But the king's reſentment did not end here. Some of the commons, who had appeared moſt zealous to maintain the privileges of the houſe, as ſir Edward Coke [f], ſir Robert Philips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Mallery, were committed to priſon. Likewiſe ſir Dudley Diggs, ſir Thomas Crew, ſir Nathaniel Rich, and ſir James Perrot, were ordered into Ireland, to execute a certain commiſſion, the king intending thereby to remove them from their homes, and puniſh them with a ſort of baniſhment. On the other hand, the earls of Oxford and Southampton were ſent to the Tower on ſome ſtudied pretence [g]; but it was eaſy to ſee, it was for ſpeaking too freely in the houſe of peers of the king's conduct.

Till the laſt parliament, the king and the commons had only mutually tried each other, the one to enlarge his prerogative, the other to preſerve privileges, which they looked upon as inconteſtable. But on the preſent occaſion, there was a neceſſity of declaring and acting openly. The king pretended, as appears by his anſwer to the petition of the commons, that their privileges having no other foundation than the conceſſion of the kings his predeceſſors, it was in his power to revoke them if they gave juſt occaſion. The commons, on their ſide, pretended, they enjoyed theſe privileges by antient and undoubted right, had received them by inheritance from their anceſtors, and the king had no power to take them away. I paſs over in ſilence the conſequences which may be drawn from both theſe principles, if carried as far as the general terms will allow; they are obvious to the meaneſt capacity. I beg leave not to determine ſo difficult a point, but only to make ſome remarks, which I hope will be of uſe for the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Firſt, It is very difficult, in my opinion, and perhaps impoſſible to eſtabliſh upon fixed principles, as well the royal prerogatives of the kings of England, as the privileges of the parliament and the houſe of commons in particular. We muſt except ſuch as are allowed on both ſides, ſince this mutual conſent is of no leſs force than a law. Cuſtom therefore and precedent are the only foundation on which to eſtabliſh their reſpective rights.

The Anglo-Saxons, who conquered Britain, had no kings in thoſe parts of Germany where they inhabited before their coming into England: their government was ariſtocratical. Seven of their chiefs, by whom Britain was conquered, aſſumed the title of Kings, which was never before in uſe among them.

It muſt be obſerved, as a very neceſſary point, that the dominion of theſe new kings did not properly extend over the conquered people, namely, the Britons, who were almoſt all driven into Wales and Cornwal, but over the conquerors themſelves, among whom the ſubdued country was divided. Hence it is evident that the right of conqueſt, which might be alleged in favour of theſe firſt kings and their ſucceſſors, is wholly excluded.

It is very likely, not to ſay certain, that the parliament of England is as antient as the monarchy, though ſome diſpute it, but in my opinion without any foundation [h]. At leaſt, the time cannot be aſcertained when the parliament firſt began. But it is very difficult to prove the commons were ſummoned to parliament and voted there.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted theſe firſt kings had great prerogatives, which were much increaſed by their ſucceſſors. But I believe it may be taken for granted, that in general, neither the king's prerogatives, nor the peoples privileges, owe their original to the laws; conſequently, they can neither be limited nor enlarged, but as warranted by examples and precedents. Now theſe precedents are ſo contrary one to another, that there is no forming any fixed and cer-

[d] Formerly, parliaments ſat but a few days, and took into conſideration ſuch affairs only as the king had before ſet forth in the writs of ſummons. But this method being altered, parliaments were called without the occaſion of their meeting being known, and were not limited to the affairs mentioned by the kings in their firſt ſpeeches; and this made their ſeſſions hold ſo long. Rapin. See Elſyng's Manner of Holding Parliaments, p. 7, &c.

[e] His proclamation began with theſe words, "Albeit the aſſembling, continuing, and diſſolving of parliaments, be a prerogative ſo peculiarly belonging to our imperial crowne, and the times and ſeaſons thereof ſo abſolutelie in our own power, that wee neede not give an account thereof unto any; yet, &c."

[f] Orders were given for ſealing up the locks and doors of ſir Edward's chambers in London, and in the Temple, for the ſeizing of his papers; and it was debated in council how he might be excluded from the benefit of the general pardon that ſhould have paſſed this laſt parliament. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 55. Annals, p. 66. Sir Edward it ſeems had called the king's prerogative an over-grown monſter. Wilſon, p. 749.

[g] The earl of Oxford was accuſed by one White a papiſt, of having ſpoken ſome words to the diſhonour of the king, and diſparagement of his government, for which he was ſent to the Tower; but the earl of Southampton was committed to the cuſtody of the dean of Weſtminſter, for his freedom of ſpeech, and for rebuking Buckingham in the houſe of lords. Wilſon, p. 748. Coke, p. 121.

[h] See the Diſſertation, vol. I. of this Hiſtory.

tain

tain rules; and what cauſes moſt difficulty in the matter, is the ambiguity of the terms: and firſt, in the word Parliament.

If the parliament is conſidered as compoſed of the king and the two houſes, an unlimited power, with reſpect to the affairs of the kingdom, may without fear be aſcribed to it. But if the parliament is ſuppoſed to conſiſt only of the two houſes without the king, it cannot be denied that its rights are limited. The two houſes are properly the whole nation, excluſive of the king. They have their privileges; but it belongs not to them to extend them as they pleaſe: the king's conſent is neceſſary to that end. This is ſtill more true, when one of the houſes acts alone, without the concurrence of the other: for then it repreſents but part of the nation, who cannot lawfully claim any other rights than thoſe which are granted either by ſome law, or by the tacit conſent of the king and the other houſe. It is very certain, that to each of the two houſes belong ſeparate rights and privileges; and that the two houſes together, though parted from the king, have alſo their privileges: but the queſtion is, to know how far they reach, and whether the king alone ought to be judge.

The term Prerogative-royal is liable to no leſs ambiguity than the word Parliament. It is a looſe and general term, which gives only a very confuſed idea of the thing ſignified. If it is a right common to all that bear the title of King, the prerogative-royal muſt be the ſame every where, and the kings of England and Poland will be as abſolute as the king of Perſia. If it has bounds, by whom were they ſet? Or, what are the bounds which it cannot exceed? I believe it is no leſs difficult to reſolve theſe queſtions, than thoſe concerning the privileges of the parliament. But as the prerogative-royal includes many particular rights, let us examine, for inſtance, the power challenged by James, of revoking the privileges of the houſe of commons. From whence had he this particular prerogative? Was it a right common to all kings? But there are in the world kingdoms without parliaments or a houſe of commons. Was this prerogative as antient as the Engliſh monarchy? But he himſelf would not grant the houſe of commons to be ſo antient. Was it from ſome law? But he produced none. Was it by a tacit conſent, or by uſurpation? But the thing had never happened before. Was it, in fine, upon this general maxim, that whatſoever is granted by one king, may be revoked by another? But, beſides that this no undeniable principle, eſpecially after an uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many ages, the king would have been very much puzzled to name the kings who had granted the commons their privileges. Thus king James ſuppoſed, that the prerogative was a thing fixed, inconteſtible, known to all the world, though nothing was more indeterminate, or of leſs known extent and limits.

Let us conſider now what were thoſe rights, liberties, privileges, claimed by the commons as their antient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance. Theſe are all uncertain and general terms, of which we cannot have a clear and diſtinct idea, without applying them to particular caſes. But what was ſaid concerning the royal prerogative, may be applied here. How came the commons by theſe rights? How far did they reach? Where were their bounds? This would be very difficult to fix. James perhaps went too far, when he would have entirely deprived the commons of the right of repreſenting to him the nation's grievances, and of the liberty to debate, reaſon, and ſpeak in the houſe what was thought proper. But if, under colour of theſe rights, the commons would take upon them to adviſe the king upon all occaſions, and ſpeak injuriouſly of his majeſty in their houſe, upon what would they ground ſuch privileges?

Since therefore it is ſo difficult to decide the queſtions concerning the prerogative-royal, and the privileges of both houſes, or of each in particular, prudence and good policy require that kings and parliaments avoid as a rock the engaging in ſuch diſputes. Accordingly, we may have obſerved in the perſual of this hiſtory, that the wiſeſt, the moſt illuſtrious kings, thoſe whoſe merit is moſt univerſally acknowledged, as Edward I. Edward III. Henry V. Edward IV. Henry VIII. Elizabeth, never had any conteſts of this nature with their parliaments. On the contrary, thoſe that were leaſt eminent for their prudence and capacity, ſuch as Henry III. Edward II. Richard II. were ruined for raiſing ſuch ſorts of diſputes. James is the firſt who in thoſe latter days engaged in this quarrel. He was followed by his ſon and grandſons, and theſe princes, inſtead of ſucceeding in their projects, only rendered themſelves moſt unhappy. A wiſe and prudent king of England, who knows his own intereſt, will never quarrel with his parliament; and a parliament, whoſe ſole view is the kingdom's welfare, will take care never to queſtion the king's juſt prerogative; nay, they will rather chuſe to ſee it ſtretched a little too far, than run the riſk of breaking a union which is the ſole foundation of the public happineſs. I hope I ſhall be forgiven this digreſſion, which to me ſeems of uſe to inform the reader, and help him to judge impartially of the difference, which aroſe in this, and produced ſo many calamities in the following reign.

[1622] The diſſolution of the parliament, and the little likelihood of the king's ever calling another, could not but be attended with ill conſequences. The king forfeited, by this proceeding, not only the love and eſteem of great part of his ſubjects, but alſo the regard of foreigners. When he was thus embroiled with his people, it was univerſally concluded he could be no longer either a friend to be relied on, or an enemy to be feared. On the other hand, the nation could not reflect without terror, that they were going to be expoſed to an arbitrary power, ſince there were to be no more parliaments to keep the prerogative-royal within due bounds. But the worſt effect produced by the rupture between the king and the parliament, was the diviſion among the ſubjects, who continually joined with the two oppoſite parties, which ſubſiſt to this day, with ſome difference, under the names of Tories and Whigs.

Theſe two parties, which began to be formed, were contented at firſt with mutual diſputes, in defence of the king's or the peoples rights, in reſpect of what had cauſed the diſſolution of the parliament. The royaliſts ſaid, the commons meant to make the Engliſh monarchy a republic: that in meddling with ſtate-affairs, and adviſing the king concerning the management of the kingdom and his own family, they ſhewed they aſpired to no leſs than governing the ſtate, ſince they would never want pretences to give the king counſel, which if he refuſed to comply with, he would, by that very thing, be deprived of the neceſſary aids for defence of the realm, and conſtrained to receive law from foreign princes: that England was originally a monarchy, and had ever continued upon the ſame foot; but the foundations were going to be undermined, by making the king ſubject to the parliament; that at firſt, remonſtrances were only made to the king, afterwards councils were added; but theſe councils would ſoon be converted into inſtructions, and the inſtructions into orders and commands; in a word, if the commons were ſuffered to proceed, the king would quickly become a mere doge; that the commons had the leſs right to pretend to the government of the ſtate, as the ſtate had ſubſiſted five hundred years without them, ſince it was about the end of Henry III.'s reign, and during the earl of Leiceſter's uſurpation, that the repreſentatives of the people were firſt admitted into the parliament. In ſhort, that it was a ſtrange thing, that under a monarchical government, the people, or their repreſentatives, ſhould tell the king how he was to govern his kingdom: that ſuppoſing the people had ſuch a right, it would be neceſſary to impart to them all the ſecrets of the ſtate, and conſult them about alliances and treaties, peace and war; but as this had never been practiſed, it followed of courſe that the ſuppoſition was falſe, and the people were called to parliament only to ſupply the king's wants, and to ſettle the taxes and impoſitions in a manner the leaſt burthenſome to the ſubjects: that indeed as to the laws concerning the internal government of the ſtate, it was thought proper to enact them with the conſent of the people who were to be ſubject to them, that they might be the better executed; but no conſequence could thence be drawn, either for foreign affairs, or for the execution of theſe laws, which was left to the king alone, or for the general government of the realm.

The favourers of the people ſaid in their turn, that the king was not ſatisfied with England's being a monarchy, but would make it an abſolute monarchy: that he affected to confound the ſeveral kinds of monarchies, whereof ſome were more, others leſs abſolute, in order to acknowledge but one ſort, to which he aſcribed an unlimited power: that the Engliſh monarchy was not of this kind, but began with the parliament, which being as antient as the royalty, formed, together with the ſovereign, the abſolute power, the king would aſſume to himſelf alone: that the parliament had their privileges, as the king had his, nor could be deprived of them, without deſtroying the nature and conſtitution of the Engliſh government: that the parliament repreſented the whole nation, who were as much or more concerned in the welfare of the ſtate than the king himſelf: that indeed the king had his undoubted prerogatives; but they were intended for the welfare and preſervation, and not for the ruin, of the ſtate: that whilſt he kept within theſe bounds, and acted only for the benefit of the kingdom, he anſwered the end and intent of his prerogatives; but it was deſtroying the conſtitution, to pretend that his prerogative-royal gave him power to ſubvert the laws, to make alliances repugnant to the good of the realm, to render the nation contemptible in the eyes of foreigners, to expoſe

religion to the danger of being ruined, through an extreme careleſſneſs and condeſcenſion for its enemies: that in ſuch a caſe, as he ſwerved from the end and deſign of his prerogative, it was the peoples or their repreſentatives buſineſs to ſhew him the inconveniencies of his conduct, propound means to prevent them, and give him proper advice for their cure: that if this were not ſo, it would follow that the king would be abſolute and arbitrary, might ruin and deſtroy the kingdom at his pleaſure, trample upon the eſtabliſhed laws, oppreſs the ſubjects, take away their lives and fortunes, which was directly contrary to the conſtitution of England: that as to the reſt, it evidently appeared, the king was labouring to reduce the privileges of the parliament to little or nothing. Does the parliament repreſent to him the peoples grievances? It may, ſays he, from thence be inferred that the king governs ill, and this tends to alienate from him the love of his ſubjects. Is he deſired to put the laws againſt recuſants in execution? He anſwers, that affair muſt be left to his care, he knows what is proper to be done: he is an old experienced king, who has no need to be taught, and yet he is not ſeen to do the leaſt thing towards redreſſing the grievances complained of. Do the commons repreſent to him that the prince his ſon's marriage with the Spaniſh infanta may be of very ill conſequence to religion? He replies, they have no buſineſs to meddle with his family-concerns. Do they ſtrive to make him ſenſible that the proteſtant religion is in danger of being deſtroyed throughout Europe, for want of aſſiſtance, and that the king of Spain amuſes him with fair promiſes, whilſt he is over-running the Palatinate? He anſwers, theſe are matters of ſtate, too high for the peoples repreſentatives, who have neither wiſdom nor capacity enough to comprehend the myſteries of government: "Ne ſutor ultra crepidam." In a word, he reduces the privileges of the commons to adviſing the king when he ſhould do them the honour to aſk it, and to ſupplying him with money when he demands it on any pretence, though the pretence be evidently falſe, ſince he will not ſuffer his reaſons to be examined. But this is not all: he plainly tells the commons, their privileges are only conceſſions of himſelf and predeceſſors, and intimates that they ſhall keep them no longer than their ſubmiſſion makes them worthy of them. Is it poſſible, ſay they, to give plainer marks of a ſettled deſign to uſurp an arbitrary power? Suppoſing the commons were not called to parliament till the reign of Henry III. which however cannot be proved, have they not been ever ſince an eſſential part of parliament, and conſequently have they not an udoubted right to all parliamentary privileges?

This is part of what was then ſaid on both ſides, and is what ſerved to cheriſh diviſion between the two parties, who have not ceaſed ever ſince to revile one another. It is eaſy to gueſs which of the two parties the puritans joined with: they loved not the king, who, on his part, diſcovered on all occaſions that he was their mortal enemy. But, as I ſaid, there were two ſorts of puritans, ſtate-puritans and church-puritans. Before the king declared himſelf ſo openly with reſpect to his prerogative-royal, the ſtate-puritans were few, becauſe the king having gone no great lengths, his intention was yet only ſuſpected: but after the diſſolution of the third parliament, their number greatly increaſed; and the king, through a policy very deſtructive of his intereſts, always affected to confound theſe two ſorts of puritans: he thereby forced them to make but one party, though they were united only in a ſingle point, namely, in oppoſing the maxims of the court. The church-puritans, who before made no figure in the kingdom, ſuddenly formed a very conſiderable party by the junction of the ſtate-puritans. This party grew in the end ſo powerful, that they overthrew the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, and the monarchy itſelf: but this happened not till the following reign.

On the other hand, the king's party was ſtrengthened by the junction of the Arminians, who were very numerous. Arminius's doctrine had bred diſputes in England, though with leſs noiſe than in Holland. Many clergymen had embraced this doctrine, though condemned by the ſynod of Dort, whoſe authority they did not acknowledge, and notwithſtanding the king's open profeſſion to reject Arminius's tenets. Theſe men improving the opportunity ariſing from the diſcord between the two parties, readily joined with the royaliſts, and from that time were as much careſſed at court as they were hated before. By this means William Laud, a clergyman of great parts and learning, was qualified, though Arminian, to be promoted to the ſee of St. David's by the marquis of Buckingham's intereſt, who deſired the biſhop of Lincoln [i] to recommend him to the king. It was however with ſome difficulty that the king agreed to his preferment, being prejudiced againſt him on account of his proud and turbulent ſpirit [k]. After the Arminians had liſted themſelves in the king's party, they were, in the height of proſperity, favoured by the courtiers, who were labouring to hinder the growth of puritaniſm. On the other hand, the papiſts alſo declared openly for the king, becauſe it was by an abſolute power alone that they could obtain their deſires, whereas the parliament was their profeſſed enemy. In fine, moſt of the clergy eſpouſed likewiſe the king's ſide, looking upon him as the only perſon capable of ſupporting them againſt the attempts of the puritans, whoſe number continually increaſed.

The two parties being thus compoſed of men of different kinds and ſentiments, mutually upbraided one another with what was moſt odious in each party. The royaliſts confounded, under the name of puritans, all who oppoſed the king; and the puritans taxed all the royaliſts with being papiſts or Arminians [l].

This diviſion, which began to be remarkable in England, did not ſerve to eſtabliſh the king's reputation abroad. It was now two years ſince his ſon-in-law's dominions were invaded by the Spaniard and the duke of Bavaria, and he was not ſeen to take any effectual courſe for their recovery. Embaſſies and ſollicitations were the only arms he employed for that end [m]. The king of Spain had amuſed him for four or five years with the hopes of a marriage, which advanced not, and by that means tied up his hands, whilſt he ſeized the Palatinate. In ſhort, when all Europe expected he would ſee the intereſts of his kingdom, his family, and his own, and take ſome vigorous reſolution, it was heard that he was irreconcileably fallen out with the parliament. Whereupon he was deſpiſed abroad, and inſults quickly followed contempt. In the Netherlands he was publicly ridiculed on their ſtages: comedies were acted, with meſſengers haſtily bringing news that the Palatinate was going to be loſt, conſidering the numerous forces that were ſending thither by the king of Spain's enemies; the king of Denmark was to find a hundred thouſand pickle-herrings; the Hollanders a hundred thouſand butter-boxes; and the king of England a hundred thouſand embaſſadors. In one place king James was pictured with a ſcabbard without a ſword, in another with a ſword which could not be drawn, though divers perſons ſtood pulling at it [n]. In England itſelf the almoſt forgotten ſtory of David Rizzo was revived. But what moſt troubled the contrary party to the king, was to ſee Buckingham govern ſo abſolutely, that the king ſeemed to have made his favourite his maſter. None were admitted to places but papiſts, Arminians, or ſuch as were reckoned to have little or no religion. In ſhort, ſuch only paſſed for proteſtants with the court, as were for the royal prerogative in its utmoſt extent, let their religion be what it would. All the reſt were puritans. Abbot himſelf, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was reckoned among the puritans, becauſe he approved not of the court-maxims. He had the misfortune, in the year 1622, to kill a man with an arrow as he was ſhooting at a buck [o]; and this accident occaſioned his being deemed incapable of performing any longer the functions of a biſhop. Wherefore he reſolved alſo to ſave himſelf the trouble of going to the council, where his advice was little regarded, as coming from a perſon of puritan principles.

Whilſt the people were in this ſort of fermentation, the king wanted money. He had a mind to ſend Digby to Spain,

[i] The lord keeper Williams.—Archbiſhop Abbot had repreſented him to the king as unſound in religion, becauſe he was an Arminian. Hacket, p. 63.

[k] The king told the lord keeper, "I keep Laud back from all place of rule and authority, becauſe I find he hath a reſtleſs ſpirit, and cannot ſee when matters are well, but loves to toſs and change, and to bring things to a pitch of reformation floating in his own brain," &c. Ibid. p. 64.

[l] The lord Clarendon rightly obſerves how much theſe two parties miſrepreſented one another: the puritans endeavoured to perſuade the people that all who held with Arminius did intend to introduce popery: and the other ſide was no leſs willing to have it thought, that all who adhered to Calvin, in the controverſies about predeſtination, did in their hearts likewiſe adhere to him with reference to the diſcipline, and deſired to change the government of the church; though in truth the one ſide was not inclined to popery, and very many of the other were moſt affectionate to the peace and proſperity of the church, and very pious and learned men. Clarendon, tom. I. p. 72.

[m] Whereupon it was ſaid, that the king might almoſt have purchaſed ſuch a country as the Palatinate, with the money ſpent on embaſſies. Wilſon, p. 748.

[n] In Bruſſels they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and not one penny in them; and his purſe turned upſide down. In Antwerp they painted the queen of Bohemia like a poor Iriſh mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, her child at her back, and king James carrying the cradle after her; and every one of theſe pictures had ſeveral mottos expreſſing their malice. Coke, vol. I. p. 126.

[o] On July 24, in Barnſhill-park in Hampſhire, belonging to the lord Zouch, who had invited the archbiſhop to a buck-hunting. Peter Hawkins, the keeper, running among the herd of deer, to bring them to a fairer mark the archbiſhop ſitting on horſeback, let fly a barbed arrow from a croſs-bow, which unfortunately ſhot the keeper in the fleſhy part of his left arm, who died immediately of the wound. Hacket. p. 65. The king granted the archbiſhop a pardon for this, November 22 this year. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 337.

It

and Weſton to Bruſſels [p], to finiſh at once the marriage and the affair of the Palatinate. Beſides, Buckingham and his relations were a gulph which could not be filled. There was no likelihood of a new parliament, after the king's late proceedings. Though a parliament could have been perſuaded to give the king money, it would not have been till after their privileges were ſecured at the expence of the prerogative-royal, and the king thought the remedy worſe than the diſeaſe. Recourſe therefore was to be had to extraordinary methods. The ſpeedieſt and moſt ſure ſeemed to be the exacting from the people a contribution, under the name of benevolence. As the court knew, if ſome conſtraint were not uſed, the peoples liberality would not go very far, the judges were ordered in their circuits to demand a benevolence, and to intimate withal, that the king would not be ſatisfied with what ſhould be voluntarily offered, if it was not proportionable to the giver's abilities. To that purpoſe the council directed a circular letter to the judges, concluding with theſe words: "Nevertheleſs, if any perſon ſhall, out of obſtinacy or diſaffection, refuſe to contribute herein, proportionably to their eſtates and means, you are to certify their names unto this board. And ſo recommending this ſervice to your beſt care and endeavour, and praying you to return unto us notes of the names of ſuch as ſhall contribute, and of the ſums offered by them [q]." The excuſe for this levy of money, was the king's pretended reſolution to recover the Palatinate by arms, after having in vain tried gentle means. It will hereafter appear how this reſolution was executed.

The king's project was to conclude the prince his ſon's marriage, and receive the dowry of two millions, before he demanded the reſtitution of the Palatinate, for fear the Spaniard ſhould pretend that the reſtitution was to be in compenſation of the dowry. After that, he hoped the king of Spain, out of friendſhip, and in conſideration of their alliance, would ſurrender the Lower Palatinate to his ſon-in-law, and oblige the emperor and the duke of Bavaria to reſtore him the Upper. This was all he intended to do for his daughter and ſon-in-law. That this was his deſign, manifeſtly appears in his inſtructions to the lord Digby, before his departure for Spain, wherein he was expreſly ordered, "not to make the affair of the Palatinate one of the marriage-articles." The king however would have the public believe, that his chief aim in the Spaniſh match, was to procure his ſon-in-law the reſtitution of the Palatinate. This doubtleſs was one of thoſe myſteries of ſtate which could not be comprehended by the commons. Perhaps he really hoped, the reſtitution would immediately follow upon the marriage: but this hope was built upon a very ſandy foundation. In all appearance Gondemar inſpired him with ſo chimerical an expectation.

However, James, being entirely bent upon this project, ſent Digby embaſſador extraordinary to Spain, to conclude the marriage-treaty, jointly with ſir Walter Aſton, who had been ſome time at the court of Philip IV [r]. The articles concerning religion were already ſettled, but the reſt were not to be talked of, till the pope's diſpenſation was obtained, for fear of labouring in vain. This was an artifice of the Spaniſh court, to prolong the affair, in order to have time to finiſh the conqueſt of the Palatinate, whilſt the diſpenſation was expected, which to haſten or delay was, probably, in the king of Spain's breaſt. Mean while, the hopes of a ſpeedy concluſion of the marriage, of the dowry of two millions, and of the reſtitution of the Palatinate, ſo tied up the king's hands, that he durſt not take the leaſt ſtep to offend the Spaniard, for fear of defeating ſo noble a project. Therefore, whenever he talked of engaging in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, it was always with this reſtriction, if he could not obtain it by fair means, becauſe he thought himſelf ſure of the ſucceſs of his negotiations. It is therefore certain, that when he demanded money of the parliament, or exacted the benevolence on the people, it was not with deſign to prepare for war, though that was the pretence, ſince a breach with the houſe of Auſtria was inconſiſtent with his project.

When Digby, who was this year created earl of Briſtol [s], ſet out for Spain, the king ſent Gage to Rome, to ſollicit the diſpatch of the diſpenſation, without which the new embaſſador could not proceed at Madrid. But to render Gage's inſtances more effectual, it was neceſſary to ſhew the pope, the king was not a perſecutor of the catholics. Not but that he had already given very convincing proofs: however he thought he ſhould on this occaſion give a ſtill ſtronger one, by releaſing all the impriſoned recuſants [t]. This was done publicly and openly, by writs under the great ſeal to the juſtices of aſſize, with a letter from the lord keeper Williams, exhorting them punctually to obey the king's orders. Theſe writs, contrary to the law, to the commons remonſtrance, and to the king's own anſwer to their petition, occaſioned many ſevere cenſures upon the king's conduct. As this affair made a noiſe among the people, the lord-keeper was ordered to vindicate the king by a public writing. This vindication begins with this noble compariſon: "As the ſun in the firmament appears to us no bigger than a platter, and the ſtars but as ſo many nails in the pummel of a ſaddle, becauſe of the enlargement and diſproportion between our eye and the object; ſo is there ſuch an immeaſurable diſtance between the deep reſolution of a prince, and the ſhallow apprehenſions of common and ordinary people, that as they will ever be judging and cenſuring, ſo they muſt needs be obnoxious to error and miſtaking." Then he gives two reaſons, both very falſe, of his conduct. The firſt is, that as the king was now ſolliciting very zealouſly for ſome eaſe to all the proteſtants in Europe, it would be unreaſonable to execute at the ſame time the laws againſt the Roman catholics. The ſecond, that the Engliſh jeſuits had publiſhed a book to excite the French king to execute in his kingdom againſt the Hugonots, the ſame laws as thoſe enacted in England againſt the papiſts. "But, added the biſhop, to conclude, from the favour done to the Engliſh papiſts, that the king favours the Romiſh religion, is a compoſition of folly and malice little deſerved by a gracious prince, who by word, writing, exerciſe of religion, and acts of parliament, hath demonſtrated himſelf ſo reſolved a proteſtant."

I obſerved that about the latter end of the laſt year, the emperor ſent count Schwartzemburg to the king, to treat of the affair of the Palatinate. This embaſſador being pompouſly received at London, as witneſſing the emperor's regard for the king, could produce no powers when he came to talk of affairs. It was the archduchеſs Iſabella that was impowered by the emperor to conclude the truce deſired by the king. There was a neceſſity therefore of going to negotiate at Bruſſels with the archduchеſs and the envoys of ſome proteſtant princes. The king choſe for this employ ſir Richard Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer, probably becauſe he thought his religion would advance the negotiation. But, to gain the infanta's favour, he made uſe of another means alſo. He permitted the lord Vaux, a papiſt, to raiſe two thouſand men [u] in England, to ſerve the infanta againſt the United Provinces, and the proteſtant princes their allies. By ſuch means as theſe, the king hoped to ſucceed in his negotiations. We ſhall ſee preſently the event; but it will be neceſſary firſt to mention what paſſed in Germany during the year 1622.

The king of Bohemia, plainly perceiving the king his father-in-law uſed very ineffectual methods to reſtore him to his dominions, believed it adviſeable to proceed ſome other way. He was ſtill maſter of Manheim, Heidelberg, and Frankendal; and count Mansfeldt, though withdrawn into Alſatia, had it ſtill in his power to re-enter the Lower Palatinate. In order to improve this laſt remedy, he agreed with prince Chriſtian of Brunſwick, adminiſtrator of the biſhopric of Halberſtadt, who had accompained him to the Hague, to raiſe an army in Weſtphalia, and join Mansfeldt. At the ſame time he made the like agreement with the prince of Baden-Durlach, who promiſed alſo to raiſe an army for the ſame purpoſe. It is likely, the Hollanders ſupplied the money for theſe levies, on account of the advantage they ſhould reap from this powerful diverſion. Theſe two princes kept promiſe with the king of Bohemia, and each headed ten or twelve thouſand men. The difficulty was how to enter the Lower Palatinate, where the Spaniards were very ſtrong. However, the thing not appearing impracticable, the prince of Brunſwick took the field in Weſtphalia, and ſeized ſome places in the county of Marck. This drew upon him a detachment of the Spaniſh army from the Low-Countries, commanded by count Henry de Bergh, who was joined by the count of Anhalt with another detachment of the army of Bavaria, commanded by count Tilly in the Palatinate. By this means, prince Chriſtian ſaw himſelf detained ſome time in Weſtphalia,

[p] It was by Weſton's help that the elector Palatine and his lady, found means, though with much difficulty, to eſcape to the Hague, having nothing elſe to ſupport them but patience and hope, the only and ordinary comfort of thoſe deprived of all help beſides. Oiborn, ſect. 47.

[q] Letters to the ſame effect were directed to the high ſheriffs, and juſtices of the peace of the ſeveral counties, and to the mayors and bailiffs throughout the kingdom; and for making choice of collectors, &c. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 61.

[r] The lord Digby carried letters from king James and princes Charles, to the king of Spain, and one from the king to the lord Balthazar of Zuniga; which the reader may ſee in Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 57, &c. The lord Digby, upon his arrival in Spain, was ſtrangely neglected by the Spaniſh court; as the reader may ſee in Wilſon, p. 749, 750.

[s] He was created 10 September 15, and at the ſame time, James Hay viſcount Doncaſter, was created earl of Carliſle, William viſcount Fielding earl of Denbeigh, and Lionel lord Cranfield earl of Middleſex. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 437, &c. Howes, p. 1034.

[t] Gondemar uſed to boaſt, that four thouſand recuſants had been releaſed through his interceſſion. Wilſon, p. 750.

[u] Four thouſand, ſays Wilſon, p. 753.

The

;th, the count of Bergh being recalled, he was at , to advance. On the other hand, it was not eaſy for the prince of Baden to enter the Palatinate, all the paſſages being ſtopped by count Tilly and Gonſales de Cordova.

Mean while, the king of Bohemia departing privately from the Hague, on board a ſmall veſſel, and landing at Calais, travels through France and ſafely arrived at Manſfeldt's army, who was advanced to Germerſheim. Here they impatiently expected the approach of the two armies coming to their aſſiſtance. It would be needleſs to give a particular account of the march of theſe two armies, and the obſtacles they met with from the Spaniards and Bavarians. It will ſuffice to ſay, the prince of Baden was defeated the 6th of May: that afterwards the king of Bohemia and Manſfeldt marching to prince Chriſtian, met count Tilly, who put them to rout, and forced them to retire to Manheim. This battle was fought the 12th of June. Eight days after, Tilly alſo attacked prince Chriſtian, who was advanced to the borders of the Palatinate; and though he gained ſome advantage over him, could not however prevent his paſſing to Manheim with good part of his troops.

Some time after, the Spaniards and Bavarians were ſo ſtrongly recruited, that their army conſiſted of above fifty thouſand men, with which they almoſt ſurrounded their enemies, who were encamped between Manheim and Heidelberg. Wherefore the king of Bohemia, deſpairing ever to recover what he had loſt, returned to Holland. After his departure, the prince of Brunſwick and count Mansfeldt reſolved to join prince Maurice in the Low-Countries, and marched through Lorrain. As they were obliged to take a compaſs, Gonſales de Cordova parting from Tilly, went and expected them at Brabant, to hinder their paſſage. The two armies meeting between Namur and Bruſſels, fought with equal ſucceſs; but the prince of Brunſwick loſt an arm by a cannon ball. After the Battle Mansfeldt continued his march towards Holland.

Mean while, count Tilly having no enemy to oppoſe him in the Lower Palatinate, carried Heidelberg by ſtorm [w] took, Manheim by a long blockade, and then beſieged Frankendal [x].

Whilſt the king of Bohemia was in the Palatinate, conferences were held at Bruſſels, to procure a truce for that unfortunate country, according to the king of England's deſire, though he was not impowered by the king his ſon-in-law, for whom at this juncture a truce was not convenient. In the negotiation two difficulties immediately occured, which ſerved to prolong it. The firſt was, the Engliſh embaſſador had not ſufficient powers from the king of Bohemia and his allies. James had doubtleſs imagined, that ſince this truce was negotiating on his account, it ſufficed to treat with him. But the Spaniards gave to underſtand, they could only treat with the principal parties. There was occaſion therefore to ſend to the Palatinate for full powers from the king of Bohemia, who was not in haſte to diſpatch them, whilſt he had any hopes of ſucceeding in his enterpriſe. But at laſt, ſending theſe powers when he ſaw his affairs declining, another difficulty of the ſame nature occurred at Bruſſels. The archduchеſs had no other power than the emperor's bare letter, deſiring her to conſult with the Engliſh embaſſador concerning a truce for the Lower Palatinate [y]. From that time the king of Bohemia's affairs daily growing worſe, the archduchеſs and count Schwartzemburg prolonged the affair on divers pretences, till Heidelburg was taken, and Manheim cloſely blocked up. Then James wrote to the king of Spain, to deſire him to order that the affairs of the Palatinate might remain in their preſent ſtate, till the concluſion of the truce, and the blockade of Manheim was raiſed. Philip feigned to have this condeſcenſion for him, but before his letter to the archduchеſs was received, Manheim was taken. Nay, it did not hinder count Tilly from beſieging Frankendal, which he would have alſo taken without ſcruple, had not the overflowings of the rivers forced him to raiſe the ſiege. Thus was the king amuſed with vain hopes, whilſt the conqueſt of the Palatinate was completing. He perceived it at laſt, but at the ſame time was told, the prince his ſon's marriage was ſo near a concluſion, that he could not think of hazarding a miſcarriage in that affair, by inſiſting too ſtrenouſly on the reſtitution of the elector's dominions. This may be clearly ſeen in his letters to the earl of Briſtol, his embaſſador in Spain, of which I ſhall here give ſome extracts.

Sept. 9, 1622.

"Right truſty, and well-beloved,

"Your diſpatch of the 9th of Auguſt, gave us ſo much contentment, and ſo great hopes of ſatisfaction in all thoſe buſineſſes, which you have there to treat with that king, as we could not expect any further difficulties; notwithſtanding by that which has come to our hands immediately after, as well by George Gage from Rome, as by our embaſſador ſir Richard Weſton at Bruſſels, and our miniſters in the Palatinate, we find that neither the diſpenſation is granted for the match, nor the treaty of ceſſation ſo near a concluſion, as we conceived it would have been, now that the auxiliaries and all other obſtacles are removed. But on the contrary ſide, that new delays and excuſes are invented, our garriſons in the Palatinate in the mean time blocked up, Heidelberg itſelf actually beſieged---

"Therefore our pleaſure is, that you ſhall immediately, and with as much ſpeed as you may, crave audience of that king, and repreſent unto him the merit which we may juſtly challenge unto ourſelf, for our ſincere proceedings with the emperor and him in all the courſe of this buſineſs, notwithſtanding the many invitations and temptations which we have had, to engage ourſelf on our ſon-in-law's part. That we have had both from the emperor and him hopes given us from time to time of extraordinary reſpect, howſoever our ſon-in-law had deſerved, which we have attended and expected even to the very laſt, with much patience, and in deſpight (as it were) of all the oppoſition that hath been made to ſhake our reſolution in that behalf. If now, when all impediments are removed, and that the way is ſo prepared, as that the emperor may give an end unto the war, and make ſome preſent demonſtration of his reſpect towards us, in leaving us the honour of holding thoſe poor places which yet remain, quietly and peaceably until the general accommodation, the ſame ſhall nevertheleſs be violently taken from us, what can we look for, when the whole ſhall be in his hands and poſſeſſion? Who amuſing us with a treaty of ceſſation, and protracting it induſtriouſly (as we have reaſon to believe), doth in the mean time ſeize himſelf of the whole country; which being done, our embaſſador ſhall return with ſcorn, and we remain with diſhonour.

"I ſhall not need to furniſh you with arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly dealing more plainly unto them; your own reaſon and obſervation will find enough out of the diſpatches, whereof copies are ſent unto you; as namely, the withdrawing of the Spaniſh forces, and leaving the buſineſs wholly in the hands of the emperor and the duke of Bavaria; the ſtile of the infanta, in anſwering our embaſſador with recriminations, which was not her manner heretofore; the ſlight and frivolous anſwer given by the marquis of Bedmar unto our embaſſador, when he acquainted him with the ſiege of Heidelberg; the quarrellous occaſion taken by the emperor for calling the diet at Ratiſbon, contrary to his own promiſe, which, in his diſpatch to us, he confeſſeth to have broken, as you will ſee by the copy: All which, and many more, which your own judgment (in the peruſal of the diſpatches) will ſuggeſt unto you, do miniſter unto us cauſe ſufficient of jealouſy on the emperor's part, as you ſhall plainly tell that king; although we will not do him that wrong, as to miſtruſt that he gives the leaſt conſent to it. In this confidence, with much earneſtneſs, we ſhall ſtill ſollicit him, that for the affection he bears us, and the deſire which we ſuppoſe he hath, that there may continue for ever a perfect amity betwixt us and the whole houſe of Auſtria, he will not ceaſe to do all good offices herein; letting him know directly, that in theſe terms we cannot ſtand with the emperor; but that if Heidelberg be won, or the ſiege continue, or the ceſſation be long unneceſſarily delayed, we muſt recal our embaſſador from Bruſſels, and treat no more, as we have already given order; hoping, that whatſoever unkindneſs we ſhall conceive againſt the emperor upon theſe occaſions, it ſhall not be interpreted to reflect in any ſort upon the entire affection that is at this preſent, and as we hope ſhall always continue, betwixt us and the crown of Spain. And therefore, as we have heretofore ſundry times promiſed, in teſtimony of the ſincerity of our proceedings, and of our great deſire to preſerve the amity inviolable between us and the whole houſe of Auſtria, That in caſe our ſon-in-law would not be governed by us, that then we would not only forſake him, but take part, and join our forces with the emperor againſt him; ſo you may fairly repreſent unto that king, That in like manner we have reaſon to expect the ſame meaſure from him, that (upon the emperor's averſeneſs to a ceſſation and accommodation) he will likewiſe actually aſſiſt us for the recovery

[w] The famous library there was carried to Rome, and put into the Vatican. Welwood, p. 27.

[x] Sir Horatio Vere was the Engliſh commander in Manheim, ſir Gerard Herbert, governor of Heidelberg-caſtle, and major Burroughs of Frankendal. Herbert was ſlain, after breaking three pikes with his own hand, in repulſing the enemies from the aſſault. Wilſon, p. 757.

[y] All that Weſton obtained, was only letters of intreaty from the infanta to the emperor's general to proceed no farther. Ruſhworth. tom. I. p. 56

of the Palatinate, and electoral dignity, unto our ſon-in-law, as it hath been oftentimes intimated from Spain [z].

" To conclude, we ſhall not need to ſay any more unto you touching this point, but to let you ſee that our meaning is, to carry all things fair with that king, and not to give him any cauſe of diſtruſt or jealouſy, if you perceive that they intend to go really and roundly on with the match."

Notwithſtanding all this, Heidelberg and Manheim were taken by the emperor's forces, and Frankendal beſieged.

In another letter to the ſame embaſſador, dated October 3, the king ſaid, " That while he was amuſed with treaties at Madrid and Bruſſels, Heidelberg had been taken by force, the Engliſh garriſons put to the ſword, and Manheim beſieged: That the infanta (having an abſolute commiſſion to conclude a ceſſation and ſuſpenſion of arms), when all objections were anſwered, did not only delay the concluſion of the treaty, but refuſe to lay her command upon the emperor's generals to abſtain from the ſiege of his garriſons during the treaty, upon a pretext of want of authority. And therefore, for avoiding of further diſhonour, he had been forced to recal both his embaſſadors, as alſo the lord Chicheſter [a], whom he intended to have ſent unto the emperor to the diet at Ratiſbon." After which he added:

" Seeing therefore, that merely out of our extraordinary reſpect to the king of Spain, and the firm confidence we ever put in the hopes and promiſes which he did give us (deſiring nothing more than for his cauſe principally to avoid all occaſions that might put us in ill underſtanding with any of the houſe of Auſtria), we have hitherto proceeded with a ſtedfaſt patience; truſting to the treaties, and neglecting all other means, which probably might have ſecured the remainder of our childrens inheritance, and by this confidence and ſecurity of ours, are now expoſed to diſhonour and reproach. You ſhall tell that king, That ſeeing all thoſe endeavours and good offices which he hath uſed towards the emperor in this buſineſs, on the behalf of our ſon-in-law, have not ſorted to any other iſſue than to a plain abuſe, both of his truſt and ours; we hope and deſire, that he will faithfully promiſe and undertake upon his honour (confirming the ſame alſo under his hand and ſeal), either that the town and caſtle of Heidelberg ſhall, within threeſcore and ten days after your audience, and demand made, be rendered into our hands, with all things therein belonging; and the like for Manheim and Frankendal, if both or either of them ſhall be taken by the enemy, while theſe things are in treaty: As alſo, that there ſhall be within the ſaid term of ſeventy days, a ceſſation and ſuſpenſion of arms in the Palatinate for the future, upon the ſeveral articles and conditions laſt propounded by our embaſſador ſir Richard Weſton; and that the general treaty ſhall be ſet a foot again: Or elſe, in caſe all theſe particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the emperor, that the king of Spain do join his forces with ours: Or if ſo be his forces be otherwiſe employed, yet that at the leaſt he will permit us a free and friendly paſſage through his territories and dominions, for ſuch forces as we ſhall ſend and employ in Germany for his ſervice. Of all which, if you receive not from the king of Spain (within ten days at the fartheſt after your audience) a direct aſſurance under his hand and ſeal without delay, that then you take your leave, and return to our preſence, without further ſtay; otherwiſe to proceed in the negotiation for the marriage of our ſon, according to the inſtructions we have given you."

This letter plainly ſhews, the king was convinced, he had hitherto been only amuſed. And yet he wrote the next day to the earl of Briſtol, to this effect: " Though you have order to come away without farther delay, in caſe you receive not ſatisfaction to your demands from the king of Spain; yet we would not have you inſtantly come away upon it, but advertiſe us firſt, letting us know privately (if you find ſuch cauſe) that there is no good to be done, nor ſatisfaction as you judge, intended us (though publicly and outwardly you give out to the contrary), That we may make uſe thereof with our people in parliament, as we ſhall hold beſt for our ſervice."

It is evident by theſe letters how much the king was miſtaken, in expecting to adjuſt his ſon-in-law's affairs, by the method he had followed, and how he had been triſled with in his ſeveral negotiations: That he himſelf knew it, and all the vengeance he took was to recal his embaſſador from Bruſſels. It is true, he ſeemed to intend to be revenged by arms; but he would have the king of Spain join with him, to oblige the emperor and the duke of Bavaria to reſtore a country which he had himſelf delivered to them. At leaſt he hoped, the king of Spain would grant him a paſſage through his territories; projects as chimerical as that of recovering the Palatinate by fair means and ſollicitations alone. In ſhort, it is viſible in theſe letters, that the king made the reſtitution of the Palatinate and concluſion of the marriage two diſtinct affairs, and did not conſider the laſt as dependent of the other. Indeed, though there was manifeſtly a colluſion between the emperor Philip IV. and the infanta, James ordered his embaſſador to do nothing offenſive to the king of Spain, for fear of prejudicing the marriage, which he was always made to conſider as upon the point of concluſion.

In fine, after a long expectation, Gage was ſent back from Rome, where he had been ſolliciting the diſpenſation, with nineteen articles, to each of which the pope had put a poſtil or ſhort note, after the manner practiſed in the capitulations of places. Probably, the ſenſe of the three material articles which were agreed on, was explained, and the nineteen following ones were formed by common conſent:

I. That the pope's diſpenſation ſhall be firſt obtained at the ſole inſtance of his catholic majeſty.

Note. " The two parties are agreed on this point."

II. That the marriage ſhall be celebrated in Spain, according to the rites practiſed in the church of Rome; and afterwards in England, with ſuch ceremonies as ſhall tend moſt to the advantage of the king of Great Britain; yet ſo, as that nothing be done contrary to the religion profeſſed by the moſt excellent infanta. But as to this point, they ſhall agree about the ceremonies to be performed in both kingdoms.

Note. " The marriage ought to be celebrated but once in Spain; and if any ceremony is to be performed in England, notice muſt be given beforehand, and let this ceremony be agreed on."

III. That the moſt gracious infanta ſhall have free exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion.

Note. " This article is granted."

IV. That all the domeſtics and ſervants belonging to the moſt gracious infanta, ſhall be appointed by his catholic majeſty, ſo as the king of England ſhall not have the liberty of nominating any one.

Note. " Granted."

V. That the moſt gracious infanta ſhall have an oratory, where divine ſervice ſhall be celebrated in ſuch manner as ſhe ſhall appoint.

Note. " This article is granted."

VI. That this oratory ſhall be in her palace, and there maſſes to be celebrated at the pleaſure of the infanta.

Note. " A church ſhall be built in London, beſides that in the palace, and divine ſervice ſhall be celebrated in each, and the word of God preached, and the ſacraments adminiſtred."

VII. That all the officers and domeſtics belonging to the infanta, of what ſort ſoever, as alſo her ſervants and family, may be freely and publicly catholics; which is ſo to be underſtood, as that each of them in particular ſhall be obliged to profeſs the Roman catholic religion.

Note. " The men and women ſervants of the moſt ſerene infanta, their children and poſterity, with their whole families, what office ſoever they bear, ſhall have the free exerciſe of the catholic religion."

VIII. That the exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion ſhall be in form following: The moſt gracious infanta ſhall have in her palace a chapel ſo ſpacious, that her ſervants and family may enter and ſtay therein; in which there ſhall be an ordinary and public door for them, and another inward door, by which the infanta may have a paſſage into the chapel, where ſhe and others may be preſent at divine offices.

Note. " All the ſervants muſt conform to this."

IX. That the chapel may be beautified with decent ornaments, and other things neceſſary for divine ſervice, according to the cuſtom of the holy Roman church; and that it ſhall be lawful for the ſervants and others to go to the ſaid chapel at all hours.

Note. " Granted."

X. That the keeper and guardians of the chapel ſhall be

[z] It was count Gondemar that intimated it to him, but without giving him a poſitive promiſe, and yet the king looked upon it as an engagement. Rapin.

[a] Arthur Chicheſter was created baron Chicheſter of Belfaſt, in the county of Antrim, February 25, 1612. He was at this time treaſurer of Ireland; and is, in the commiſſion, ſaid to be—" Spectatæ prudentiæ induſtriæ & integritatis virum, & in magnis atque arduis negotiis diu verſatum."—See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 354.

appointed by the lady infanta, and they ſhall take care no body may enter into it to do any indecent thing.

Note. "The keeper and guardians of the chapel and church ſhall be Spaniards."

XI. That to ſerve in the chapel, there ſhall be a convenient number of prieſts as to the infanta ſhall ſeem fit. And if any of them be natives of Great Britain, they ſhall not be admitted to ſerve, without her conſent firſt obtained.

Note. "His holineſs wills and means that this be a true church."

XII. That among the prieſts, there ſhall be one ſuperior miniſter or rector, with authority to decide the caſes of religion and conſcience.

Note. "His holineſs will have this ſuperior to be a biſhop."

XIII. That this ſuperior miniſter may exerciſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction upon all who ſhall offend in the infanta's family: And moreover, the lady infanta ſhall have power to turn them out of her ſervice, whenſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.

Note. "He muſt be a biſhop."

XIV. That it may be lawful for the lady infanta to procure from Rome indulgences and jubilees, and all graces, as ſhall ſeem fit to her religion and conſcience.

Note. "This article is granted."

XV. That the ſervants and family of the lady infanta ſhall take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain; provided there be no clauſe therein contrary to their conſciences and the Roman catholic religion, and that the form of the oath be firſt approved of.

Note. "The men and women ſervants ſhall be Spaniards."

XVI. That the laws made againſt the Roman catholic religion in England, ſhall not extend to the ſervants of the moſt gracious infanta; but they ſhall be exempted from the ſaid laws, and the penalties annexed, and of this a declaration ſhall be made.

Note. "The laws already made, or to be made in England concerning religion, ſhall not extend to the ſervants, who ſhall be exempted from them as well as from the penalties, &c. and for this reaſon the eccleſiaſtics ſhall not be liable to any but their eccleſiaſtical laws."

XVII. That the children of the moſt illuſtrious prince, and the moſt gracious infanta, ſhall not be conſtrained in point of conſcience, and in that caſe, the laws made againſt catholics in England ſhall not extend to them; and though any of them be catholics, they ſhall not loſe the right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain.

Note. "This article is granted by his holineſs."

XVIII. That the nurſes which ſhall give ſuck to the children of the lady infanta, ſhall be choſen by the lady infanta, and accounted part of her family.

Note. "The nurſes ſhall be catholics, choſen by the moſt ſerene infanta, and reckoned among her domeſtics."

XIX. That the rector or ſuperior miniſter, and other eccleſiaſtical and religious perſons of the family of the lady infanta, ſhall wear their uſual veſtments and habits.

Note. "Granted."

At the end of theſe articles, which were long debated and canvaſſed by the congregation of the propagation of faith, the congregation ſubjoined their opinion in the following terms:

"As to the terms offered by the moſt ſerene king of England, it ſeems to us they are deſigned only to ſecure the moſt ſerene infanta's religion. But to the end his holineſs may grant the diſpenſation, there are other things neceſſary to the privilege, increaſe, and welfare of the Roman catholic religion. Theſe things are to be propoſed by the moſt ſerene king, that his holineſs may conſider, whether, upon ſuch offers, he can grant the diſpenſation."

It is eaſy to ſee, the pope's poſtils tended not only to the benefit of the Roman catholic religion, but alſo to cauſe the affair to be prolonged, purſuant to the court of Spain's intentions. Beſides that James was not expected to agree to the contents of the notes, another expedient was ready to ſtop the concluſion of the marriage, namely, to oblige the king to make offers for the advancement of the Roman religion, with which the pope, if he pleaſed, might never be ſatisfied. Thus, after a ſix years expectation, James was no farther advanced than when the affair was begun, except that he was willing to grant whatever the pope did or might demand. And indeed, this was the courſe he took. He found now of what conſequence the firſt article was, which he had been made to ſign, that the diſpenſation ſhould be firſt procured by the endeavours of the king of Spain; for by this means, the Spaniard could advance or entirely break off the negotiation as he pleaſed, by cauſing the pope to delay or refuſe the diſpenſation. It is certain, as I ſaid, the court of Spain's intent at firſt was only to make uſe of the project of this marriage, to allure James into their ſnare, for fear he ſhould join with the German-proteſtants, and afterwards, for fear he ſhould ſend a powerful aid to the king of Bohemia.

When Gage came from Rome with the articles, the king was terribly embarraſſed. The Palatinate was almoſt quite loſt. The negotiation at Bruſſels did not advance, and he could not but perceive he was impoſed upon by the emperor and king of Spain: ſo that he ſaw no other way to procure the elector's reſtoration, but the prince's marriage with the infanta. It is true, England was ſufficiently powerful to moleſt the houſe of Auſtria; but a parliament muſt have been called, which the king could not think of. On the other hand, the pope annexed to the marriage ſuch terms as the king could not grant, without giving occaſion to his domeſtic enemies to repreſent him as a prince regardleſs of the intereſts of the proteſtant religion, to which imputation he was already but too liable. In this perplexity, rather than break with Spain, and ſo loſe the deſired dowry of two millions, with the hopes of recovering the Palatinate, he choſe to be expoſed to the reproaches of his ſubjects, which he did not ſeem much to regard. He drew therefore a memorial which he ſigned with his own hand, containing his offers in favour of the catholic religion, and ſent it to the earl of Briſtol, with the letter of the 9th of September, of which I have already given an extract. The concluſion of the letter, which I reſerved for this occaſion, becauſe the marriage is there mentioned, was as follows:

"Nevertheleſs we muſt tell you, that we have no great cauſe to be well pleaſed with the diligences uſed on that part, when we obſerve, that after ſo long an expectance of the diſpenſation, upon which the whole buſineſs (as they will have it) depends, there is nothing yet returned but queries and objections. Yet becauſe we will not give over our patience a while longer, until we underſtand more certainly what the effect thereof is like to be, wherein we require you to be very wary and watchful, conſidering how our honour is therein engaged; we have thought fit to let you know, how far we are pleaſed to enlarge ourſelf, concerning thoſe points demanded by the pope, and ſet down by way of poſtil unto the articles agreed upon betwixt Spain and us, as you ſhall ſee by the power which Gage brought us from Rome, whereof we have ſent you a copy, and our reſolutions thereupon ſigned with our own hand, for your warrant and inſtruction. And further than that, ſince we cannot go without much prejudice, inconveniency, and diſhonour to ourſelf and our ſon, we hope and expect the king of Spain will bring it inſtantly to an iſſue, without farther delay, which you are to preſs with all diligence and earneſtneſs, that you may preſently know their final reſolution, and what we may expect thereupon. But if any reſpite of time be earneſtly demanded, and that you perceive it not poſſible for them to reſolve until an anſwer come from Rome, we then think it fit that you give them two months time after your audience, that we may underſtand that king's final reſolution before Chriſtmas next at the fartheſt."

Though the king affirmed he could go no farther, yet means were found to perſuade him to a greater compliance, as will hereafter appear.

Hitherto the Spaniard had fed the king's hopes concerning the marriage, only to amuſe him. But ſince he plainly ſaw, by the articles and offers ſigned with his own hand, that James was reſolved to conclude at any rate, he thought ſo fair an opportunity ſhould not be miſſed to reſtore the catholic religion in England, which very probably might be accompliſhed by means of the match. So Philip ſuddenly altering his mind, appeared as eager to conclude, as he had ſeemed unwilling before [b]. From that time, that is, from the end of the year 1622, the marriage was reſolved at the court of Madrid. The point was only to extort from the king ſuch terms as ſhould lead to what was intended. All the king of Spain's proceedings, from the time I am ſpeaking of, evidently ſhew that he was inclined to the marriage, in caſe he could obtain what he promiſed himſelf for the advancement of the Roman religion in England, and which James's impatience gave him room to expect. But it is no leſs certain, that before this, he was entirely averſe to it. This manifeſtly appears in king Philip the fourth's letter to the condé d'Olivarez, and from that miniſter's anſwer. The letters were as follow:

The king of Spain's letter to the condé d'Olivarez.

Nov. 5, 1622.

"The king my father declared at his death, that his intent was never to marry my ſiſter, the infanta Donna Maria, with

[b] The earl of Briſtol ſent word to king James, that if the Spaniſh court intended not the match, they were falſer than all the devils in hell; for deeper oaths and proteſtations of ſincerity could not be made. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 69.

The

the prince of Wales, which your uncle don Balthazar underſtood, and ſo treated this match ever with intention to delay it; notwithſtanding, it is now ſo far advanced, that conſidering all the averſeneſs of the infanta unto it, it is time to take ſome means to divert the treaty, which I would have you find out, and I will make it good whatſoever it be. But in all other things, procure the ſatisfaction of the king of Great Britain (who hath deſerved much), and it ſhall content me, ſo it be not in the match."

The condé d'Olivarez, in his anſwer, agreed, That the late king never intended to conclude the marriage, but only to amuſe the king of England, by reaſon of the ſituation of affairs in the Palatinate and Netherlands. He ſaid moreover, the infanta was determined to retire to a convent, as ſoon as ſhe ſhould be preſſed upon that head.

After that he repreſented to his majeſty, "That the king of England found himſelf equally engaged in two buſineſſes at that time, namely, the marriage, and the reſtitution of the Palatinate. Suppoſing then, added the Condé, that the marriage be made, we muſt come to the other affair, and then your majeſty will find yourſelf engaged with the king of England in a war againſt the emperor, and the catholic league: a thing, which to hear, will offend your ears; or if you declare yourſelf for the emperor, then you will find yourſelf engaged in a war againſt the king of England, and your ſiſter married with his ſon. If your majeſty ſhould ſhew yourſelf neutral, what a great ſcandal will it be, for Spain to ſtand neuter, in a buſineſs wherein religion is ſo much concerned?

"On the other hand, ſaid the Condé, ſuppoſing we could ſatisfy the king of England, by having the Palatinate reſtored to his ſon-in-law, yet we muſt conſider whether it is in our power to have it reſtored; ſince the duke of Bavaria is poſſeſſed of all thoſe dominions, and the emperor, who hath promiſed to transfer to him the Upper Palatinate, with the electoral dignity, is now in the diet, where that tranſlation is to be made. Beſides, the emperor hath given us to underſtand, how difficult it will be to wreſt the Palatinate out of the duke of Bavaria's hands, ſince it appears by the memorial, which was yeſterday preſented to your majeſty by the emperor's embaſſador, that the duke of Bavaria alone can maintain more troops than all the reſt of the allies joined together."

Upon theſe difficulties, the Condé propoſed in the ſame letter, "to ſet on foot two other marriages, namely, between the emperor's eldeſt daughter, and the prince of Wales, and between the prince Palatine's ſon, and the emperor's ſecond daughter; by which means the buſineſs (ſays he) may be accommodated, and afterwards, I would reduce the prince elector to the obedience of the church, by breeding his ſons in the emperor's court with catholic doctrine."

If it be conſidered, that the king of Spain's letter is dated the 5th of November, and that probably the anſwer was made within a few days, it will be eaſy to perceive, that till then the Spaniard never intended to conclude the marriage. But preſently after, as I have obſerved, he came to another reſolution.

[1623] The late alteration of the projects in the Spaniſh court, procured the earl of Briſtol a letter from Philip IV. to the infanta Iſabella, to deſire her to raiſe the ſiege of Frankendal, and renew at London the conferences for a truce, which were broken off at Bruſſels. This requeſt was a real order, which the infanta obeyed, and the negotiation of the truce was begun at London, where it ended the 27th of March 1623 [c]. The ſole point was to hinder, by means of this truce, Frankendal, the only place in the Palatinate where was an Engliſh garriſon, from falling into the emperor's hands. But on the other ſide, the emperor had reaſon to fear, if James remained maſter of this place, he would make uſe of it to carry war into the Palatinate, and the more, as he had ſometimes threatened to have recourſe in the end to arms. To adjuſt the different intereſts of the emperor and the king, this rare expedient was deviſed. Frankendal was to be delivered to the infanta Iſabella, and a truce made for fifteen or eighteen months, after which, the infanta was to reſtore the place to the Engliſh. But withal, the elector was to break his alliance with the prince of Brunſwick and count Mansfeldt.

This treaty gives no great idea of the capacity of king James and his council. Not only was Frankendal delivered to the infanta, as if ſhe had been a third perſon entirely intereſted, though ſhe had ſhewn the contrary in this very treaty; but the elector was alſo deprived of all hopes of re-entering his country. Moreover, the emperor and duke of Bavaria were at liberty either to diſmiſs their troops, or to aſſiſt the king of Spain in the Low-Countries, ſince there was no farther danger of a war in the Palatinate. But what advantage accrued to James by this treaty? Indeed, he hindered the emperor from taking Frankendal. But at the ſame time, the place was delivered to Spain. On the other hand, the truce, which would have been for his advantage, had he kept Frankendal, turned to his prejudice, ſince it deprived him of the power to carry the war into the Palatinate, in favour of his ſon-in-law. It is true, upon ſuppoſition of the infanta's ſincerity, he was to have the place again when the truce was expired; but this was a very doubtful ſuppoſition, ſince the infanta was entirely guided by the directions of the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

Before the truce was concluded at London, the emperor, going to the diet at Ratiſbon, inveſted the duke of Bavaria with the electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſeveral princes who were poſſeſſed of hereditary dominions, and to whom ſuch a precedent was a juſt occaſion of fear. Such was the effect of king James's three years negotiations in favour of his ſon-in-law, who was at length ſtripped of his dominions and dignities [d]. But the Spaniſh match was to recover all. We muſt ſee now the ſucceſs of that tedious negotiation, the only remarkable event of the year 1623.

The only obſtacle of the marriage, were the articles concerning religion. The earl of Briſtol had been diſputing the ground inch by inch, ever ſince his arrival in Spain, and Philip IV. was not diſpleaſed with it, becauſe it gave him an opportunity to gain time. In Auguſt 1622, the Spaniards demanded certain articles in favour of the Engliſh catholics, to which the embaſſador only anſwered, he would acquaint the king his maſter therewith. At the ſame time, the pope put his poſtils or notes to the articles that were agreed on. Hence, it is eaſy to perceive, that the courts of Rome and Spain acted in concert, both tending to the ſame end. The king received, about the ſame time, the popes poſtils and the court of Madrid's demands in favour of the catholics. He kept theſe out of ceremony ſome months, without giving an anſwer, but at length ſigned all the 5th of January 1623, and having made the prince ſign them alſo, ſent the articles to the earl of Briſtol, who received them the 25th of the ſame month. I believe the full and entire reſolution of the Spaniſh court to conclude the marriage, may be fixed to this time. From the year 1616, to November 1622, the Spaniard's ſole intent was to amuſe king James. From thence to the 25th of January 1623, he ſeems to have reſolved upon the marriage, provided certain advantages, could be obtained for the Roman religion. In fine, after the articles, ſigned by the king and prince, had ſecured him what he deſired, his reſolution was fixed. Theſe three epocha's are to be carefully obſerved and diſtinguiſhed, for want of which, moſt hiſtorians are very obſcure in their recital of this affair.

The Spaniard being ſatisfied with the articles ſent from England, which were much more advantageous to the catholics than thoſe agreed upon with the earl of Briſtol, demanded time to ſend them to Rome, and obtain the pope's diſpenſation. It was thought, the diſpenſation might come n March or April at fartheſt, and it was agreed, the nuptials ſhould be ſolemnized four days [e] after its arrival; that the infanta ſhould ſet out within twenty days after the celebration of the marriage; and whilſt the diſpenſation was expected, the other articles, which were called temporal, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe concerning religion, ſhould be ſettled. Purſuant to this agreement, the earl of Briſtol and ſir Walter Aſton, jointly with the Spaniſh miniſters, prepared theſe articles by the beginning of March, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties. The 22d of March, the condé d'Olivarez and Gondemar came to the Engliſh embaſſadors, and ſhewed them a writing with the king of Spain's hand to it, whereby he approved of the temporal articles, and ordered them to finiſh the affair. Theſe articles concerned only the portion and dowry, without any mention of the Palatinate. Beſides that he had commanded the earl of Briſtol, in his inſtructions, not to make the reſtitution of the Palatinate one of the mar-

[c] The Engliſh commiſſioners were, Lionel earl of Middleſex lord, treaſurer; Ludwic earl of Lenox, ſteward of the houſhold; James marquis of Hamilton; Thomas earl of Arundel and Surry, earl marſhal; William earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain; Oliver viſcount Grandiſon; Arthur lord Chicheſter, treaſurer of Ireland; Sir George Calvert, ſecretary of ſtate; and ſir Richard Weſton, chancellor of the exchequer. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 461.

[d] Thus by king James's amaſing negligence, was the proteſtant religion entirely rooted out of Bohemia, the electoral dignity transferred from the Palatinate family, and the liberty of Germany overthrown. And all this chiefly through Gondemar's artful management; who wrote in one of his letters to the duke of Lerma, that he had lulled king James ſo faſt aſleep, as he hoped neither the cries of his daughter, nor her children, nor the repeated ſollicitations of his parliament and ſubjects in their behalf, ſhould be able to awaken him. Welwood, p. 27, 28.

[e] In one place it is ſaid, "within forty," and in another "within four," days. See Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 281, 290.

Who

riage articles, this command was repeated in the king's letter to him of the 30th of December 1622, that is, two or three months before. Moreover, at this very time, the truce and ſequeſtration of Frankendal were negotiating at London.

The affair of the marriage being in this ſituation, and very probably near a concluſion, the end of April was to be expected with patience, to ſee whether any new difficulty would occur, for thus far every thing ſeemed to be ſettled to the king's ſatisfaction. But the face of the affair was ſuddenly changed, by a very odd and moſt extraordinary adventure. The marquis of Buckingham perſuaded the prince of Wales to go to Spain, and bring home his miſtreſs the infanta himſelf. He told him, "the more uncommon ſuch a gallantry was among princes, the more it would redound to his honour: the infanta herſelf would be charmed with it: his preſence would immediately put an end to all formalities, and remove whatever difficulties might yet occur: as after the marriage, there was an affair of moment to be negotiated, namely, the reſtitution of the Palatinate, an interceſſor like him, would do more in three days than embaſſadors could do in as many months." In a word, he ſo artfully repreſented this project, that the prince, tranſported with the thoughts of ſo noble an adventure, never reſted till he had accompliſhed it. The difficulty was to obtain the king's conſent [f]. The prince aſked it before Buckingham, and expreſſed ſo earneſt a deſire to make the journey, that the king granted his requeſt without much heſitation, and put off till next day to conſider of means to effect it. But after he had more ſeriouſly reflected on the affair, his mind was quite changed on the morrow, when the prince and Buckingham came to him. He repreſented to them, how fruitleſs ſuch a journey would be in the preſent ſituation of the marriage affair, and the inconveniences it might be attended with. But inſtead of anſwering his reaſons, Buckingham rudely told him, he had given his word, and if he broke it, would be never more credited [g]. The reader may ſee in the lord Clarendon's hiſtory this converſation at large, which ended with the king's permiſſion, extorted by the prince and Buckingham, for this ſtrange, raſh, and very dangerous journey. It was reſolved, that Buckingham ſhould accompany the prince, with two more only, namely, ſir Francis Cottington, who had been the king's agent in Spain, and came from thence in September, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of the bed-chamber to the prince, who had been bred at Madrid: that they ſhould go poſt through France, and the ſecret be kept, that they might be at a diſtance before their departure was known. This reſolution being taken, the prince and Buckingham deſired only two days to prepare.

The motives of this journey are variouſly related, according to the intereſt and prejudices of the ſeveral writers. Some ſay, the court of England, ſtill doubting the Spaniſh court's ſincerity, thought proper the prince and Buckingham ſhould be ſatisfied with their own eyes, in order to know what could be depended upon. But ſuppoſing this doubt, was it not extremely imprudent to put the king's only ſon into the hands of a prince, whoſe ſincerity was believed to be juſtly ſuſpected? The king, prince, and favourite, muſt have been all three void of underſtanding, to be guilty of ſuch an error. This therefore ſeems to be altogether improbable.

The lord Clarendon ſays, Buckingham, out of envy that the earl of Briſtol ſhould have the ſole management of ſo great an affair, had a mind to have the glory of ending it. But he ſhould have thought of it ſooner, ſince every thing was now concluded in Spain, at or about the time of the prince's departure for Madrid. So the marquis could not acquire much honour. Beſides, the event ſhewed, this was not his motive, ſince inſtead of promoting, he was the ſole cauſe of the unexpected difficulties, and final breach of the marriage.

Others pretend, Buckingham's aim was inſenſibly to induce the prince to change his religion, by expoſing him to all the temptations which of courſe he would meet at the court of Madrid. Of this he was afterwards accuſed before the parliament, by the earl of Briſtol, who ſaid, the project was formed ſeveral months before the prince's departure between Buckingham and Gondemar, by means of Endymion Porter, who had been ſent to Spain for that purpoſe. But the proofs on which the earl of Briſtol grounded his accuſation, where but preſumptions at moſt, and as he was a profeſſed enemy to the marquis of Buckingham, I do not know whether his teſtimony may be relied on.

But whatever were the favourite's real motives with reſpect to this journey, it can hardly be denied, that it was a ſign of great levity in the prince, and of no leſs weakneſs and imprudence in the king. The affair of the marriage was in ſuch a ſituation, that it was entirely needleſs to ſollicit afreſh the court of Spain, with whom every thing was agreed. Two months patience would have ſhewn the king, whether he could rely on them, without expoſing his only ſon and heir apparent to ſo imminent danger, by ſuffering him to execute a romantic project, which could procure no advantage. But the king's condeſcenſion for the prince and Buckingham prevailed above all theſe conſiderations. They ſet out poſt the 17th of February [h], and came to Paris, where they ventured to appear at court, and be preſent at a ball, at which, though diſguiſed, they were in ſome danger of being diſcovered. However, they arrived ſafely at Madrid the 7th of March, and alighted at the earl of Briſtol's, who was not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the prince [i]. I ſhall not ſtay to deſcribe the magnificent reception of the prince by the court of Spain, when he made himſelf known. I ſhall only ſay, he met with all the reſpect due to his birth, and all poſſible careſſes to teſtify the ſatisfaction at his gallantry to the infanta, and his candour in confiding in the king's generoſity. The only thing in which great ceremony was uſed, was his not being permitted to viſit the infanta in private. The Spaniſh way did not admit of ſuch a familiarity, and the more becauſe the diſpenſation not being yet come, he could not in ſtrictneſs be conſidered as the infanta's future ſpouſe.

No ſooner was the prince arrived in Spain, but all the Spaniards thought he was come to change his religion before he eſpouſed the infanta, no one imagining there could be any other motive of his journey. Nay, count Gondemar very ſeriouſly deſired the earl of Briſtol, not to oppoſe ſo pious a deſign; and if the earl is to be credited, the count intimated to him, that the marquis of Buckingham was not againſt it [k]. The earl of Briſtol perceiving, if the court of Spain had any ſuch hopes, it would be apt to retard the marriage, ſpoke of it to the prince, and conjured him to impart the ſecret to him, if there was really any thing in it. But the prince firmly denied it, and expoſtulated with the embaſſador for having ſo ill an opinion of him [l]. Whereupon the earl of Briſtol intreated him, neither to do nor ſay any thing whatever that might feed the hopes of the Spaniſh court in that reſpect, for fear of obſtructing the marriage. Nevertheleſs he was attacked ſeveral times, one while by eccleſiaſtics, who took all occaſions to diſpute with him about religion, another while by courtiers, who repreſented to him how powerful England would grow if ſhe would return to the obedience of the pope. He even received a long letter from Gregory XV. exhorting him to come into the boſom of the church, and imitate his glorious anceſtors, who had done ſo great things for the defence of religion. The prince anſwered this letter the 20th of June. But becauſe the two printed copies of this anſwer are very different, it will not be amiſs to inſert them both.

Prince Charles to pope Gregory XV.

"Moſt Holy Father,

"I received the diſpatch from your holineſs with great content, and with that reſpect which the piety and care wherewith your holineſs writes doth require. It was an unſpeakable pleaſure to me to read the generous exploits of the kings my predeceſſors, to whoſe memory poſterity hath not given thoſe praiſes and elogies of honour that were due to them. I do believe that your holineſs hath ſet their

[f] Who was very quick-ſighted in diſcerning difficulties, and raiſing objections, and very ſlow in maſtering them. Clarendon, tom. I. p. 11. Fol. edit.

[g] The king conjured them, with ſighs and tears, not to purſue their reſolution. But Buckingham told his majeſty, "That no body could believe any thing he ſaid, when he retracted the promiſe he had ſo ſolemnly made; that he plainly diſcerned, it proceeded from another breach of his word (for he had promiſed to keep the thing ſecret), in communicating with ſome raſcal, who had furniſhed him with thoſe pitiful reaſons he had alleged, and he doubted not, but he ſhould hereafter know who his counſellor had been." Clarendon, tom. I. p. 14.

[h] They went privately, on February 17, from the court, which was then at Newmarket, to Newhall in Eſſex, a houſe of Buckingham's, purchaſed by him from Robert earl of Suſſex; and from thence the next day to Graveſend, and ſo to Dover, attended only by ſir Richard Graham, maſter of the horſe to the marquis. Wilſon, p. 763. Hacket, p. 114.

[i] The prince and marquis of Buckingham put on falſe beards, to cover their ſmooth faces, and travelled under the borrowed names of Jack and Tom Smith. The mayor of Dover ſtopped them, thinking they were going to France to fight; ſo that Buckingham was forced to diſcover himſelf, pretending he was going to viſit the fleet, as admiral. The ſame day they embarked, they landed at Boulogne, and from thence rode poſt to Paris. At Paris, they both wore large buſhy perriwigs that ſhadowed their faces. Here the prince ſaw, at a maſking dance, the princeſs Henrietta Maria, whom he afterwards married. Wilſon, p. 763. They narrowly eſcaped being ſeized in France. See Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 75. Weldon, p. 144.

[k] The condé d'Olivarez ſpeaking to the prince about this, in his firſt viſit, the prince replied, That he came not thither for religion, but for a wife. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 78.

[l] He ſeemed to be much diſpleaſed, that any ſhould have ſo unworthy an opinion of him, as to think he would, for a wife, or any other earthly reſpect whatſoever, ſo much as waver in his religion. Ibid. p. 291.

The

example before my eyes, to the end that I might imitate them in all my actions; for in truth they have often expoſed their eſtates and lives for the exaltation of the holy chair. And the courage with which they have aſſaulted the enemies of the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt, hath not been leſs than the care and thought which I have, to the end that the peace and intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting in Chriſtendom, might be bound with a bond of true concord: for like as the common enemy of peace watcheth always to put hatred and diſſention between chriſtian princes, ſo I believe that the glory of God requires that we ſhould endeavour to unite them. And I do not eſteem it a greater honour to be deſcended from ſo great princes, than to imitate them in the zeal of their piety; in which it helps me very much to have known the mind and will of our thrice honoured lord and father, and the holy intention of his catholic majeſty, to give a happy concurrence to ſo laudable a deſign; for it grieves him extremely to ſee the great evil that grows from the diviſion of chriſtian princes, which the wiſdom of your holineſs foreſaw, when it judged the marriage, which you pleaſed to deſign between the infanta of Spain and myſelf, to be neceſſary to procure ſo great a good; for it is very certain, that I ſhall never be ſo extremely affectionate to any thing in the world, as to endeavour alliance with a prince that hath the ſame apprehenſions of the true religion with myſelf. Therefore I entreat your holineſs to believe, that I have been always far from encouraging novelties, or to be a partiſan of any faction againſt the catholic, apoſtolic, Roman religion: But on the contrary, I have ſought all occaſions to take away the ſuſpicion that might reſt upon me; and that I will employ myſelf for the time to come to have but one religion, and one faith, ſeeing that we all believe in one Jeſus Chriſt: Having reſolved in myſelf to ſpare nothing that I might have in the world, and to ſuffer all manner of diſcommodities, even to the hazarding of my eſtate and life, for a thing ſo pleaſing unto God. It reſts only, that I thank your holineſs for the permiſſion which you have been pleaſed to afford me, and that I may pray God to give you a bleſſed health here, and his glory, after ſo much travel which your holineſs takes within his church.

Madrid, June 20, 1622. "CHARLES STUART."

The other copy of the ſame letter, is as follows.

Prince Charles to pope Gregory XV.

"Moſt Holy Father,

"WE have received your letter, with no leſs thankfulneſs and reſpect than is due to the ſingular good-will and godly affection wherewith we know it was written. It was moſt acceptable unto us, that the never-enough renowned examples of our anceſtors were propoſed to us by your holineſs for our inſpection and imitation; who though they often hazarded their lives and fortunes to propagate the chriſtian faith, yet did they never more cheerfully diſplay the banners of the croſs of Chriſt againſt his moſt bitter enemies, than we will endeavour to the utmoſt, that the peace and union which ſo long triumphed, may be reduced into the chriſtian world, after a kind of elimination or exile. For ſince the malice of the father of diſcords hath ſowed ſuch unhappy diviſions amongſt thoſe who profeſs the chriſtian religion, we account this moſt neceſſary, thereby to promote with better ſucceſs the glory of God, and Chriſt our Saviour, nor ſhall we eſteem it leſs honour to tread in their footſteps, and to have been their rivals and imitators in holy undertakings, than to have been deſcended of them. And we are very much encouraged to this, as well by the known inclination of our lord and father, and his ardent deſire to lend a helping hand to ſo pious a work, as by the anguiſh that gnaws his royal breaſt, when he conſiders what cruel deſtructions, what deplorable calamities, ariſe out of the diſſentions of chriſtian princes. Your holineſs's conjecture of our deſire to contract an alliance and marriage with a catholic family and princeſs, is agreeable both to your wiſdom and charity; for we would never deſire ſo vehemently to be joined in a ſtrict and indiſſoluble bond with any mortal whatſoever, whoſe religion we hated. Therefore your holineſs may be aſſured, that we are, and always will be of that moderation, as to abſtain from ſuch actions, which may teſtify our hatred againſt the Roman catholic religion; we will rather embrace all occaſions whereby, through a gentle and fair procedure, all ſiniſter ſuſpicions may be taken away; that as we confeſs one individual trinity, and one Chriſt crucified, we may unanimouſly grow up into one faith. Which that we may compaſs, we little value all labour and watchings, yea, the very hazard of our lives. It remains that we render thanks to your holineſs for your letter, which we eſteem as a ſingular preſent, and wiſh your holineſs all proſperity and eternal happineſs."

Dated at Madrid, 20 Junij 1623.

It muſt be obſerved of theſe two letters, which are very different, that as they did not appear till after the civil wars, it is equally probable that one of the parties qualified, whilſt the other aggravated, the expreſſions. And therefore it is needleſs to make any reflection upon them.

Mean while, after the prince's arrival in Spain, the ſtate of the marriage treaty was a little altered. The diſpenſation arrived about ſix weeks after, that is, about the beginning of May. But the pope had annexed certain conditions, without which it was to be of no force. Very probably, had not the prince been in Spain, the diſpenſation would have come ſooner, and without any reſtriction: but it is not very ſurpriſing, that the pope, knowing the prince was in Spain, ſhould deſire to make an advantage of that imprudence. He ſent therefore the diſpenſation, but it was to be delivered only on theſe terms, That the infanta ſhould have a church in London: That the children by this marriage ſhould be left to their mother's care till they were ten years old: That the nurſes ſhould be catholics, and appointed by the mother: That the king of England ſhould give ſecurity for the performance of the articles agreed upon concerning religion.

The article relating to the education of the children had been debated in November, and the pope and the king of Spain had inſiſted that the children ſhould be educated by their mother till marriageable. The king at firſt offered ſeven years, and the courts of Rome and Spain came to twelve. Then the king allowed nine, and the pope ten. At laſt, the earl of Briſtol received the king's orders, not to diſpute for a year more or leſs.

After the prince and the marquis of Buckingham came to Madrid, they managed the affair of the marriage excluſive of the earl of Briſtol. There was ſome debate upon the articles annexed to the pope's diſpenſation. The prince of Wales ſaid, he had no power to make the leaſt addition to the articles ſigned by the king his father; and the Spaniſh miniſters maintained, his Catholic majeſty could not reject the conditions on which the pope had granted the diſpenſation: That it lay in the pope's breaſt to grant his favours on what terms he pleaſed, and that the diſpenſation was void without theſe conditions. In ſhort, it was thought proper to conſult the king of England by letter, and to aſk withal, what ſecurity he would give for the performance of the articles. James made no ſcruple concerning the time of the education of the children, or about the nurſes, becauſe theſe things were now ſettled. As to the ſecurity, he replied, he could give no other than his own, and the prince's royal words and oaths, confirmed by his council of ſtate, and exemplified under the great ſeal of England. All this not ſatisfying the pope's nuntio, who pretended to have particular orders upon that point, the king of Spain offered to become ſecurity himſelf; but it was firſt to be determined by a committee of eccleſiaſtics, that Philip might lawfully ſwear for the king of England. Some believe this to be a Spaniſh device, to make the king of Spain guarantee of the articles granted to the catholics. This difficulty being removed, the prince ſent Cottington to England with the articles concerning religion, newly drawn according to the pope's intentions, and with ſome other ſecret articles, which were not to be publiſhed ſo ſoon.

It muſt be remarked, that hitherto there was no other writing concerning the infanta's dowry, than a rough draught, approved indeed by the king of Spain in a forementioned letter directed to his miniſters, but which remained in the hands of Olivarez. Much leſs had there been any care taken about the reſtitution of the Palatinate, James being unwilling to make this one of the marriage articles, for fear it ſhould be in recompence of the two millions promiſed him for the infanta's dowry. But he was very willing to receive the Palatinate, from the king of Spain's bounty, when the marriage ſhould be conſummated. This at leaſt was his project, and, no doubt, at the time the court of Spain ſought only to amuſe him, he was made to expect the reſtitution of the Palatinate, though without any written engagement. Mean while, James depended upon this verbal promiſe, as if it had been a treaty ſigned with the Spaniard's own hand [m].

Cottington being come to England with the articles both public and private, it was rumoured, that the pope and the king of Spain demanded a toleration for the Engliſh papiſts. The king himſelf occaſioned the rumour, by aſking his council, Whether it would be convenient to grant ſuch a toleration? Whereupon, Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury,

[m] See King James's Inſtructions to the earl of Briſtol, and the earl's defence, in Ruſhworth, and the Annals.

who had withdrawn to his own houſe ever ſince the fatal accident of killing the park keeper, and came no more to the council, thought it is duty to write the following letter to the king:

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"I have been too long ſilent, and I am afraid by my ſilence I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleaſed God to call me unto, and your majeſty to place me in: But I now humbly crave leave I may diſcharge my conſcience towards God, and my duty to your majeſty; and therefore I beſeech you freely to give me leave to deliver myſelf, and then let your majeſty do with me what you pleaſe. Your majeſty hath propounded a toleration of religion; I beſeech you take it into your conſideration what your act is, what the conſequence may be. By your act you labour to ſet up the moſt damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon: How hateful it will be to God, and grievous to your good ſubjects, the profeſſors of the goſpel, That your majeſty, who hath often diſputed, and learnedly written againſt thoſe hereſies, ſhould now ſhew yourſelf a patron of thoſe wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conſcience tells yourſelf, are ſuperſtitious, idolatrous, and deteſtible. And hereunto I add what you have done in ſending the prince into Spain without conſent of your council, the privity and approbation of your people: And although you have a charge and intereſt in the prince, as ſon of your fleſh, yet have the people a greater, as ſon of the kingdom, upon whom next after your majeſty are their eyes fixed, and welfare depends; and ſo tenderly is his going apprehended, as (believe it) however his return may be ſafe, yet the drawers of him into this action, ſo dangerous to himſelf, ſo deſperate to the kingdom, will not paſs away unqueſtioned, unpuniſhed. Beſides, this toleration which you endeavour to ſet up by your proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament, unleſs your majeſty will let your ſubjects ſee that you will take unto yourſelf ability to throw down the laws of your land at your pleaſure. What dread conſequence theſe things may draw afterwards, I beſeech your majeſty to conſider; and above all, leſt by this toleration and diſcountenancing of the true profeſſion of the goſpel, wherewith God hath bleſſed us, and this kingdom hath ſo long flouriſhed under, your majeſty do not draw upon this kingdom in general, and yourſelf in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.

"Thus in diſcharge of my duty towards God, to your majeſty, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble leave to deliver my conſcience. Now, ſir, do what you pleaſe with me."

It may be ſeen by this letter, it was not without reaſon that the archbiſhop paſſed for a puritan, at leaſt, according to the notions of the court, where all were conſidered as puritans who refuſed to aſcribe to the king an unlimited power. Wherefore his counſels were not regarded.

The king did not long detain Cottington in England. As it was not now time to diſpute, and he was required to ſign the articles as brought by Cottington, without any alterations, he choſe to do it rather than hazard a breach of the marriage, when the prince his ſon was in the hands of the Spaniard. He ſigned them therefore, and ſolemnly ſwore to them. As theſe articles were new drawn, explained, and increaſed to twenty-three, beſides four ſecret articles, the reader, perhaps, will be glad to view them in their new form, and ſee withal how far the king carried his compliance.

I. That the marriage be made by diſpenſation of the pope, but that to be procured by the endeavour of the king of Spain.

II. That the marriage be once only celebrated in Spain, and ratified in England, in form following: in the morning, after the moſt gracious infanta hath ended her devotions in the chapel, ſhe, and the moſt excellent prince Charles, ſhall meet in the king's chapel, or in ſome other room of the palace, where it ſhall ſeem moſt expedient; and there ſhall be read all the procurations, by virtue whereof the marriage was celebrated in Spain; and as well the moſt excellent prince, as the moſt excellent infanta, ſhall ratify the ſaid marriage celebrated in Spain, with all ſolemnity neceſſary for ſuch an act: ſo as no ceremony, or other thing intervene, which ſhall be contrary to the Roman catholic apoſtolic religion.

III. That the moſt gracious infanta ſhall take with her ſuch ſervants and family as are convenient for her ſervice; which family, and all perſons to her belonging, ſhall be choſen and nominated by the catholic king: ſo as he nominate no ſervant which is vaſſal to the king of Great Britain, without his will and conſent.

IV. That as well the moſt gracious infanta, as all her ſervants and family, ſhall have free uſe and public exerciſe of the Roman catholic religion, in manner and form as is beneath capitulated.

V. That ſhe ſhall have an oratory and decent chapel in her palace, where, at the pleaſure of the moſt gracious infanta, maſſes may be celebrated: and in like manner, ſhe ſhall have in London, or whereſoever ſhe ſhall make her abode, a public and capacious church near her palace, wherein all duties may be ſolemnly celebrated, and all other things neceſſary for the public preaching of God's word, the celebration and adminiſtration of all the ſacraments of the catholic Roman church, and for burial of the dead, and baptizing of children. That the ſaid oratory, chapel and church, ſhall be adorned with ſuch decency, as ſhall ſeem convenient to the moſt gracious infanta.

VI. That the men ſervants and maid ſervants of the moſt gracious infanta, and their ſervants, children, and deſcendants, and all their families, of what ſort ſoever, ſerving her highneſs, may be freely and publicly catholics.

VII. That the moſt gracious infanta, her ſervants and family, may live as catholics in form following: that the moſt gracious infanta ſhall have in her palace, her oratory and chapel ſo ſpacious, that her ſaid ſervants and family may enter and ſtay therein; in which there ſhall be an ordinary and public door for them, and another inward door, by which the infanta may have a paſſage into the ſaid chapel, where ſhe and others, as aboveſaid, may be preſent at divine offices.

VIII. That the chapel, church and oratory, may be beautified with decent ornaments of altars, and other things neceſſary for divine ſervice, which is to be celebrated in them, according to the cuſtom of the holy Roman church; and that it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid ſervants and others, to go to the ſaid chapel and church at all hours, as to them ſhall ſeem expedient.

IX. That the care and cuſtody of the ſaid chapel and church, ſhall be committed to ſuch as the lady infanta ſhall appoint, to whom it ſhall be lawful to appoint keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any indecent thing.

X. That to the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and to ſerve in chapel and church aforeſaid, there ſhall be four and twenty prieſts and aſſiſtants, who ſhall ſerve weekly or monthly, as to the infanta ſhall ſeem fit; and the election of them ſhall belong to the lady infanta, and the catholic king, provided that they be none of the vaſſals of the king of Great Britain; and if they be, his will and conſent is to be firſt obtained.

XI. That there be one ſuperior miniſter or biſhop, with neceſſary authority upon all occaſions which ſhall happen belonging to religion; and for want of a biſhop, that his vicar may have his authority and juriſdiction.

XII. That this biſhop or ſuperior miniſter may correct and chaſtiſe all Roman catholics who ſhall offend, and ſhall exerciſe upon them all juriſdiction eccleſiaſtical: and moreover alſo, the lady infanta ſhall have power to put them out of her ſervice, whenſoever it ſhall ſeem expedient to her.

XIII. That it may be lawful for the lady infanta and her ſervants to procure from Rome diſpenſations, indulgences, jubilees, and all graces as ſhall ſeem fit to their religion and conſciences, and to get and make uſe of any manner of catholic books whatſoever.

XIV. That the ſervants and family of the lady infanta, who ſhall come into England, ſhall take the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain: provided, that there be no clauſe therein which ſhall be contrary to their conſciences, and the Roman catholic religion; and if they happen to be vaſſals to the king of Great Britain, they ſhall take the ſame oath that the Spaniards do.

XV. That the laws which are or ſhall be in England againſt religion, ſhall not take hold of the ſaid ſervants; and only the foreſaid ſuperior eccleſiaſtical catholic may proceed againſt eccleſiaſtical perſons, as hath been accuſtomed by catholics: and if any ſecular judge ſhall apprehend any eccleſiaſtical perſon for any offence, he ſhall forthwith cauſe him to be delivered to the aforeſaid ſuperior eccleſiaſtic, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the canon law.

XVI. That the laws made againſt catholics in England, or in any other kingdom of the king of Great Britain, ſhall not extend to the children of this marriage; and though they be catholics, they ſhall not loſe the right of ſucceſſion to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain.

XVII. That the nurſes which ſhall give ſuck to the children of the lady infanta (whether they be of the kingdom of Great Britain, or of any other nation whatſoever), ſhall be choſen by the lady infanta, as ſhe pleaſeth, and ſhall be accounted of her family, and enjoy the privileges thereof.

XVIII. That the biſhop, eccleſiaſtical and religious perſons of the family of the lady infanta, ſhall wear the veſtments and habit

habit of their dignity, profeſſion, and religion, after the cuſtom of Rome.

XIX. For ſecurity that the ſaid matrimony be not diſſolved for any cauſe whatſoever, the king and prince are equally to paſs the word and honour of a king; and moreover, that they will perform whatſoever ſhall be propounded by the catholic king for further confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

XX. That the ſons and daughters which ſhall be born of this marriage, ſhall be brought up in the company of the moſt excellent infanta, at the leaſt, until the age of ten years, and ſhall freely enjoy the right of ſucceſſion to the kingdoms, as aforeſaid.

XXI. That whenſoever any place of either man ſervant or maid ſervant, which the lady infanta ſhall bring with her (nominated by the catholic king her brother), ſhall happen to be void, whether by death, or by other cauſe or accident, all the ſaid ſervants of her family are to be ſupplied by the catholic king, as aforeſaid.

XXII. For ſecurity that whatſoever is capitulated may be fulfilled, the king of Great Britain and prince Charles are to be bound by oath; and all the king's council ſhall confirm the ſaid treaty under their hands: moreover, the ſaid king and prince are to give their faiths in the word of a king, to endeavour, if poſſible, that whatſoever is capitulated may be eſtabliſhed by parliament.

XXIII. That conformable to this treaty, all theſe things propoſed, are to be allowed and approved of by the pope, that he may give an apoſtolical benediction, and a diſpenſation neceſſary to effect the marriage.

The king ratified theſe articles in the uſual form, and ſwore to obſerve them, before the two Spaniſh embaſſadors and twenty [n] privy-counſellors, who all ſigned the treaty. When the king came to take the oath, he had ſome diſpute with the embaſſadors. His majeſty would not give the pope the title of Holy Father, or His Holineſs, ſaying, he had wrote againſt this title, and it was unreaſonable to make him retract. But the embaſſadors inſiſting upon it, the king yielded at laſt, not thinking he ought, for ſuch a trifle, to retard a treaty, which had now been ſeven years on foot.

After publicly taking the oath, he withdrew into his cloſet, where, in preſence of the ſame embaſſadors, and ſome privy-counſellors, he ratified and ſwore to theſe four ſecret articles:

I. That particular laws made againſt Roman catholics, under which other vaſſals of our realms are not comprehended, and to whoſe obſervation all generally are not obliged; as likewiſe general laws, under which all are equally compriſed, if ſo be they are ſuch which are repugnant to the Romiſh religion, ſhall not at any time hereafter, by any means or chance whatſoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to to be put in execution againſt the ſaid Roman catholics; and we will cauſe that our council ſhall take the ſame oath, as far as it pertains to them, and belongs to the execution, which by the hands of them and their miniſters, is to be exerciſed.

II. That no other laws ſhall hereafter be made anew againſt the ſaid Roman catholics, but that there ſhall be a perpetual toleration of the Roman catholic religion, within private houſes throughout all our realms and dominions, which we will have to be underſtood as well of our kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as in England; which ſhall be granted to them in manner and form, as is capitulated, decreed, and granted in the article of the treaty concerning the marriage.

III. That neither by us, nor any other interpoſed perſon whatſoever, directly or indirectly, privately or publicly, will we treat (or attempt) any thing with the moſt renowned lady infanta Donna Maria, which ſhall be repugnant to the Romiſh catholic religion; neither will we by any means perſuade her, that ſhe ſhould ever renounce or relinquiſh the ſame in ſubſtance or form, or that ſhe ſhould do any thing repugnant or contrary to thoſe things which are contained in the treaty of matrimony.

IV. That we and the prince of Wales will interpoſe our authority, and will do as much as in us ſhall lie, that the parliament ſhall approve, confirm, and ratify all and ſingular articles in favour of the Roman catholics, capitulated between the moſt renowned kings by reaſon of this marriage: and that the ſaid parliament ſhall revoke and abrogate particular laws made againſt the ſaid Roman catholics, to whoſe obſervance alſo the reſt of our ſubjects and vaſſals are not obliged: as likewiſe the general laws under which all are equally comprehended; to wit, as to the Roman catholics, if they be ſuch as is aforeſaid, which are repugnant to the Roman catholic religion: and that hereafter, we will not conſent that the ſaid parliament ſhould ever, at any time, enact or write any other new laws againſt the Roman catholics [o].

Theſe are the four articles which ſerved for foundation to the pope's diſpenſation: for, as the Congregation de Propagandâ ſaid, "The other articles are only to ſecure the infanta's religion; but there muſt be ſomething more for the catholics in general, before the diſpenſation can be granted." Nelſon and others pretend, thoſe four ſecret articles are fictitious, groundleſs, and even improbable. But, beſides that they follow very naturally from what was demanded by the Congregation de Propagandâ, and are manifeſtly alluded to in the archbiſhop's letter to the king, we ſhall ſee preſently a paper which leaves no room to doubt that the king had engaged to perform the contents of the four articles.

It is pretended, all theſe articles, as well public as private, ſigned by the king and privy council, with the great ſeal annexed, being brought to Spain, the prince of Wales made the following additions. But I confeſs, I do not find ſo ſtrong proofs of theſe additions, as of the foregoing articles. This depends upon the degree of credit, which the reader is willing to give the firſt publiſhers.

"Moreover, I Charles prince of Wales engage myſelf (and promiſe, that the moſt illuſtrious king of Great Britain my moſt honoured lord and father, ſhall do the ſame both by word and writing), that all thoſe things which are contained in the foregoing articles, and concern as well the ſuſpenſion as the abrogation of all laws made againſt the Roman catholics, ſhall within three years infallibly take effect, and ſooner, if it be poſſible, which we will have to lie upon our conſcience and royal honour: that I will intercede with the moſt illuſtrious king of Great Britain my father, that the ten years of the education of the children which ſhall be born of this marriage, with the moſt illuſtrious lady infanta their mother, accorded in the 23d Art. (which term the pope of Rome deſires to have prorogued to twelve years) may be lengthened to the ſaid term: and I promiſe freely and of my own accord, and ſwear, that if it ſo happen, that the entire power of diſpoſing of this matter be devolved to me, I will alſo grant and approve the ſaid term. Furthermore, I prince of Wales oblige myſelf, upon my faith to the catholic king, that as often as the moſt illuſtrious lady infanta ſhall require, that I ſhould give ear to divines or others, whom her highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to employ in matter of the Roman catholic religion, I will hearken to them willingly without all difficulty, laying aſide all excuſe. And for further caution in point of the free exerciſe of the catholic religion, and the ſuſpenſion of the law above named, I Charles prince of Wales, promiſe and take upon me in the word of a king, that the things above promiſed and treated concerning thoſe matters, ſhall take effect, and be put in execution, as well in the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as of England."

This was the effect of the prince's and Buckingham's journey to Spain; a journey not only needleſs, but even pernicious, as may eaſily be ſeen by all the additions made to the articles ſettled by the earl of Briſtol. The king was ſo glad that he had finiſhed the affair of the marriage, that he defied all the devils in hell to break it [p]. As a grateful acknowledgment for his favourite's great ſervices, he ſent him a patent creating him duke of Buckingham. There was no other duke at that time in England [q].

The king's compliance in every thing he had ſigned and ratified was ſo great, that the Spaniards could hardly believe it ſincere. Some who knew the Engliſh conſtitution maintained, it was not in the king's power to perform his promiſes, or in caſe he attempted it, a rebellion would infallibly follow. Wherefore the king of Spain appointed a committee to take the matter into conſideration. The reſult of the debate was, that it was not proper to ſend the infanta to England before the next ſpring; that in this interval, the performance of the articles granted to the catholics, and their effects, might be aſſured. Upon this the Spaniſh embaſſadors

[n] There are but nineteen named in Wilſon, p. 769.

[o] The author of the Annals ſays, theſe four articles muſt be taken entirely upon Ruſhworth's credit, p. 80. Rapin.

[p] One that heard king James ſay this, told the ſtanders by, That there was never a devil now left in hell, for they were all gone to Spain to make up the match. Wilſon, p. 770.

[q] He was created earl of Coventry, and duke of Buckingham: his patent bears date May 18. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 497. James Hay, earl of Carliſle brought over the patent. The lord Kenſington, captain of the king's guard, came alſo to ſee the prince, as did the earl of Denbigh, Edward ſon and heir to Henry Montague viſcount Mandeville, the viſcount Rochford, and divers others of the nobility; and the prince was ſo incircled with a ſplendid retinue of his own nation, that it might be ſaid, there was an Engliſh court in the king of Spain's palace. Wilſon, p. 765. Annals, p. 75.

The

in England had orders to desire the king to begin to execute his engagements in favour of the catholics. This demand embarrassed him. What he had promised was secret, and not to be performed till after the marriage, and he was pressed to make it public by the execution, whilst the prince was still in Spain, This was a sort of menace that the marriage should not be solemnized, before he had given public marks of his sincerity. He knew a proclamation for granting the papists a toleration might be attended with ill consequences; that these consequences might break off the marriage, and the prince his son would be in danger of being detained in Spain. To free himself from this perplexity, he resolved to give the embassadors some satisfaction, by putting into their hands a declaration of his council, containing his intention about this affair. In all appearance, the embassadors were prevailed with to consent that the performance of it should be deferred, by reason of the accidents that might follow. The declaration was thus:

Salisbury, Aug. 7, 1623.

A declaration touching the pardons, suspensions, and dispensations, of the Roman catholics.

"FOR the satisfaction of their excellencies, the marquis Ynojosa and Don Carolus de Colonia, the lords embassadors for the king of Spain; and to the end it may appear that his majesty of Great Britain will presently and really put in execution the grace promised and intended to the Roman catholics his majesty's subjects, and of his own grace more than he is tied to by the articles of treaty of marriage [r].

"We do declare in his majesty's name, that his majesty's will and pleasure is, that a legal and authentical pardon shall be passed under the great seal, wherein shall be freely pardoned all those penalties, forfeitures and seizures, indictments, convictments and incumbrances whatsoever, whereunto the Roman catholics are liable, or have been proceeded against, or might be, as well priests as others, for matters of conscience only, and to which the rest of his majesty's subjects are not liable. And to the end his majesty may make himself clearly understood, where it shall happen that any of these forfeitures and pecuniary mulcts have been given away under his majesty's great seal, his majesty will not hide that it is not in his power so to made void those letters patents, except they be voidable by law; and then his majesty is well pleased that all Roman catholics may in those cases plead in law, if they find it good, and shall have equal and legal trial. And his majesty is likewise pleased, that his general pardon shall remain in being five years, to the end all that will may in that time take it out; and his majesty will give order for the comfort of the poorer sort, that the pardon shall not be costly, but such like course shall be taken as was in a like occasion at his majesty's coming into England; and that it shall be lawful to put as many as can be possible into one pardon.

"And we do farther declare, that his majesty's will and pleasure is, to the end the Roman catholics, his majesty's subjects, may have a present and a free fruition of as much as is intended them by the articles of treaty of marriage, to cause a present suspension under his majesty's seal of all those penal laws, charges, and forfeitures, whereunto the Roman catholic subjects of his majesty have heretofore been subject, and to which the rest of his majesty's subjects have not been liable; and in the same grant, and under the same seal, to give a dispensation and toleration to all the Roman catholics his majesty's subjects, as well priests, as temporal persons and others, of and from all the penalties, forfeitures, troubles, and incumbrances, which they have been or may be subject to, by reason of any statute or law whatsoever, to the observation whereof the rest of his majesty's subjects are not bound. We do likewise declare, that his majesty hath promised his royal word, that the execution shall be no ways burthensome or penal to the Roman catholics, but that for the manner of privileging and freeing them from that, he must confer with bishops and advocates, into which he will presently enter and expedite by all means.

"And we do further declare, That his majesty's intention is presently to pursue his former directions (which had been before executed if their excellencies had so thought good) to put under his seal severally the said pardon, and suspension, and dispensation; and that his majesty's attorney, and learned counsel, shall have referred to them the charge to pen them with all those effectual words, clauses, expressions, and reservations, which may presently give fruition to the Roman catholics his majesty's subjects, and make them inviolable in the fruition of all that is intended and promised by his majesty in the articles of marriage, and his majesty's further grace.

"And we do declare, That his majesty's further will and pleasure is, for the better satisfaction and discharge of the care and endeavour of their excellencies the embassadors, that it shall be lawful to them to assign a discreet person to entertain such sufficient lawyers as shall be thought fit to take care to the strength, validity, and security of the said grants: and his majesty's attorney shall have charge to receive and admit the said lawyers to the sight and judgment of the said draughts, and in any doubts to give them satisfaction, or to use such legal, necessary and pertinent words and phrases, as he the said lawyers shall propound for the security of the Roman catholics, and sure making of the said grants.

"And we do further declare, That his majesty's pleasure is, to make a dispatch into Ireland unto his deputy there, by the hands of the lord treasurer and secretary of state sir George Calvert, for the present confirming and sealing the things concerning the Roman catholics, answerable to the articles of treaty, his royal promise and proceedings here: And for Scotland, that his majesty, according to the constitution of his affairs there, and regard to the public good, and peace of that kingdom, and as soon as possible, will do all that shall be convenient for the accomplishment of his promise in grace and favour of the Roman catholics his subjects, conformable to the articles of treaty of marriage."

This declaration, signed by secretary Conway and some privy counsellors, who were most trusted by the king, was very probably sent to Spain as a pledge of the king's intention to perform his engagements. There it was that the earl of Bristol found means to wave either the original itself, or a copy, which he produced before the parliament in 1626, to shew what the duke of Buckingham had negotiated in Spain without his privity. It is manifest, first, That this declaration supposes the secret articles; secondly, That the earl of Bristol would not have ventured to produce it before the parliament, had he not been able to prove it no forgery [s].

Whilst these things passed in England, news came to Madrid of pope Gregory XV.'s death, which was a fresh obstacle to the conclusion of the marriage. When Cottington arrived from England with the ratification of the articles, the nuntio refused to deliver the dispensation, affirming, as the marriage was not yet celebrated, the deceased pope's dispensation was of no force, and therefore it was necessary to stay till there was a new pope, who might grant a valid dispensation. By this accident the prince of Wales saw himself detained in Spain till the election of a new pope. The 29th of August however was appointed for the celebration of the marriage, in a supposition, that before that time there would be a pope and a new dispensation.

Mean while, the restitution of the Palatinate was not talked of, or if mentioned, it was only by way of conversation, without any positive demand on the king of Spain, or his ministers. I have already shewn the reason. As to the temporal articles, they were in the same state as when the prince came to Madrid, and nothing signed on either side; so that if the dispensation arrived before the 29th of August, the marriage must have been either deferred, or solemnized before these articles were settled.

But the court of Spain was intent upon a project of greater consequence, namely, to endeavour to persuade the prince of Wales to turn catholic; and it is not very strange, they should hope to succeed, after what had passed. Besides, if we may believe the earl of Bristol in the impeachment he brought before the parliament against Buckingham, that duke gave the Spaniards too much reason to expect this pretended conversion. And to this alone is to be ascribed the delay of the dispensation. Urban VIII. who was chosen the 6th of August, would not have failed to send it, had he not waited for this happy event, which he strove to advance by his letters to the prince and the duke of Buckingham. This occasioned at last the breach of the marriage, after having been so long deferred.

I have very carefully searched after the real cause of this breach, but could never meet with any thing satisfactory. All agree, it was the duke of Buckingham that first inspired the prince, and afterwards the king, with the thought, but it is difficult to guess his motive, and what caused him to break his first measures and pursue a contrary course, so obscurely

[r] The treaty of the twenty-three articles contained no grant at all in favour of the catholics in general. Consequently this must relate to the secret articles of the same treaty. Rapin.

[s] In pursuance of this declaration, there was a general pardon drawn in as full and ample a manner as the papists themselves could desire; and two general commands were issued out, one to all judges, justices of peace, &c. and the other to all bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, not to execute any statute against recusants. But to this some stop was put, by the advice of the lord keeper Williams. See Rushworth, tom. I. p. 101. Cabala, p. 297. The bishop of Chalcedon came also into England to exercise jurisdiction over the catholics of that kingdom, and a chapel began to be built at St. James's for the infanta. Annals, p. 81.

The

is this point explained by the hiſtorians. Some ſay, the duke rendered himſelf contemptible and odious to the court of Spain, by affecting to follow the French faſhions, in almoſt every thing oppoſite to the Spaniſh: that for this reaſon, foreſeeing the infanta and the Spaniards would have great power at the court of England, he thought they might in the end do him ſome ill turn, and therefore reſolved to break off the match. Others ſay, Olivarez, favourite of Philip IV. reminding the duke of his promiſe that the prince ſhould turn catholic, the duke gave him the lye to his face, and from that time ſought means to retire from the Spaniſh court, for fear of the Condé's revenge. Some ſay, the queen of Bohemia, perceiving there was no likelihood of recovering the Palatinate by this marriage, and having much more reaſon to expect great advantages from a rupture between England and Spain, ſent a truſty meſſenger [t] to the duke, with certain offers, in caſe he would procure a breach. This is not improbable, and the Hollanders, to whom the union between Spain and England muſt have been prejudicial, might well be concerned in the project. In fine, the duke of Buckingham's greateſt favourers pretend, the duke having ſounded the king of Spain's intentions concerning the reſtitution of the Palatinate, found there was nothing to be expected, and therefore reſolved to break off a marriage, which was intended for no other purpoſe. It is certain at leaſt, the king, prince, and duke, made uſe of this pretence to juſtify the breach.

However, the duke of Buckingham having taken this reſolution, ſoon prevailed with the prince to agree to it, over whom he had now a very great aſcendant. There were two difficulties to be ſurmounted in the execution of this deſign. The firſt was, to obtain the king's conſent. The ſecond, to get the prince out of Spain. The duke muſt have been fully perſuaded of his power over the king, to hope to incline him at once to deſiſt from a deſign, he had ſo conſtantly purſued for ſeven years, at the very time all was concluded, and nothing wanting but the nuptial ceremonies. He deſpaired not however of ſucceeding, and therefore ſent him word, he had at laſt diſcovered the king of Spain's inſincerity; that not only he had no inclination to cauſe the Palatinate to be reſtored, but alſo was far from having the leaſt thought of accompliſhing the marriage, and the prince was in danger of being detained in Spain all his life. To ſupport what the duke ſaid, the prince himſelf wrote to the king his father, telling him, "He muſt now look upon his ſiſter and her children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had ſuch a ſon." The king fell, or rather threw himſelf into this ſnare, without the leaſt reflection, and immediately wrote to Buckingham to bring away the prince by all means. At the ſame time, he ſent ſome ſhips to St. Andero in Biſcay to take them on board.

The firſt difficulty being overcome, means were to be deviſed to quit Spain, and not give the court any ſuſpicion, which could not be done without wounding the prince's honour and conſcience. Happily for them, Urban VIII. had not yet ſent the diſpenſation, nor even fixed any time for it. So Buckingham notified to his catholic majeſty the order he had received to bring back the prince to England, his return being abſolutely neceſſary to remove the nation's jealouſy of his ſo long ſtay in Spain. Adding, his departure would cauſe no conſiderable alteration, ſince he would leave a proxy in the hands of any perſon his majeſty ſhould pleaſe to appoint, to eſpouſe the infanta in his name, as ſoon as the diſpenſation ſhould come. The king of Spain was a little ſurpriſed at the prince's deſign. However, as he did not deſire the infanta his ſiſter ſhould go before ſpring, he imagined, that after the eſpouſals, it would be more eaſy to detain her, than if the prince of Wales was actually in Spain, and therefore he very readily conſented to the prince's departure [u].

The only point therefore was to be aſſured of the celebration of the marriage, and the king himſelf deſired to be the prince's proxy jointly with prince Edward of Portugal. The proxy was drawn by the king's ſecretary, and the prince of Wales ſigning it in the preſence of ſeveral witneſſes, left it in the hands of the earl of Briſtol, with orders to deliver it to the king of Spain, ten days after the diſpenſation ſhould be received. This done, the duke of Buckingham departed firſt, under colour of preparing for the prince's reception on board the Engliſh fleet at St. Andero. The court ſaw him depart without any concern, or rather with a ſatisfaction equal to his impatience to be in a place of ſecurity. After his departure all imaginable honours were paid to the prince. The king himſelf conducted him to the Eſcurial [x], where he received and feaſted him as a prince that was to be very ſhortly his brother-in-law. I ſhall not give a particular account of all the civilities that were ſhown him. It will ſuffice to ſay, that on the very day of his departure, he ſolemnly ſwore again to the articles of the marriage, and then left the proxy with the earl of Briſtol, of which one of the ſecretaries of ſtate made an authentic act, which was ſigned by ſeveral witneſſes.

The prince went away, loaded with honours, careſſes, preſents, and attended by ſeveral lords of the court, who waited upon him to the fleet [y]. He was no ſooner come there, but he diſpatched to the earl of Briſtol Mr. Edward Clarke, one of Buckingham's creatures, with poſitive orders not to deliver the proxy till ſecurity was given him that the infanta, after the eſpouſals, would not betake herſelf to a cloyſter, and to ſend him word before the delivery of the proxy what ſecurity was offered, that he might be judge himſelf, whether it was proper to accept it. This was the firſt artifice uſed by the prince to gain time, in the fear that the diſpenſation would come, and the marriage be ſolemnized before the king his father was determined to break it. The earl of Briſtol not yet perceiving the intent of the order he had received, was afraid if he ſhould ſtay to the laſt, it might be an obſtacle to the conſummation of the marriage. He thought proper therefore to take care before the diſpenſation ſhould arrive, to know what ſecurity the court of Spain would give concerning the prince's ſcruple. He received as ſatisfactory an anſwer as he could wiſh, which he conveyed to the king and the prince by a letter.

The prince and the duke arrived on the 5th of October at Portſmouth, and from thence poſted to Royſton, where the king was. It ſeems they durſt not immediately diſcover their deſign to the king about the breach of the marriage, but thought fit to take ſome precautions, to render it leſs ſtrange to him. What makes me think this, is that the earl of Briſtol's letter coming ſoon after, the king wrote to him the 8th of October, that he was ſatisfied with the ſecurity offered by the court of Spain. The prince, who probably had not yet prepared all his batteries, concealing his deſign, wrote likewiſe to the earl of Briſtol the following letter, which no doubt was to be ſeen by the king his father:

"Your letter to the king and me, concerning that doubt I made after I came from St. Lawrence, hath ſo ſatisfied us both, that we think it fit no longer to ſtick upon it, but leave it to your diſcretion to take what ſecurity you ſhall think fitting."

The prince however was in danger of the diſpenſation's arriving at Madrid, before the earl of Briſtol ſhould have received a poſitive order not to deliver the proxy, ſince in that caſe, he would have been forced to execute what was enjoined him by the prince himſelf when he left the Eſcurial. But this riſk was to be run, there being no avoiding it, before the king was determined to a breach. It is true, himſelf and the duke had now begun to fill the king with doubts concerning the reſtitution of the Palatinate. Wherefore the king, in his letter of the 8th of October, wrote to the earl of Briſtol, that he hoped to receive before Chriſtmas the agree-

[t] The elector Palatine's ſecretary; under pretence of deſiring the duke to be godfather to one of the elector's children. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 102.

[u] It has by ſome been wondered at, that the king of Spain ſhould be ſo willing to let the prince go, when it was in his power to have kept him as long as he pleaſed, and make what advantage of it he had a mind to. But this point is cleared by the remark with which Spanhemius ſums up what relates to the Spaniſh affair, "That never prince was more obliged to a ſiſter, than king Charles the firſt was to the queen of Bohemia; ſince it was only the conſideration of her and her children, who were then the next heirs after him to the crown of England, that prevailed with the court of Spain to permit him to ſee England again." Welwood, p. 28. There is to this purpoſe a pleaſant jeſt in Coke's reign of King James I. His majeſty, a little after the prince's departure for Spain, being in one of his penſive modes, Archy his buffoon comes in, and tells him, he muſt change caps with him: Why? ſays the king. Why, who (replies Archy) ſent the prince into Spain? But what (anſwered the king) wilt thou ſay if the prince comes back again? Why then (ſaid Archy) I will take my cap from thy head, and ſend it to the king of Spain: which it is ſaid troubled the king ſore. But his catholic majeſty did not care to do any thing that ſhould help the elector Palatine or his heirs to the crown of England. Coke, p. 131.

[x] The Eſcurial lies about eighteen miles from Madrid. It is reckoned one of the moſt magnificent ſtructures in Europe. The Spaniards call it the eighth wonder of the world. This mighty fabric was built by Philip II. in the form of a gridiron (the emblem and inſtrument of St. Lawrence's martyrdom, to whom it was dedicated) the handle whereof is the king's palace, and the ſquare of the gridiron is divided into twelve ſpacious quadrangles, in which are arched cloyſters, one above, the other below, all dedicated to religious orders, who live like princes rather than prieſts, with each his man and his mule. In the middle of the ſquare ſtands a magnificent cathedral, to which Philip IV. added a chapel for the ſepulchre of ſuch kings and queens as leave iſſue behind them, who lie in curious coffins of black marble, which are placed in arches round the marble wall. The chapel is built in the form of the Pantheon. See Wilſon, p. 775.

[y] The prince departed from Madrid September 9, and came to St. Andero the 11th. The fleet (ſent to convoy him over to England, and which conſiſted of eight men of war and two pinnaces, whereof Edward earl of Rutland was admiral) ſailed from St. Andero the 18th, and put into Scilly iſlands the 29th. Relat. of the Prince's Journey, p. 7—46. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 486.

able news both of his ſon's marriage, and ſon-in-law's reſtoration [z]. Though this was not an expreſs order to demand the Palatinate before the eſpouſals, the earl of Briſtol thought proper however to take ſome care of an affair, ſo much neglected during the prince's ſtay in Spain, and even ſince the marriage articles were ſettled. He mentioned it therefore to Olivarez, and made him engage, the proxy ſhould not be demanded till a written promiſe was put into his hands that the Palatinate ſhould be reſtored. Of this he informed the king in a letter of the 23d of November, wherein he told him he hoped by Chriſtmas, he ſhould congratulate the prince his ſon and the princeſs his daughter, the one upon his marriage, the other upon the end of her ſufferings.

It muſt be obſerved, the prince of Wales, before he left Spain, had uſed an artifice to gain time, knowing he could not break off the marriage without the king's conſent. He had cauſed it to be inſerted in the proxy, that it ſhould remain in force only till Chriſtmas. He hoped the diſpenſation would not arrive before that time, or if it came but a few days before, the proxy would be uſeleſs. And indeed, as the earl of Briſtol was not to deliver it till ten days after the arrival of the diſpenſation at Madrid, if the tenth day was after Chriſtmas-day, the proxy would be of no force, by virtue of the inſerted clauſe. But this precaution was not ſufficient, becauſe the diſpenſation might happen to be at Madrid above ten days before Chriſtmas. This obliged the prince and the duke at length to diſcover their minds to the king. Whether James yielded to their reaſons, or, out of an exceſſive condeſcenſion for his ſon and favourite, would not grieve them by a denial, he wrote to the earl of Briſtol the 13th of November, expreſly ordering him not to deliver the proxy till after Chriſtmas: that is, when it was no longer valid. Moreover, he enjoined him not to diſcover this order to the court of Spain till the very laſt. This letter was ſent to the earl by three [a] ſeveral meſſengers, two by land, and one by ſea, for fear of accidents. It came in a critical time, for the diſpenſation arrived at Madrid the beginning of December, new ſtile [b], and the king's letter the 13th of November, old ſtile. Upon the receipt of the diſpenſation, Philip immediately ordered all the neceſſary preparations for the eſpouſals to be made [c]. But when the ten days were expired, and the marriage was expected to be ſolemnized, the earl of Briſtol notified to him the king his maſter's orders, not to deliver the proxy till after Chriſtmas. He eaſily perceived the king of England's intention, ſince the proxy would then be invalid. That very day he ſent to the earl of Briſtol to demand no more audience, and ordered that the infanta ſhould be no longer called the princeſs of Wales, as ſhe had been ever ſince the arrival of the diſpenſation, and cauſed all preparations for the marriage to ceaſe. Mean while, to caſt all the blame on the king of England, he ſent the earl of Briſtol on the 8th of January 1624, a written promiſe, ſigned with his own hand, whereby he engaged to cauſe the Palatinate to be reſtored to the elector Palatine. This the earl of Briſtol, in the following reign, affirmed before the parliament in his defence.

There is ſcarce an Engliſh hiſtorian but what affirms, the want of this reſtitution was the cauſe of the breach of the marriage, and that the earl of Briſtol having demanded it of his catholic majeſty, as a condition without which the marriage could not be accompliſhed, Philip coldly anſwered, "The Palatinate was none of his to give, and the emperor might be applied to." But this is directly contrary to the earl of Briſtol's own account, who doubtleſs knew more of the affair than any other. The earl of Clarendon took care not to ſpeak like the reſt. He contents himſelf with aſcribing the breach to ſome ſecret deſign of Buckingham.

Thus ended the affair of the Spaniſh marriage, which had wholly employed king James for ſeven years. During all that time, he moſt earneſtly ſollicited the concluſion of it, and to ſucceed, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the intereſts of his ſon-in-law, his own reputation, the religion he profeſſed, the good of his people, and the laws of his realm. But when at laſt it was going to be concluded, he ſuddenly broke it off, for reaſons which were never yet clearly known. It can only be aſcribed to his weakneſs for his favourite. The earl of Clarendon ſays poſitively, the king was compelled to it by the duke of Buckingham, "who, in breaking the marriage, reſumed the ſame impetuoſity, he had indulged to himſelf in the debate of the journey into Spain." He adds, "the king plainly found the prince and duke were reſolved upon a breach, with or without his approbation, and that he never forgave the duke what he had done, but retained as ſharp a memory of it as his nature could contain." It is to be preſumed, the earl of Clarendon was well acquainted with this affair, and the more, as he is not the only writer that intimates, the king had neither the power nor the courage to withſtand the prince and duke, who were ſtrictly united ſince their journey to Spain [d].

[1624] Mean time, for fear the earl of Briſtol ſhould by ſome means renew a treaty broken with ſo little reaſon, they cauſed him to be recalled. The king conſented the more readily to his return, as he ſaw no perſon in his court able to give him good counſels to free himſelf from the ſlavery he was under, but the earl of Briſtol, who never yielded to Buckingham's haughtineſs. This had drawn upon him the favourite's enmity to ſuch a degree, that ever after he was continually expoſed to his perſecutions and the prince's indignation, who following Buckingham's ſuggeſtions, forgot nothing to ruin him, even when he had mounted the throne, though without being able to ſucceed.

After the return of the prince and duke, the king no longer ruled, all his affairs were managed by them, and he only executed their counſels. The king ſaw about him none he could truſt. All his officers, all his courtiers, were the duke's creatures, and the more attached to him, as they ſaw him ſtrictly united with the prince. In this ſituation, the king ſaw no other remedy than to ſurrender himſelf entirely to them, and do whatever they pleaſed, whether he feared an increaſe of their boldneſs by reſiſtance, or waited for ſome favourable opportunity to throw off their yoke. Not only the breach of their marriage had been reſolved between them, but alſo a war with Spain, and the king durſt not contradict them, notwithſtanding his averſion to arms. Their firſt project was to demand for this war a benevolence of every ſubject; nay, they made the king ſign an order to levy it. Baker ſays, in his Chronicle, he himſelf paid fifty pounds on this occaſion. But on a ſudden, the king, by advice of the prince and Buckingham, gave over the project, and reſolved to call a parliament. That was indeed the moſt proper way to juſtify the breach of the treaty with Spain, and to procure money, which he wanted extremely.

There was not one good Engliſhman but what had ever conſidered the Spaniſh match as very prejudicial to the kingdom. It was known in general, that the king, in favour of this marriage, had made large conceſſions with reſpect to religion, though the particulars, and eſpecially the ſecret articles, were known to very few. But the king's condeſcenſion to the Roman catholics was a plain indication, the court of Spain had greatly prevailed with him. The duke of Buckingham not being ignorant of the people's averſion to the marriage, the breach whereof was not yet well known, doubted not to gain their affection, by cauſing a parliament to be called, and declaring himſelf the author of this happy breach, ſo paſſionately deſired by all true Engliſhmen. To compaſs his ends, he rendered himſelf popular, and affected to careſs both the church and ſtate-puritans; nay, he conſulted with Dr. John Preſton, head of the puritan party, how the king might ſeize the dean and chapter lands. Nothing

[z] King James commanded the earl of Briſtol, to procure inſtantly from the king of Spain, a punctual anſwer; and before he delivered the powers, or moved the contract, to obtain from that king, either by a public act, or by an anſwer under his hand and ſeal, a direct engagement for the reſtitution of the Palatinate, and the electoral dignity. See Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 106, 107.

[a] Wilſon ſays four: Mr. Killigrew, Greſley, Wood, and Davis, p. 776.

[b] In a letter from ſir Walter Aſton to the duke of Buckingham, it is ſaid, That the diſpenſation came to Madrid, November 12. Cabala, p. 3.

[c] The king of Spain had ſent into England, Don Mendoſa de Alcorcana, to congratulate the prince's ſafe return, and from thence he had inſtructions to go and make known to all princes and potentates, allies to Spain, how near the marriage was. When the diſpenſation came, bonfires were made throughout all Spain, the 19th of December was fixed for the wedding-day, preſents were provided for our king and prince, the infanta's family was ſettled, and the beginning of March appointed for her coming over into England, &c. Wilſon, p. 776.

[d] In February this year, a cruel ſcene was acted at Amboyna in the Eaſt-Indies, of which this account is given. A treaty was concluded in 1619, between England and the United Provinces, whereby, among other things, it was agreed, that in regard of the great blood-ſhed and coſt, pretended to be beſtowed by the Hollanders, in winning the trade of the iſles of the Moluccaes, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Hollanders ſhould enjoy two-thirds of that trade, and the Engliſh the other third. (See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XVII. p. 170, &c.) In purſuance of this agreement, Engliſh factories were placed at the Moluccaes, and at Banda, and Amboyna. This laſt iſle is the principal place in the Eaſt-Indies, where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves, and ſpice grow. Here the Engliſh had been ſettled but about two years, when the Dutch, in order to deprive them of their ſhare of the ſpice trade, pretended a plot was formed between the Engliſh and the natives, to get poſſeſſion of the Dutch fort at Amboyna. Whereupon the Engliſh were tortured by the Dutch, both with fire and water, in a moſt cruel and barbarous manner; and, on February 27, captain Gabriel Towerſon, and nine other Engliſh, with nine Japaneſe, and one Portugueſe, were ignominiouſly executed for this pretended conſpiracy, though they proteſted their innocency to the laſt. For this inſolent affront, no reparation was obtained till the year 1654, when Cromwell made the Dutch pay 300,000l. upon that account. See Relation of the Proceedings againſt the Engliſh at Amboyna, printed in 1624, and Coke, p. 141.

The

could be more proper to procure him the love of the people, moſt of the clergy having rendered themſelves odious, by their zeal in maintaining the prerogative-royal [d]. So, the juncture being very favourable, the duke cauſed the king to call a parliament, notwithſtanding his reſolution never to ſummon another; nay, ſuch was his power over the king, that he made him ſpeak to the parliament in a manner the moſt repugnant to his opinions and principles.

Mean while, the prince and the duke had contrived another project, namely, the prince's marriage with Henrietta-Maria, the king of France's ſiſter, to which his majeſty readily conſented. He was ſo proud of his grandeur, that he could not think of marrying his ſon to any but a princeſs of royal extraction, and the third daughter of Henry IV. was the only princeſs then in Europe of that character. It is very probable, the perſon ſent by the queen of Bohemia to Buckingham in Spain, made him the firſt overture of this match, and that the duke thereupon reſolved to break the marriage the prince was going to conſummate with the infanta. However this be, the king approving the project, Henry Rich, baron of Kenſington, was, on ſome pretence, ſent to France, in order to ſound the court concerning this marriage; and before his departure, he was created earl of Holland. I ſhall ſpeak preſently of the ſucceſs of this negotiation; but muſt firſt ſee what paſſed in the parliament which met the 19th of February [e]. The king made a ſpeech to both houſes ſo different from thoſe to the two former parliaments, that ſuch oppoſite expreſſions could hardly be thought to come from the mouth of the ſame prince, if it was not known how great an aſcendant Buckingham had over him, and how neceſſary it was to the favourite's deſigns that the king ſhould talk in this manner. As the ſpeech is not ſo long as the others, the reader perhaps will be glad to ſee it.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I have aſſembled you at this time, to impart to you a ſecret, and matter of as great importance, as can be to my ſtate, and the ſtate of my children; wherein I crave your beſt and ſafeſt advice and council, according as the writ whereby you were aſſembled, imports, 'That the king would adviſe with you in matters concerning his eſtate and dignity.' And as I have ever endeavoured, by this and the like ways, to procure and cheriſh the love of my people towards me, ſo I do hope, and my hope is exceeded by faith; for I fully now believe, that never any king was more beloved of his people; whom as you, my lords and gentlemen, do here repreſent, ſo would I have you truly to repreſent all their loves to me; that in you, as in a true mirror or glaſs, I may perfectly behold it, and not as in a falſe glaſs that repreſents it not at all, or otherwiſe than it is indeed. Give me your free and faithful counſels in the matter I propoſed, of which you have often heard, the match of my ſon: wherein, as you may know, I have ſpent much time with great coſt in long treaties, deſiring always therein (and not without reaſon hoping to have effected my deſires) the advancement of my ſtate and children, and the general peace of Chriſtendom, wherein I have always conſtantly laboured, depending upon fair hopes and promiſes. At the earneſt inſtance of my ſon, I was contented (although it was of an extraordinary nature) to ſend him to proſecute his deſires in Spain; and for his more ſafety, ſent Buckingham (in whom I ever repoſed moſt truſt of my perſon) with him, with this command, 'continually to be preſent with him, and never to leave him, till he had returned again ſafely unto me.' Which he performed, though not with that effect in the buſineſs that I expected, yet not altogether without profit; for it taught me this point of wiſdom, 'qui verſatur in generalibus,' is eaſily deceived, and that generality brings nothing to good iſſue; but that before any matter can be fully finiſhed, it muſt be brought to particulars: for, when, as I thought, the affair had been, before their going, produced to a narrow point, relying upon their general propoſitions, I found, when they came there, the matter proved to be ſo raw, as if it had never been treated of; the generals giving them eaſy way to invade, and affording them means to avoid the effecting of any thing [f].

"The particulars that paſſed in the treaty, I mean not now to diſcover to you, the time being too ſhort; I refer you to Charles and Buckingham, and the ſecretaries reports, who ſhall relate unto you all the particulars. And after that, 'Super totam materiam', I deſire your beſt aſſiſtance to adviſe me what is beſt and fitteſt for me to do, for the good of the commonwealth, and the advancement of religion, and the good of my ſon, and my grandchildren of the Palatinate. And of our eſtate, I know you cannot but be ſenſible, conſidering that your welfare conſiſts in ours, and you ſhall be ſure to have your ſhare in what miſery ſhall befal us: and therefore I need to urge no other arguments to you in this behalf, in offering me your wiſeſt and ſureſt counſel and furtherance. And I aſſure you in the faith of a chriſtian king, that it is 'res integra,' preſented unto you, and that I ſtand not bound, nor either way engaged, but remain free to follow what ſhall be beſt adviſed.

"To plant is not ſufficient, unleſs like good gardeners, you pluck up the weeds that will choak your labours: and the greateſt weeds among you are jealouſies; root them out. For my actions, I dare avow them before God; but jealouſies are of a ſtrange depth. I am the huſband, and you the wife, and it is ſubject to the wife to be jealous of her huſband: let this be far from you. I can truly ſay, and will avouch it before the ſeat of God and angels, that never king governed with a purer, ſincerer, and more uncorrupt heart than I have done, far from all will and meaning of the leaſt error or imperfection of my reign.

"It hath been talked of my remiſſneſs in maintenance of religion, and ſuſpicion of a toleration; but as God ſhall judge me, I never thought nor meant, nor ever in word expreſſed any thing that ſavoured of it [g]. It is true, that at times, for reaſons beſt known to myſelf, I did not ſo fully put thoſe laws in execution, but did wink and connive at ſome things, which might have hindered more weighty affairs: but I never in all my treaties ever agreed to any thing to the overthrow and diſagreeing of thoſe laws, but had in all a chief preſervation of that truth which I have ever profeſſed; and as in that reſpect I have a charitable conceit of you, I would have you have the like of me alſo, in which I did not tranſgreſs: for it is a good horſeman's part, not always to uſe his ſpurs, and keep ſtrait the reins, but ſometimes to uſe the ſpurs, and ſuffer the reins more remiſs; ſo it is the part of a wiſe king, and my age and experience in government hath informed me, ſometimes to quicken the laws with ſtreight executions, and at other times, upon juſt occaſions, to be more remiſs. And I would alſo remove from your thoughts all jealouſies, that I might or ever did queſtion or infringe any of your lawful liberties or privileges, but I proteſt before God, I ever intended you ſhould enjoy the fulneſs of all thoſe that former times give good warrant and teſtimony of, which, if need be, I will enlarge and amplify.

"Therefore I would have you, as I have in this place heretofore told you, as St. Paul did Timothy, avoid genealogies and curious queſtions, and nice querks and jerks of law, and idle innovations; and if you miniſter me no juſt occaſion, I never yet was, nor ever ſhall be curious or captious to quarrel with you; but I deſire you to avoid all doubts and hindrances, and to compoſe yourſelves ſpeedily and quietly to this weighty affair I have propoſed; for that I have found already, delays have proved dangerous, and have bred diſtraction of this buſineſs; and I would not have you by other occaſions to neglect or protract it. God is my judge, I ſpeak it as a chriſtian king, never any wayfaring man, that was in the deſerts of Arabia, and in danger of death for want of water to quench this thirſt, more deſired water, than I thirſt and deſire the good and comfortable ſucceſs of this parliament, and bleſſing of your councils, that the good iſſue of this may expiate and acquit the fruitleſs iſſue of the former. And I pray God, your counſels may advance religion, and the public weal, and the good of me and my children."

This ſpeech, like the reſt made by the king to his parliament, was liable to many cenſures which reflected on his ſincerity. It could not be conceived that he really believed he was more beloved by his people than any of his predeceſſors, ſince no king had ſo frequently quarrelled with his parliament, which ſurely is no proper way to gain the peoples affection.

[d] The duke of Buckingham propoſed alſo the ſelling the remainder of the crown-lands; but this project was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the lord-keeper Williams, and accordingly laid aſide. Hacket, p. 202.

[e] The parliament it ſeems was to meet the 12th of February, but the king that morning miſſing Lodowick Stewart duke of Richmond (created ſo May 17, in the 21ſt of James I.) and ſending in haſte for him, his ducheſs goes to his bedſide to wake him, and drawing the curtain, found him dead in his bed. Upon news whereof the king would not adorn himſelf that day, and put off the parliament till the 16th, and afterwards till the 19th. His body was interred in Henry VII.'s chapel: leaving no iſſue, his eſtate and honours deſcended to his brother Eſme Stuart. Howes, p. 1035. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 426. Wilſon.

[f] All this can relate only to the Palatinate, for the treaty of marriage was really concluded before the prince's voyage to Spain. Rapin.

[g] The archbiſhop's letter to the king, and the council's declaration to the Spaniſh embaſſadors, not to mention the marriage articles, public and private, evidently ſhew the contrary. But the king has this hole to creep out at here; that he conſidered what he had done, and what he intended to do for the catholics, only as a ſuſpenſion of the penalties, and not as a real toleration. Rapin.

The

Thoſe who were acquainted with the ſtate of affairs, thought it very ſtrange, the king ſhould tell the parliament, that at the prince's arrival in Spain, the affair was ſo raw as if it had been never treated of, ſince he had already ſigned the marriage articles, and as to the Palatinate, would not have it mentioned before the marriage was accompliſhed. The ſame perſons could not forbear wondering, he ſhould take God to witneſs, he never ſo much as thought or intended to grant a toleration to the papiſts, ſince it was one of the ſecret articles of the marriage, and ſince without being informed of ſuch an article, it was eaſy to perceive, Philip gave his ſiſter to the prince of Wales ſolely with that view. In fine, ſome malicious perſons obſerved, that when the king ſaid, he never intended to invade the peoples liberties, the ſimile might very juſtly be applied to him, which himſelf had uſed on another occaſion, of the perſon who took a man's purſe, aſſuring him he had no deſign to rob him.

A few days after the king had delivered his ſpeech, the two houſes reſolving upon a conference to examine the affair recommended by the king, the prince and Buckingham came and informed them of all particulars. After the prince had ſaid a few words, the duke of Buckingham began and made a long ſpeech, which he divided into ſix heads, under colour of more clearly explaining the affair, but in reality to confound it, and conceal the mutual coherence of the particulars he was to relate. Under the firſt head, he ſet forth the motives of the prince's journey to Spain. In the ſecond, he ſpoke of the negotiation of the marriage apart by itſelf. In the third, he joined together the two affairs of the marriage and Palatinate. In the fourth, he declared the reaſons of the prince's return. In the fifth, he informed the parliament of his majeſty's ſubſequent proceedings in the affairs of the marriage and Palatinate ſince the prince's return. In the ſixth and laſt, he ſtated the queſtion, wherein both houſes were to offer to his majeſty their advice and council. Whilſt he was ſpeaking, he turned, at the end of every point, to the prince, aſking him whether what he was ſaying was not true, to which the prince did not fail to anſwer, "Yes, it is true," or to the like effect. The intent of this whole ſpeech was to ſhew, the king had been unadviſedly engaged in the treaty of the marriage by the falſe hopes given him by the earl of Briſtol: that the court of Spain never intended the marriage, much leſs the reſtitution of the Palatinate, though the earl of Briſtol aſſured the contrary: that the prince had been ill uſed in Spain, and much preſſed to turn catholic: in a word, he intimated that the earl of Briſtol was only to blame, who had abuſed his majeſty's confidence. Nothing is more eaſy than to accuſe an abſent perſon. It is only concealing what makes for him, giving an ill turn to his moſt innocent actions, aggravating his faults he may have committed, and loading him with crimes he is not guilty of. This is preciſely what the duke of Buckingham did in reſpect to the earl of Briſtol, with the prince's approbation and aid. This is ſo true, that two years after, the prince being in the throne, and having himſelf accuſed the earl of high-treaſon, the earl in his defence to the parliament, gave a quite different narrative of the Spaniſh negotiation from that of the duke of Buckingham. He proved what he ſaid by unexceptionable papers, and defied the duke to anſwer them. He not only affirmed, that the duke's whole narration was falſe, but alſo impeached him in form, and gave in his impeachment to the houſe of lords, which remained unanſwered. This is ſufficient to ſhew the falſeneſs of the duke of Buckingham's narrative. So I think it needleſs to enlarge any more upon the ſubject [h].

The duke of Buckingham's ſpeech was received however with applauſe, for ſeveral reaſons: Firſt, he had made a party in the two houſes. Secondly, he had prevented the conſummation of the marriage in Spain, which was very grateful to the nation and parliament. In the third place, he had brought home the prince, contrary to all expectation, and ſo removed the juſt fears of the Engliſh. Finally, the duke of Buckingham's narrative being atteſted by the prince himſelf, it could not be thought falſe. As the public was not informed of the ſecret circumſtances of the negotiation, it is no wonder the parliament ſhould believe what they were told by the king, prince, and duke. But afterwards, when all was diſcovered, people were of another ſentiment.

The Spaniſh embaſſador being informed of what paſſed at the conference between the two houſes, demanded an audience of the king, and boldly complained, that the duke had reflected on the king of Spain's honour [i]. Adding, if a ſubject of his maſter had ſpoken thus of the king of England, it would coſt him his head. Probably, the embaſſador had been miſinformed, ſince the duke had not uſed any offenſive expreſſions againſt the king of Spain. He had only inſinuated, that Philip's intention was always to amuſe the king and the prince. As the duke of Buckingham was now the parliament's favourite, as well as the king's and prince's, both houſes openly took his part, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, declaring, the duke had ſaid nothing which could give offence to the king of Spain, and thanked the duke for his faithful relation atteſted by the prince. The king was ſo pleaſed with this addreſs, that he went and thanked the two houſes in a ſpeech, where he forgot not to proclaim the praiſes of his favourite. He ſaid, he could not doubt the truth of his narrative, becauſe he made the ſame to himſelf at his return from Spain. But the king muſt have been wilfully blind not to ſee the falſeneſs of the duke's narrative, or been ſtrangely kept under by the favourite, if he was made to atteſt before the parliament what he knew to be falſe.

The parliament was extremely pleaſed to ſee the king diſpoſed to break the Spaniſh match, not knowing, or feigning not to know, it was really broken, by the affront put upon the king of Spain. But the king having affirmed, it was yet Res integra, the two houſes could not ſay otherwiſe. So forgetting all former occaſions of diſcontent, and applying themſelves wholly to the affair propoſed by the king, they jointly preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, to adviſe him to diſcontinue the treaty begun with Spain, as well for the reſtitution of the Palatinate as for the marriage. They grounded their advice upon four principal reaſons: the firſt was, that in the beginning of the treaty, the Spaniards inſiſted only upon liberty of conſcience to the infanta and her family, with the free exerciſe of religion. But that afterwards, taking advantage of the prince's being in their power, they importuned a general toleration, contrary to the uſage of other catholic princes in the like treaties. That beſides, the popiſh faction had increaſed to ſuch a degree, during the negotiation, that there was no way to ſuppreſs them as long as the treaty continued.

The ſecond reaſon was, that, during the treaty, the proteſtant party in Germany was oppreſſed, and the Palatinate invaded: that the Spaniards had deluded the king, and offered indignity to the prince, by importuning him to change his religion, contrary to the law of hoſpitality and the privilege of princes.

The third was grounded upon the inſincerity of the Spaniards, as well in the former overture of marriage for the late prince Henry as in this; upon the ſcornful propoſition made to the king, of the prince's turning catholic; and upon the deceit uſed in the treaty of Bruſſels, the ſole end whereof was to cauſe Heidelberg to be taken.

Laſtly, the parliament added as a fourth reaſon, the tranſlation of the electorate to the duke of Bavaria; the king of Spain's letter to Condé Olivarez, with the Condé's anſwer, which plainly imported, that the Spaniards never intended to accompliſh the marriage; the ſhift deviſed by a junto of divines, to ſend home the prince without the lady.

All theſe reaſons were ſo many indirect reproaches to the king for ſuffering himſelf to be ſo long amuſed. But his majeſty, feigning not to perceive it, came to the parliament, and made a ſpeech to ſhew he could not break off the treaties, without knowing how to maintain the war which would unavoidably follow, ſince the Palatinate was to be recovered by arms. He declared therefore, if they thought proper to engage in a war with Spain, he would readily conſent the ſupply to be granted ſhould be managed by commiſſioners appointed by the parliament. Moreover he promiſed the two houſes, he would not make peace without their advice. He concluded with ſaying, "I am ſo deſirous to forget all rents in former parliaments, that it ſhall not be my default, if I am not in love with parliaments, and call them often, and deſire to end my life in that entercourſe between me and my people, for the making of good laws, reforming of ſuch abuſes as I cannot be well informed of but in parliament, and maintaining the good government of the commonwealth."

How different is this ſpeech from thoſe the king made to the former parliament! But the king's thoughts are not ſo viſible in theſe expreſſions as the duke of Buckingham's policy, who, after breaking the prince's marriage, had a mind to puſh his point, and proclaim war with Spain. To ſucceed, a parliament muſt be called, and to gain their affection, the king muſt talk after this manner.

Some days after, the commons preſented an addreſs to the king, offering to grant him three entire ſubſidies, and three fifteenths, upon his public declaration for diſſolving the treaties of the marriage and the Palatinate. But they took him at his word, concerning his offer that the money ſhould be diſ-

[h] The duke's whole narration and Briſtol's defence will be inſerted in ſome future part of this Hiſtory.

[i] And demanded his head for ſatisfaction. Ruſhworth, tom. I. 126.

The

poſed of by commiſſioners of their own chuſing. The king thanked them for their affectionate expreſſions, and told them, he was reſolved for the future ſolely to confide in his parliament. After which, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the court of Spain, with his laſt reſolution to break off the treaty. But upon notice that a ſharp petition againſt the popiſh recuſants, framed by the commons, was going to be preſented to him, he wrote the following letter, with his own hand, to ſecretary Conway.

" I Doubt not but you have heard what a ſtinging petition againſt the papiſts the lower-houſe have ſent to the higher-houſe this day, that they may jointly preſent it unto me. You know my firm reſolution, not to make this a war of religion; and ſeeing I would be loth to be conycatched by my people, I pray you ſtay the poſt that is going to Spain, till I meet with my ſon, who will be here to-morrow morning: do it upon pretext of ſome more letters you are to ſend him; and if he ſhould be gone, haſten after him to ſtay him upon ſome pretext; and let none living know of this, as you love me. And before two in the afternoon to-morrow, you ſhall without fail hear from me. Farewel."

Probably the king imagined, the parliament in this petition would have demanded things he had no intention to grant: and therefore, for fear of being forced to diſſolve the parliament, he would not haſten the rupture with Spain. But afterwards, being told the petition [k] contained nothing of what he dreaded, he ſuffered the meſſenger to depart. As ſoon as the people knew the breach with Spain was reſolved, the whole city of London ſhone with bonfires, which denoted the public diſlike of the Spaniſh match, and the danger to which religion had been expoſed. It was not yet known, that another and no leſs dangerous marriage was now treating in France.

The petition, preſented to his majeſty by both houſes, contained the ſeven following articles:

" I. That all jeſuits and ſeminary prieſts may be commanded forthwith to depart out of the realm, and not to return or come hither again, upon peril of the ſevereſt penalty of the laws now in force againſt them.

" II. That his majeſty would be pleaſed to give charge to the juſtices of the peace, that they take from all popiſh recuſants all ſuch armour, gun-powder and munition of any kind, as any of them have.

" III. That all popiſh recuſants be commanded forthwith to retire themſelves from or about London, to their ſeveral dwellings, or places by the laws appointed, and there to remain confined within five miles of their dwelling places: and for that purpoſe to diſcharge all bye-paſt licences granted unto them; and that they preſume not at any time hereafter to repair to London, or within ten miles of London, or to the king's court, or to the prince's court whereſoever.

" IV. That his majeſty would forbid and reſtrain the great reſort of his own ſubjects, for the hearing of maſs, to the houſes of foreign embaſſadors.

" V. That his majeſty would be pleaſed to diſcharge popiſh recuſants from thoſe places of truſt [as lords lieutenants, juſtices of peace, &c.] by which they have that power in the country where they live, as is not fit to be put into the hands of perſons ſo affected.

" VI. That his majeſty would be pleaſed generally to put the laws in due execution againſt popiſh recuſants; and that all his judges, juſtices, &c. may be commanded to do their duty therein.

" VII. That ſeeing they were happily delivered from that danger which the treaties with Spain would certainly have drawn upon England, his majeſty would be pleaſed to engage his royal word, that upon no occaſion of marriage or treaty, or other requeſt in that behalf from any foreign prince or ſtates whatſoever, he will take off, or ſlacken the execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants [l]".

To which petition his majeſty returned this anſwer.

" My lords and gentlemen of both houſes,

" I cannot but commend your zeal in offering this petition to me; yet on the other ſide, I cannot but hold myſelf unfortunate, that I ſhould be thought to need a ſpur to do that which my conſcience and duty binds me unto. What religion I am of, my books do declare, my profeſſion and behaviour doth ſhew; and I hope in God I ſhall never live to be thought otherwiſe; ſurely I ſhall never deſerve it; and for my part, I wiſh it may be written in marble, and remain to poſterity as a mark upon me, when I ſhall ſwerve from my religion; for he that doth diſſemble with God, is not to be truſted with men.

" My lords, for my part I proteſt before God, that my heart hath bled when I have heard of the encreaſe of popery; God is my judge, it hath been ſuch a great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my ſides; and ſo far have I been, and ſhall be from turning another way. And, my lords and gentlemen, you ſhall be my confeſſors, that one way or other it hath been my deſire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not be an honeſt man if I ſhould have done otherwiſe. And this I may ſay further, that if I be not a martyr, I am ſure I am a confeſſor; and in ſome ſenſe I may be called a martyr, as in the ſcripture Iſaac was perſecuted by Iſhmael by mocking words; for never king ſuffered more ill tongues than I have done, and I am ſure for no cauſe; yet I have been far from perſecution; for I have ever thought that no way more encreaſed any religion than perſecution, according to that ſaying, 'Sanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiæ.'

" Now, my lords and gentlemen, for your petition, I will not only grant the ſubſtance of what you crave, but add ſomewhat more of my own: for the two treaties being already annulled (as I have declared them to be), it neceſſarily follows of itſelf, that which you deſire, and therefore it needs no more; but that I do declare by proclamation (which I am ready to do), that all jeſuits and prieſts do depart by a day; but it cannot be as you deſire by our proclamation, to be out of all my dominions; for a proclamation here extends but to this kingdom.

" This I will do and more; I will command all my judges when they go their circuits to keep the ſame courſes, for putting all the laws in execution againſt recuſants, as they were wont to do before theſe treaties; for the laws are ſtill in force, and were never diſpenſed with by me: God is my judge, they were never ſo intended by me; but as I told you in the beginning of the parliament, you muſt give me leave, as a good horſeman, ſometimes to uſe the reins, and not always to uſe the ſpurs: ſo now there needs nothing but my declaration for the diſarming of them; that is ready done by the laws, and ſhall be done as you deſired: and more, I will take order for the ſhameful diſorder of the reſorting of my ſubjects to all foreign embaſſadors; for this I will adviſe with my council how it may be beſt reformed. It is true, that the houſes of embaſſadors are privileged places; and though they cannot take them out of their houſes; yet the lord-mayor, and Mr. recorder of London, may take ſome of them as they come from thence, and make them examples. Another point I will add concerning the education of their children, of which I have had a principal care, as the lord of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, and other lords of my council can bear me witneſs, with whom I have adviſed about this buſineſs; for in good faith it is a ſhame, their children ſhould be bred here as if they were at Rome. So I do grant not only your deſire, but more. I am ſorry I was not the firſt mover of it to you, but had you not done it, I would have done it myſelf.

" Now for the ſecond part of your petition, you have here given me the beſt advice in the world; for it is againſt the rule of wiſdom, that a king ſhould ſuffer any of his ſubjects to tranſgreſs the laws, by the interceſſion of other princes; and therefore aſſure yourſelves, that (by the grace of God) I will be careful that no ſuch conditions be foiſted in upon any other treaty whatſoever; for it is fit my ſubjects ſhould ſtand and fall to their own laws."

What a happy harmony is here between the king and his parliament! Nothing can be more affable, more obliging than this anſwer, and the free and eaſy manner wherewith he came into the meaſures of the two houſes. To render their happineſs complete, nothing was wanting but the performance of the king's promiſes, which, how carefully he obſerved, will preſently appear.

The king had artfully avoided to anſwer the two principal articles of the petition, namely, the IIId and Vth, where the parliament required, that all papiſts ſhould be removed from London and the court, and diſcharged from all places of truſt. Had he conſented to theſe two requeſts, the face of the court would have been entirely changed. The duke of Buckingham's mother, who, by her ſon's means, diſpoſed of all offices, muſt have been removed. His ducheſs would

[k] The ſtinging petition, which was framed by the commons, and ſent to the lords, was afterwards reduced to another form, and preſented to the king. This which follows here, ſeems to be an extract of the firſt before it was reduced, the other being reduced to two petitions. See Wilſon, p. 784.

[l] This petition, after it was reduced to another form, and ſo preſented to his majeſty, conſiſted only of two articles, which were much the ſame with the three firſt and the laſt of theſe.

alſo have been of the number, as well as one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, with many others who had conſiderable places at court, and in the country [m]. The king's ſilence on this head, cauſed the parliament to draw a liſt of fifty-ſeven popiſh lords and knights, who were in public offices, and preſent it to the king. But it does not appear that he took much notice of it. As it nearly concerned the duke of Buckingham, very probably he hindered the king from giving the parliament any ſatisfacton in this point, and the houſes did not much inſiſt upon it, that they might not too openly offend a lord, whoſe credit was ſo great both with the king and the prince.

But though no Engliſhman dared to attack the favourite directly, a foreigner however undertook to ruin him in the king's favour, namely, the marquis of Inoioſa the Spaniſh embaſſador, who being enraged at the unworthy manner of the duke's breaking off the marriage, burned with deſire to revenge the king his maſter and the infanta. One day, as the king had few about him, he took an opportunity to give him a paper, with a wink to conceal it. The king put it into his pocket, and withdrew to his cloſet to read it. He was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the following particulars.

"I. That he was kept from all faithful ſervants, that would inform him, by the miniſters of the prince and duke, and was a priſoner as much as king John of France in England, or king Francis at Madrid, and could not be ſpoken with, but before ſuch as watched him.

"II. That there was a ſtrong and violent machination in hand, which had turned the prince, a moſt obedient ſon, to a quite contrary courſe to his majeſty's intentions.

"III. That the counſel began laſt ſummer at Madrid, but was lately reſolved on in England, to reſtrain his majeſty from the exerciſe of the government of his kingdoms; and that the prince and duke had deſigned ſuch commiſſioners under themſelves, as ſhould intend great affairs, and the public good.

"IV. That it ſhould be effected by beginning of a war, and keeping ſome companies of foot in this land, whereby to conſtrain his majeſty to yield to any thing, chiefly being brought into ſtraits for want of monies to pay the ſoldiers.

V. That the prince and duke's encloſing his majeſty from the ſaid embaſſadors, and others of his own loyal people, that they might not come near him in private, did argue in them a fear and diſtruſt of a good conſcience.

"VI. That the emiſſaries of the duke had brought his majeſty into contempt with the potent men of this realm, traducing him for ſlothful and unactive, for addiction to an inglorious peace, while the inheritance of his daughter and her children is in the hands of his foes; and this appeared by a letter which the duke had wrote into Holland, and they had intercepted.

"VII. That his majeſty's honour, nay his crown and ſafety, did depend upon a ſudden diſſolution of the parliament.

"VIII. They loaded the duke with ſundry miſdemeanors in Spain, and his violent oppoſition to the match.

"IX. That the duke had divulged the king's ſecrets, and the cloſe deſigns between his majeſty and their maſter king Philip, about the ſtates of Holland, and their provinces, and laboured to put his majeſty out of the good opinion of the Hollanders.

"X. That the duke was guilty of moſt corrupt dealing with the embaſſadors of divers princes.

"XI. That all theſe things were carried on in the parliament with an head-ſtrong violence, and that the duke was the cauſe of it, who courted them only that were of troubled humours.

"XII. That ſuch bitterneſs and ignominies were vented in parliament againſt the king of Spain, as were againſt all good manners and honour of the Engliſh nation.

"XIII. That the puritans (of whom the duke was head) did wiſh they could bring it about, that the ſucceſſion of the kingdom might come to the prince Palatine and his children, in right of the lady Elizabeth."

In a poſtſcript, the paper prayed the king, That the ſecretary to the marquis Inoioſa, might be brought to the king, when the prince and the duke were ſitting in the lords houſe, to ſatisfy ſuch doubts as the king might raiſe.

The king talked with the ſecretary, and diſcourſed likewiſe in private with Padre Maeſtro, a Spaniſh jeſuit. It is not known what theſe men told him [n]; but the king was perceived, after theſe converſations, to grow very melancholy, and his temper to be entirely altered. He affected, in ſpeaking to the prince and duke, to uſe broken and myſterious expreſſions, which ſhewed that ſomething lay heavy upon his mind [o]. At laſt, the king going one day to Windſor, and taking coach at St. James's, ordered the duke [p], on ſome ſlight pretence, to ſtay behind. Then the duke no longer doubting his diſgrace, beſought him for God's ſake, to tell him what was laid to his charge. The king only anſwered, he was the unhappieſt man alive, to be forſaken of thoſe who were moſt dear to him [q], and taking the prince his ſon with him, left Buckingham at London. The duke retired to his own houſe, overwhelmed with grief, and thinking himſelf irrecoverably ruined. But by the advice of the lord-keeper Williams, he went immediately to Windſor, where he found means to remove the king's ſuſpicions. At leaſt, the king feigned to be cured of them. But the earl of Clarendon confirms in his hiſtory, what is aſſured by others, that the duke had entirely loſt the king's favour. Mean while, James was naturally ſo timerous, that, inſtead of freeing himſelf from a favourite, whom he might eaſily have diſcarded, he gave himſelf up more to him, ſo apprehenſive was he of his union with the prince. He impatiently expected the earl of Briſtol's arrival, to uſe his advice; but means were found to prevent him from declaring his mind to him, and even of ſpeaking to him.

Before the parliament broke up, the king received a freſh mortification from the prince and duke. Whilſt they were in Spain, Lionel Cranfield, lord treaſurer, lately created earl of Middleſex, having the courage to refuſe them ſometimes the exorbitant ſums they demanded, they reſolved to ruin him at their return. They made uſe for that purpoſe of their credit with the parliament, and cauſed him to be accuſed by their creatures, of miſmanagement in the diſcharge of his office. The king knowing this came from them, deſired them for God's ſake, to uſe their intereſt with the two houſes to drop the impeachment; but they remained inflexible and unmoved at the king's intreaties. So the lord treaſurer was condemned in a fine of fifty thouſand pounds, and declared incapable of ever ſitting in the houſe of peers. All the hiſtorians agree, he did not deſerve ſo rigorous a treatment. But the duke, who had raiſed him from the duſt, had a mind to ſhew he was powerful enough to reduce him to his primitive ſtate, for an example to all who ſhould dare to reſiſt him. After this, it muſt not be thought ſtrange, if the king, when he ſpoke to this parliament, appeared ſo different from what he was with reſpect to the two former. Not that he had changed his ſentiments and maxims, but he durſt not do any thing without the direction of the prince and the duke, who had formed projects to which a parliament was neceſſary. The earl of Clarendon affirms, the king was extremely ſurpriſed in the beginning of this parliament, when he was informed of the contents of the duke of Buckingham's narration, concerning the treaty of marriage: a narration, ſays that famous hiſtorian, which, for the moſt part, the king knew to be untrue. Mean while, he had the weakneſs, as I ſaid, to atteſt the truth of it, and to aſſure, the duke had ſaid the ſame things to him. There cannot be a clearer evidence of his ſubjection to the prince and favourite.

Here is alſo another remarkable proof of the king's weakneſs or fears. He ſaw no remedy but in the earl of Briſtol's counſels, whoſe return he impatiently expected. And yet, no ſooner was the earl arrived in England, but the king was conſtrained to ſend him expreſs orders at Dover, not to come to court, but remain at his own houſe till he had anſwered certain queſtions, which ſhould be put to him by ſome of the council. The parliament being prorogued ſhortly after, the earl frequently wrote to the king, to deſire he might be examined. The king wiſhed it; but it was not the prince's or Buckingham's intereſt, who ſtill found freſh excuſes to defer the examination. The earl was however examined at laſt, after much ſollicitation, and returned ſuch anſwers, that his examiners could not help declaring, his conduct was un-

[m] This obſervation is built upon our author's miſtake, in imagining the petition, containing the ſeven articles, was preſented to the king; whereas it was new modelled, and the IIId and Vth articles left out. So it is no wonder the king ſhould not take notice of them in his ſpeech. The petition, as is was preſented to the king, is to be ſeen in Wilſon, p. 784.

[n] Weldon ſays, Maeſtro had learned under confeſſion, that the king was by Buckingham, or his procurement, to be killed; but whether by poiſon, piſtol, or dagger, he could not tell, p. 153. Whereupon the king told Buckingham at the next interview, "Ah Steiny, Steiny, wilt thou kill me?" The duke, aſtoniſhed at this expreſſion, endeavoured with the ſtrongeſt proteſtations to juſtify his integrity, which the king readily believed. Wilſ. p. 783.

[o] The king required of them particular proofs; but all their anſwers conſiſted of arguments againſt declaring the names of the conſpirators; whereupon the king's privy-council, and others of the principal men of the nation, were examined upon oath; but nothing was diſcovered. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 144.

[p] As he was putting his foot in the coach, which drew tears from him. See Hacket, p. 196.

[q] This the king uttered with tears in his eyes, which was received in the ſame manner by the prince and duke. Ibid. 197.

It

blameable. But this could not procure him his liberty or admittance into the king's preſence. Some time after, the duke ſent him word, he was much miſtaken, if he imagined his anſwers were ſatisfactory to the king, the prince, or to him the duke; but his only way to come into favour again, was to make the confeſſion he had ſent him. The earl refuſed it, and the king told Buckingham, it was horrible tyranny to make an innocent perſon confeſs faults, of which he was not guilty. Notwithſtanding all this, it was not in his power to ſpeak with the earl, becauſe the prince and duke did not think it proper.

The parliament being prorogued [r], it was neceſſary to think of the war. The aid granted the king was very conſiderable [s]. It was computed that with this money he might ſend twenty-five thouſand men into the Palatinate, under the command of an Engliſh general. But the court had already taken other meaſures. Six thouſand men only were ſent into Holland [t] to ſerve in the army of the ſtates, under the command of the prince of Orange, and other troops were levied for count Mansfeldt, who was, during the winter, to open himſelf a paſſage into the Palatinate.

Mean while, Henry Rich, earl of Holland, who had been diſpatched into France, having ſent word that Lewis XIII. was inclined to liſten to the overture of a marriage between the prince of Wales and his ſiſter the princeſs Henrietta Maria, the king appointed James Hay earl of Carliſle, to negotiate the affair jointly with him. The two embaſſadors repairing to Compeigne, where the court of France was, commiſſioners were nominated to treat with them, of whom the marquis de la Vieuville, ſuperintendant of the finances, was the firſt. The conferences began a few days after the prorogation of the parliament, when the king, according to his promiſe, was putting the laws in execution againſt popiſh recuſants, particularly againſt friers and prieſts, ſome of whom were thrown into priſon.

This ſeverity cauſed the catholics to exclaim, who expected a very different treatment a few months before. They could not forbear complaining, that whereas the negotiation of the Spaniſh match had procured them great eaſe, this with France ſeemed on the contrary to ſerve only to increaſe their miſeries. Several wrote to France in that ſtrain, intimating they had nothing to truſt to but the piety, zeal, and protection of Lewis. Among others, a Scotch Franciſcan wrote upon the ſubject to Hugo archbiſhop of Ambrun, who had been general of the order, and to whom he was known. The archbiſhop ſhewed the letter to the king, and aggravated the ſufferings of the Engliſh catholics, who expected relief only from his interceſſion. The king of France had already done his utmoſt to pacify the Engliſh catholics, aſſuring them by Tilliers his embaſſador at London, that he would not forget them. But their repeated complaints obliged him at length to take ſome ſtep in their favour, and the rather, as he was afraid, they would obſtruct the pope's diſpenſation, which would ſoon be wanted. He reſolved therefore to ſend to James a ſecret agent to intercede for the catholics, and choſe for that purpoſe the archbiſhop of Ambrun, who came to London in diſguiſe, and paſſed for a counſellor of the parliament of Grenoble. At his arrival he waited upon Buckingham, who ſeemed very much inclined to countenance his negotiation. The counteſs of Buckingham, the duke's mother, the earl of Rutland, and ſome other catholics, did the archbiſhop great ſervices, and acquainted him with many things neceſſary to be known, in order to ſucceed in his deſigns. The king being informed that the archbiſhop deſired to ſpeak with him, ſent for him to Royſton, where he then was, confined to his bed with the gout. The archbiſhop's firſt conference with the king was followed by the releaſe of ſeveral popiſh recuſants, impriſoned ſince the parliament's petition. Moreover the king gave the archbiſhop leave to adminiſter confirmation in the French embaſſador's houſe, to all that ſhould apply for it. This was done in ſo public a manner, that not only the houſe, but the ſtreet itſelf, was crowded with people. If the archbiſhop's own narrative may be credited, he confirmed above ten thouſand perſons, which ſeems to be a little exaggerated. However, the number muſt have been great, ſince the magiſtrates of London complained of it to the king, who owned it was done with his leave. And yet he had very lately told the parliament, it was a ſhame to ſuffer ſuch crowds of papiſts at embaſſadors houſes.

From that time, the king had ſeveral conferences with this prelate; and one day as he was expreſſing his earneſt deſire to live in ſtrict union with the king of France, the archbiſhop took occaſion to tell him, that one of the beſt means to that end, was to grant a full toleration to the catholics. Whereupon the king ſqeezing him by the hand, ſaid theſe words to him: "I perceive you are the man ſent me from God, to whom I may freely open my mind." Adding, "He had always a good opinion of the catholic religion, and for it had often been in danger of aſſaſſination during his minority: He intended to grant a full toleration to the catholics; and in order to ſucceed, meant to cauſe an aſſembly of divines, as well foreign as Engliſh, to be held, and therein to be decided, that it was neceſſary to grant an univerſal liberty of conſcience; and he had already caſt his eyes on the Engliſh divines to be ſent thither: If the aſſembly could not be held at Dover, he would agree it ſhould be at Boulogne, as ſoon as his ſon's marriage ſecured him the aſſiſtance of France: He thought proper that the archbiſhop ſhould now return to France, under colour of waiting on the princeſs, and he would ſend him two letters under his own hand, one for the pope, the other for the king of France, wherein his project ſhould be more fully explained: He would alſo give him a memorial on the ſame ſubject, that being armed with theſe two papers, he might go and negotiate at Rome with the pope, for whom he had a very great reſpect, being obliged to him for a copy of verſes he had formerly, when cardinal, made upon the queen his mother and the houſe of Stewart." At the ſame time he ſhewed the verſes to the archbiſhop, and then ſaid, "If he returned from Rome with the pope's approbation, concerning the aſſembly, it ſhould be immediately held, and he did not queſtion, it would be very advantageous to the catholic religion. In the mean time, he intended to negotiate with the proteſtant princes of Germany, and endeavour to gain ſome of the chief puritan lords in England and Scotland."

On ſuppoſition of the truth of this extract from the archbiſhop of Ambrun's narrative, at the end of Deageant's Memoirs, all that can be inferred from it is, that James had formed a chimerical project of a mutual toleration throughout Chriſtendom, and thought himſelf qualified to effect it, with the aſſiſtance of France. But Deageant ſays ſomething more. He affirms, James wrote a letter to the pope, and ſent it by an Engliſh Roman catholic gentleman. In this letter, according to that author, "He owns the pope for Chriſt's vicar upon earth, and head of the church univerſal. He aſſures him, he intends to declare himſelf a catholic, as ſoon as he has provided againſt ſome inconveniences which he foreſees his declaration may cauſe. He promiſes, the prieſts ſhall not be diſturbed who are ſent into England by his holineſs or the king of France, unleſs they are jeſuits. Moreover, deſires the pope not to think of cauſing to be reſtored to the church, the abbey-lands granted or ſold to the principal families in the kingdom, for fear of ruining the whole project. He ſays farther, nothing hinders him from openly profeſſing the catholic religion, but his hopes of gaining firſt his brother-in-law the king of Denmark, to whom he had ſent to deſire him, on ſome other pretence to come to England. And when they two ſhall be cloſely united in the ſame deſign, he does not doubt but they ſhall prevail upon moſt of the other proteſtant princes."

Deageant aſſures, no body knew of this letter but Buckingham and the bearer: however, he does not ſay how he himſelf came to know the contents. To ſpeak the truth, I can hardly believe, James really intended to declare himſelf a catholic; or if he did intend it, would write ſuch a letter to the pope, in his preſent circumſtances. In ſhort, I think it very unlikely this letter ſhould fall into Deageant's hands. So I ſuſpect, this author's relation was only communicated to him by ſome Engliſh catholic, on whoſe teſtimonies whether we may rely, cannot be known.

The archbiſhop of Ambrun's narrative is much more probable; firſt, Becauſe that prelate relates only what he had himſelf from the king's own mouth: ſecondly, Becauſe he ſays nothing but what is agreeable to that prince's conduct through the whole courſe of his life. His religious notions were very particular, and not embraced by the proteſtants.

[r] It was prorogued on May 20, to November 2. Journ. Par.

[s] It was three entire ſubſidies, and three fifteenths and tenths from the laity; and four entire ſubſidies from the clergy. Of the laity's aid, eight citizens of London were appointed to be treaſurers, and ten other perſons to be of his majeſty's counſel for the war; without whoſe warrant no money was to be iſſued out by the treaſurers, nor upon any other account, but for the war: and both were to be accountable to the commons in parliament. See Rotul. Parl. and Statut. 21 Jac. c. 34.—The acts made in this parliament were theſe: 1. One concerning monopolies, and diſpenſations with penal laws, and the forfeitures thereof. 2. For the better repreſſing of drunkenneſs, and inordinate haunting of inns, alehouſes, &c. 3. That not above eight pounds per cent. intereſt ſhall be given for money. 4. For the relief of creditors againſt bankrupts. 5. That prophane ſwearers and curſers ſhall pay twelvepence for every oath, to the uſe of the poor. 6. For making the river Thames navigable as far as Oxford. The reſt being too long to be inſerted here, may be ſeen in the Statute-Book.

[t] Their commanders were Henry de Vere earl of Oxford, Henry Wriotheſly earl of Southampton, Robert Devreux earl of Eſſex, and Robert Bertie lord Willoughby. Wilſon, p. 787.

He

He believed that difference of opinion, with reſpect to the doctrines of tranſubſtantiation, invocation of ſaints, and the other tenets which diſtinguiſhed the two religions, and were by him conſidered as ſchool-queſtions, were not ſufficient to juſtify a ſchiſm. Conſequently, the Roman and proteſtant churches were one and the ſame church; from whence he inferred, it was incumbent upon all Chriſtians mutually to ſupport one another, and live like brethren. It followed equally from this principle, that the proteſtants ought not to perſecute or moleſt the catholics, nor the catholics the proteſtants. He obſerved this rule himſelf very punctually, but without any juſt foundation that the catholic princes would follow the ſame maxim. So the ſcheme of an univerſal toleration, which he meant to eſtabliſh among all Chriſtians, was properly but a chimera, ſince he had not ſufficient authority to make all the world come into his meaſures. Mean while, as his maxims obliged him to look upon the catholics with a different eye from what other proteſtants did, it is no wonder that he paſſed, with the proteſtants and papiſts themſelves, for a prince well affected to the catholic religion. And indeed, ſo far was he from having any averſion to that religion, that he conſidered the church of Rome as the mother-church, from whence the proteſtant church was ſprung, and doubtleſs, had it been in his power to unite them, he would have given the preference to the firſt, leaving every one free to believe what he pleaſed concerning the doctrines. There was but one thing that embarraſſed him, namely, the exorbitant power aſcribed to the pope, and the damnable maxim of the lawfulneſs of murdering kings on account of religion. To free himſelf from this embarraſſment, he endeavoured to deceive himſelf, by imagining, there were but very few catholics who were poſſeſſed with the pope's unlimited power, and that the king-killing doctrine was peculiar to the jeſuits. On the other hand, puritaniſm in the proteſtant religion was ſo odious to him, that, probably, he would, if he could, have excluded the puritans from the general toleration he was willing to grant all other Chriſtians. King James had the misfortune to govern himſelf by general maxims, without conſidering, ſuch maxims could not be always adapted to particular caſes. His notions concerning religion were of the ſame nature with his opinions about monarchy, the general principles whereof he applied to the government of England, contrary to the particular conſtitution of that kingdom.

Whilſt the archbiſhop of Ambrun was in England, the negotiation of the marriage was continued in France, between the Engliſh embaſſadors and the French commiſſioners. The Engliſh propoſed at firſt the continuation of the treaty, formerly begun for prince Henry's marriage with the princeſs Chriſtina, who eſpouſed the duke of Savoy. But this motion was rejected by the French commiſſioners; firſt, Becauſe that negotiation was properly but juſt ſet on foot; ſecondly, Becauſe France would not be contented with leſs than was offered by the king of England, for the prince of Wales's marriage with the infanta of Spain. So the French commiſſioners demanded in their turn, that the articles concerning religion granted to Spain, ſhould ſerve for foundation to the preſent treaty. The embaſſadors expected this demand, and by their private inſtructions knew how to proceed, but pretended, they could not grant what was demanded, without freſh orders. They ſent therefore a courier to London, but the court of France knew it was not upon that account, ſo they were preſſed the more earneſtly to declare what they would grant with reſpect to religion. At laſt, after ſome ſollicitation, they offered the articles agreed upon with Spain, except four, namely, liberty of conſcience to the catholics; a church in London; the education of the children by the queen till ten years old; a biſhop with eccleſiaſtical authority over the princeſs's family. Theſe four articles were much debated, and at length, the embaſſadors yielded the two laſt. But for the two firſt, they ſaid, they could not abſolutely grant them, becauſe of the king's ſolemn promiſe to the parliament. This reaſon appeared ſo ſtrong to the French commiſſioners, that they thought it fruitleſs to inſiſt any more upon theſe two articles. The portion was ſettled without much trouble. The king of France offered eight hundred thouſand crowns, on condition the prince aſſigned a jointure of ſixty thouſand crowns a year; which offer, with the condition, was accepted. So, in all appearance, the affair was to be ended in a very ſhort ſpace, but two things retarded the concluſion.

In the firſt place, the pope did not approve of the marriage, becauſe, hearing that the Engliſh embaſſadors had propoſed a league to the king of France, he was afraid, the deſign of it might be to diſpoſſeſs the duke of Bavaria of the Palatinate and electoral dignity. For which reaſon he endeavoured at firſt to diſſuade Lewis XIII. from giving his ſiſter to an heretical prince. But finding Lewis did not much regard his arguments, he declared he would not grant a diſpenſation, unleſs the marriage was made upon the ſame terms as were granted to Spain. Whereupon the king of France reſolved to ſend father Berulle, general of the fathers of the oratory, to ſollicit the diſpenſation. His inſtructions, ſigned the 31ſt of July, imported among other things, "That by the articles already agreed on, the princeſs, as well as all her domeſtics, were very ſecure as to religion: ſhe had a biſhop, with twenty-eight prieſts, or monks; and a chapel in every place where ſhe ſhall reſide; ſhe was to educate her children till the age of thirteen years, whereas in the Spaniſh articles, the time was fixed to ten years. In fine, ſhe was well inſtructed and very firm in the faith: and inſtead of having any thing to fear for her, it was to be hoped, conſidering how well-inclined the king of England was to be a catholic, ſhe would convert him as well as the prince her ſpouſe, after the example of Bertha of France, who made a convert of king Ethelbert."

The marquis de la Vieuville's diſgrace, which happened at this time, was the other cauſe of the delay of this affair, and ſtopped father Berulle, who was about to depart. Cardinal Richelieu, who was commiſſioned to treat with the Engliſh embaſſadors, in the room of the diſgraced ſuperintendant, pretended, that la Vieuville had acted without orders, or at leaſt without the approbation of the king or council. James being informed of this new obſtacle, believed the court of France uſed this pretence to break off the treaty, and made great complaints to the marquis d'Effiat, who was lately come to his court in the place of Tilliers. But cardinal Richelieu was far from breaking off a negotiation ſo advantageous to France upon many accounts. So, contenting himſelf with diſparaging la Vieuville by this accuſation, he renewed the treaty.

The late change in the miniſtry inſpired the nuntio with freſh hopes. He repreſented to the cardinal, that his own and the pope's honour obliged him not to abate any thing of the Spaniſh articles, and that aſſuredly the diſpenſation would not be granted upon any other terms. The cardinal told him, the king of England and prince of Wales had complied with whatever they really intended to grant the king of Spain, though not with what was extorted from them, whilſt the prince was a priſoner at Madrid, and what was not in their power. Moreover, he intimated to him, that there was no abſolute occaſion for a diſpenſation; and though it was deſired, it was not ſo much out of neceſſity as reſpect for the pope's perſon. So father Berulle departed with his inſtructions, notwithſtanding the nuntio's oppoſition.

If the court of France had ſhewn leſs reſolution, this affair would never have been accompliſhed. The pope's behaviour on this occaſion plainly ſhewed, he only wanted a pretence to refuſe the diſpenſation, or at leaſt, to delay it as long as poſſible. He retarded the affair by laying it before a congregation, where freſh difficulties were continually ſtarted. They were not ſatisfied that the king of England and the prince of Wales ſhould ſwear to the articles; they would have alſo the king of France to be guarantee, like the king of Spain, and Lewis was forced at laſt to promiſe it. They inſiſted particularly upon demanding a public church in London for the catholics, though they were told, it was not in the king of England's power to perform ſuch an article, if it was granted. In a word, there was no delay, no artifice, but what was practiſed by the pope to gain time, till at laſt the French embaſſador had orders to declare, if the diſpenſation was much longer deferred, the affair might be tranſacted without it. This menace making the pope apprehenſive that he might very unſeaſonably expoſe his authority, he promiſed the diſpenſation, after a tedious ſollicitation which would have held longer, had it been the court of France's intereſt to prolong it. But cardinal Richelieu was afraid, a farther delay would bring with it alterations that might cauſe a breach of the marriage, as happened in Spain: ſo the treaty was ſigned at Paris the 10th of November. It contained thirty public, with three ſecret articles, wherein much the ſame advantages were ſtipulated for the catholics, as in thoſe of Madrid. The articles of the treaty were:

I. His moſt chriſtian majeſty, to diſcharge what his dignity and piety oblige him to, and that he may treat of this marriage with a ſafe conſcience, undertakes to procure the pope's diſpenſation, within two months at fartheſt.

II. The articles and conditions of the marriage being ſigned, the king of Great Britain ſhall appoint ſuch perſons of quality as he ſhall think proper, to eſpouſe madame in the prince his ſon's name, according to the uſual form in the Roman catholic-apoſtolic church.

III. The

III. The nuptials ſhall be celebrated in France, after the manner obſerved in the marriage of the late king with queen Margaret, and in that of the ducheſs of Bar.

IV. After the celebration of the marriage, madame ſhall be conducted at his moſt chriſtian majeſty's charge, as far as Calais, where ſhe ſhall be delivered to the perſon commiſſioned by the king of Great Britain to receive her.

V. From Calais to England, her expences ſhall be borne by the king of Great Britain, and every thing ſhall be done on both ſides, as is ſuitable to a princeſs of the royal family of France, joined in marriage to the heir of Great Britain.

VI. The marriage being celebrated in France, and madame arrived in England, a day ſhall be fixed, on which the king of Great Britain, the prince his ſon, and madame his wife, being in ſome convenient room of the palace, dreſſed in their royal robes, the contract and authentic inſtrument of the celebration of the marriage ſhall be publicly read, together with the procurations, by virtue whereof the marriage was celebrated. Which done, the ſaid contract ſhall be ratified anew by the king and the prince his ſon, in the preſence of ſuch as the moſt chriſtian king ſhall commiſſion to that end, and of the lords of Great Britain who ſhall be preſent on this occaſion, without the intervention of any church ceremony.

VII. The free exerciſe of the Roman catholic-apoſtolic religion ſhall be granted to madame, as likewiſe to all the children that ſhall be born of this marriage.

VIII. To that end, madame ſhall have a chapel in all the royal palaces, and in every place of the king of Great Britain's dominion's where ſhe ſhall be or reſide.

IX. The ſaid chapel ſhall be beautified with decent ornaments, and the care and cuſtody thereof ſhall be committed to ſuch as madame ſhall appoint. The preaching of God's word, and the adminiſtration of the ſacraments ſhall be entirely free, and the maſs, and the other parts of divine ſervice, ſhall be celebrated according to the cuſtom of the holy Roman church, with all jubilees and indulgences which madame ſhall procure from Rome. There ſhall be alſo a church-yard allowed in the city of London, where, according to the cuſtom of the Roman church, ſuch of madame's attendants ſhall be buried, as ſhall happen to die, which ſhall be done in a modeſt manner. The ſaid church-yard ſhall be encloſed that it may not be profaned.

X. Madame ſhall have a biſhop for her almoner, who ſhall have all neceſſary authority and juriſdiction in all things belonging to religion, and ſhall have power to proceed according to the canons againſt ſuch as ſhall be under his charge. And in caſe the civil court ſhall lay hold on any the ſaid eccleſiaſtics, for ſome ſtate crime, and information be made againſt him, he ſhall be ſent to the ſaid biſhop, with the informations and proceedings; and the ſaid biſhop, after degrading him, ſhall put him again into the hands of the ſecular court. For any other crimes, the civil court ſhall ſend back the ſaid eccleſiaſtic to the biſhop, who ſhall proceed againſt him according to the canons. And in caſe of abſence or ſickneſs, the biſhop's vicar ſhall have the ſame authority.

XI. Madame ſhall have in her houſe twenty-eight prieſts or eccleſiaſtics, almoners and chaplains included, to ſerve in her chapel, and if there are any regulars, they ſhall wear the habit of their order.

XII. The king and prince ſhall oblige themſelves by oath not to attempt by any means whatever to perſuade madame to change her religion, or to engage her in any thing repugnant to it.

XIII. Madame's houſhold ſhall be ſettled with as much dignity, and conſiſt of as many officers as any princeſs of Wales ever had, and in the ſame manner as was agreed upon for the marriage of the moſt ſerene prince with the infanta of Spain.

XIV. All the domeſtics madame ſhall bring into England ſhall be French catholics, choſen by the moſt chriſtian king; and in the room of thoſe that ſhall die, ſhe ſhall take other French catholics, with the conſent however of the king of Great Britain.

XV. Madame's domeſtics ſhall take the following oath to the king, prince, and madame:

"I promiſe and ſwear to be faithful to the king of Great Britain, to the moſt ſerene prince Charles, and to madame Henrietta Maria daughter of France, and to keep truly and inviolably this my promiſe. And if I know of any thing to be attempted againſt the perſons of the ſaid king, prince, and madame, or againſt the ſtate, or public of the ſaid king's realms, I will diſcover the ſame to the ſaid king, prince, and madame, or to thoſe who ſhall have charge thereof."

XVI. Madame's portion ſhall be eight hundred thouſand French crowns; one half to be paid in London by his moſt chriſtian majeſty on the day before the eſpouſals, and the other half within a year after the firſt payment.

XVII. If the prince die before madame, without iſſue, the whole portion ſhall be reſtored to madame, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe pleaſes, whether ſhe ſtays in England, or returns to France; in which laſt caſe, it ſhall be in her power to bring the money with her.

XVIII. But in caſe there are children, only two-thirds of the portion ſhall be reſtored, the other third remaining for the children, whether madame goes back to France, or ſtays in England: but in this caſe, ſhe ſhall be paid the intereſt at five per cent.

XIX. The children which ſhall be born of this marriage, ſhall be brought up by madame their mother, till the age of thirteen years.

XX. The children ſhall inherit alſo the two-thirds reſtored to their mother, unleſs ſhe marries again: and then, the children of the ſecond bed, ſhall have an equal ſhare with thoſe of the firſt.

XXI. If madame die firſt without children, his moſt chriſtian majeſty grants, that in ſuch caſe, only half of the portion ſhall be paid back to him, but if there are children, the whole ſhall go to them.

XXII. Madame's jointure ſhall be ſixty thouſand French crowns, which ſhall be aſſigned her by the king of Great Britain.

XXIII. The king of Great Britain ſhall preſent madame, on account of the marriage with fifty thouſand crowns-worth of jewels and diamonds, which ſhall be madame's own property, as well as thoſe ſhe has now, or which ſhall be given her hereafter.

XXIV. The king of Great Britain ſhall be obliged to maintain madame and her houſhold; and in caſe ſhe becomes a widow, ſhe ſhall enjoy her portion and jointure with all other things to her granted.

XXV. In caſe the prince die firſt without iſſue, madame ſhall freely enjoy, wherever ſhe pleaſes to live, her jointure, which ſhall be aſſigned her in lands, caſtles, or houſes, whereof one ſhall be fit for her to reſide in, and furniſhed ſuitably to a princeſs of her quality.

XXVI. Madame ſhall have the free diſpoſal of the offices and benefices of the ſaid lands, part of which ſhall bear the title of duchy or earldom.

XXVII. Madame ſhall be at liberty, whether ſhe have children or not, to return to France with her houſhold goods, jewels, diamonds, and portion, as ſpecified in the articles above. And in this caſe, the king of England ſhall be obliged to conduct her at his charge to Calais, in a manner ſuitable to her quality.

XXVIII. Madame ſhall renounce all paternal, maternal, and collateral inheritance as to the lands of the royal domain ſubject to reverſion, by appennage or otherwiſe.

XXIX. The contract of marriage ſhall be enrolled in the court of the parliament at Paris, and ratified by the parliament of England, and regiſtered in the uſual courts. And the ſaid king and prince ſhall promiſe not to act contrary to any clauſe or condition of the ſame.

XXX. Moreover, it is agreed, that he of the two kings which ſhall refuſe to accompliſh the preſent treaty, ſhall be obliged to pay the other the ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns, as a penalty for the ſaid refuſal.

Private or Secret Articles.

1. That the catholics, as well eccleſiaſtics as temporals, impriſoned ſince the laſt proclamation, which followed the breach with Spain, ſhould all be ſet at liberty.

2. That the Engliſh catholics ſhould be no more ſearched after, nor moleſted for their religion.

3. That the goods of the catholics, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal, that were ſeized ſince the forementioned proclamation, ſhould be reſtored to them.

In this, as well as the Madrid treaty, we ſee the great care of the French and Spaniſh courts for the intereſt of the catholic religion, and the little zeal of king James, the prince, and the duke of Buckingham, for the proteſtant. The XIXth article concerning the education of the children, was of very ill conſequence to England. It almoſt proved the ruin of church and ſtate.

If it be aſked what could induce the king to purchaſe this marriage with ſuch hard terms to the religion profeſſed by himſelf, and almoſt the whole kingdom, there can be, in my opinion, but two motives aſſigned. The firſt was, to give the prince his ſon a wife of royal extraction, thinking any other princeſs beneath him. The ſecond was, the portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns, which might excite his deſire. As to the prejudice this treaty might bring to the proteſtant religion, it troubled him not, for he never had the intereſt of that religion much at heart.

The treaty being ſigned at Paris, M. de Lomenie, ſecre-

tary of ſtate, was ſent to London to ſee it ſworn by the king and prince. Immediately after, all the proſecutions againſt the papiſts ceaſed, and the king promiſed all the priſoners ſhould be releaſed, as ſoon as the marriage was conſummated.

When the earl of Carliſle was ſent to France to haſten the treaty of marriage, he had orders to propoſe to that court a league againſt the houſe of Auſtria. This was the prince's and Buckingham's grand aim. There was then a diſpute about the Valteline, between the kings of France and Spain, which made the court of England imagine Lewis would readily liſten to ſuch a propoſal. And indeed he did ſo; but it was only to frighten the pope and the Spaniard, and not with deſign to conclude the league. The duke of Bavaria had friends in the French court, who cauſed him to be much more regarded than the elector Palatine, expelled his dominions, and ſheltered in Holland. So Lewis's miniſters told the Engliſh embaſſadors, that the league and marriage were two diſtinct affairs, which could not be negotiated together; but after the concluſion of the marriage, the league ſhould be treated of. By this anſwer, they kept the Engliſh in hope, and the Spaniards in fear. On the other hand, the count of Manſfeldt ſtayed at or near Paris, and the Spaniards knew he had frequent conferences with the miniſters.

Some time after, Manſfeldt came to England, where he was received with extraordinary careſſes, and lodged by the prince in his palace at St. James's. Here, after ſome conferences, he agreed with the king, the prince, and the duke, that he ſhould have twelve thouſand men, to carry the war into the Lower Palatinate. This project being formed, the king preſſed the court of France with reſpect to the league: but his propoſal was artfully evaded on divers pretences, though without an abſolute denial. He was forced therefore to be contented, till the league was concluded, with demanding of the French king, a paſſage through his dominions for Manſfeldt's army. Lewis, in general or ambiguous terms, made him hope, not only that he would grant a paſſage, but alſo ſtrengthen this army with a body of his own troops. The event ſhewed, he meant after the concluſion of the league, whereas the Engliſh took it for a poſitive promiſe, whether the league ſhould be concluded or not. Purſuant to this project, the forces to be commanded by Manſfeldt were levied in England.

Whilſt this army was preparing to march, James cauſed a memorial to be preſented to the infanta Iſabella, demanding the city of Frankendal, which ſhe held in ſequeſtration, and, by the treaty of London, was to keep but till the end of the truce, which was to expire the 26th of October. Moreover, he demanded in the ſame memorial, a free paſſage for the garriſon he was to ſend to Frankendal, not only through the infanta's and his catholic majeſty's dominions, but alſo through the territories of their friends and allies. The infanta anſwered, ſhe would order the governor of Frankendal to ſurrender the place on the day appointed, to ſuch as ſhould produce a power from the king of England: that ſhe would grant a paſſage through her own, and the king of Spain's dominions, to the fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horſe, which, according to the treaty of London, were to take poſſeſſion of Frankendal, and, in general, would punctually execute the treaty. But as to the king's farther demand, to procure him a paſſage for his troops through the empire, ſhe declared it was not in her power, neither was ſhe obliged to it. Thus the court of England found by experience their error, in not inſerting in the treaty of London, what they were afterwards forced to demand, and what the infanta might juſtly deny. It is very true, in withdrawing the Engliſh garriſon from Frankendal, James met with no obſtacle; but he could not expect the ſame thing when he ſhould come to ſend them back. Some ſay, that on the 25th of October, the governor of Frankendal marched out of the city with his garriſon, but finding none of the king of England's forces ready to take poſſeſſion, inſtantly re-entered.

This was not the only error of the court of England, the moſt impolitic then in Europe. The twelve thouſand men to be conducted by Manſfeldt to the Palatinate were embarked in December, in extreme cold weather, without the leaſt doubt of their paſſage through France. Nevertheleſs, when the army came before Calais, the French would not ſuffer them to land. Much time was ſpent in going from Calais to the court, and from the court to Calais, even ſeveral times, and all to no purpoſe. The king of France conſtantly aſſerted, he had never poſitively promiſed to grant theſe troops a paſſage. The Engliſh authors call this a real breach of faith. I do not know whether they are in the right, and whether the court of England is not rather to be blamed, for not taking better meaſures, and ſecuring a paſſage through France, before the embarkation of the forces. However, the army ſuffering greatly on board the ſhips, where the ſoldiers were cloſely pent up, Manſfeldt was forced to ſail for Zealand, where he met with the ſame difficulties. The Zealanders ſaid, they had not proviſions for ſuch a number of troops, having had no notice of their coming. Much time was employed in negotiating. Meſſengers were ſent to the Hague, and afterwards to London. In the mean while, the peſtilence raging among the ſoldiers, above two-thirds periſhed before they were ſuffered to land. Moſt of thoſe that eſcaped, either deſerted, or liſted among the ſix thouſand Engliſh which were in the ſervice of the ſtates. Thus, by the court's wrong meaſures, this army became uſeleſs, and the money ſpent in raiſing it, was loſt [u].

[1625] It was February 1625, before pope Urban's diſpenſation arrived; when it came to Paris, two new conditions, not mentioned in the treaty, were ſeen in it with ſurpriſe, namely, 1. That the domeſtics of the children, born of this marriage, ſhould be catholics. 2. That the princeſs ſhould appoint them: and the pope abſolutely required the king of England, and the prince his ſon, to ſwear theſe two articles, otherwiſe the diſpenſation was void. The king of France was very angry with father Berulle for accepting ſuch a diſpenſation. But the father was ſo far from thinking it a fault, that he himſelf, as it is ſaid, inſinuated to the pope, that it would be proper to add theſe two articles, as having been forgotten in the treaty. The court of France therefore was under a freſh concern, fearing king James would reject theſe new conditions. But he was far from breaking for ſuch a trifle. He accepted them without being much importuned, and only refuſed to ſwear again, ſaying, his word was ſufficient. But without the oath, the diſpenſation was not valid. To ſatisfy the pope therefore, the king of France and the princeſs his ſiſter were forced to write to him, that they would warrant the performance of the two laſt articles. Notwithſtanding this, a new diſpenſation was to be ſollicited, which was ſome months in coming, and in that interval died king James, without having the pleaſure of ſeeing the marriage conſummated.

About the middle of March he was ſeized with a tertian ague, of which he had ſome fits. But though commonly ſuch agues are not dangerous in the ſpring, this brought him to his grave. He died at Theobalds the 27th of March, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, after a reign of two and twenty years in England.

His death happening, as I may ſay, ſuddenly and unexpectedly, cauſed many ſuſpicions, which fell on the duke of Buckingham. When one of the king's fits was going off, the duke cauſed certain plaiſters to be applied to his ſide and wriſts, and gave him twice with his own hands a medicine to drink, in the abſence of the phyſicians. Nay, he would have given it a third time, but could not perſuade him to take it. The king finding himſelf much worſe, ſent for the phyſicians, who ſaid poſitively, they would not preſcribe, if the plaiſters were not immediately removed. However, the king died within a few days. The duke was afterwards impeached by the commons, not directly for poiſoning the king, but for daring to apply remedies without the advice of his phyſicians [w].

James left only a ſon and a daughter. His daughter was married to a prince who had now loſt his dominions, and was fled for refuge to Reenen, in the province of Utrecht, where he kept his little court very poorly. King James, who

[u] Theſe twelve thouſand foot were divided into ſix regiments, the colonels whereof were Theophilus Clinton earl of Lincoln, the lord Doncaſter ſon to the earl of Carliſle, the lord Cromwel, Sir Charles Rich, Sir John Burroughs, and colonel Grey a Scotchman, who had been an old German commander, and affected to wear buff in time of peace, and at court, with a brace of piſtols at his girdle, which the king never liked to ſee. There were likewiſe two troops of horſe raiſed for this ſervice; one of which was commanded by the earl of Lincoln, and the other by one Gunter. Ruſhworth, tom. I. p. 153. At their winter quarters at Roſendale, the earl of Southampton, and his ſon the lord Wriotheſly, where both ſeized with burning fevers. The ſon died, and the father overcoming the fever, departed from Roſendale, with intention to bring his ſon's body to England, but died of a lethargy at Berghen-op-Zome, ſo were both in one ſmall bark brought to Southampton, and buried at Tichfield. Wilſon, p. 789.

[w] Wilſon ſays, one of Buckingham's chief motives was thought to be his fear the king would ſet up Briſtol his deadly enemy againſt him, to pull him down. And if what Burnet ſays be true, he had reaſon likewiſe to fear the king's old favourite Somerſet. He ſays, the king being reſolved to bring the earl of Somerſet into favour again, met him in the night in the gardens at Theobalds: two bed-chamber men were only in the ſecret: the king embraced him tenderly, and with many tears: the earl of Somerſet believed the ſecret was not well kept, for ſoon after, the king was taken ill with an ague, and died at Theobalds. Burnet ſays, he had this from ſome who were told it by the earl himſelf. Dr. Craig, the king's phyſician, was diſgraced, for ſaying, he believed the king was poiſoned. Burnet, p. 17.

BRITISH
15 JY 60
MUSEUM

London; Engrav'd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

BEN. JOHNSON.

J. Oliver Pinxt. *Goldar sculpt.*

In the Collection of Dr. Mead.

Publish'd as the Act directs Feb.y 12. 1785.

was ſo liberal, is accuſed of having but moderately contributed to the maintenance of this diſconſolate family. I do not know whether there be any ground for this accuſation. Charles, prince of Wales, who ſucceeded his father, was ſtill more unfortunate than his ſiſter.

James I. as I have elſewhere obſerved, has had for hiſtorians men very much prepoſſeſſed in his favour, or extremely prejudiced againſt him. This naturally followed from the diviſions to which he himſelf had given birth. Some repreſent him as a perfect pattern of a good king: others blacken his reputation as much as poſſible, by aggravating his failings. The reaſon of this diverſity proceeds from the hiſtory of his reign being penned at a time when the animoſity of the two parties was at the height, whence both have happened to leave in their writings evident marks of their paſſion. Therefore the character of this prince muſt not be formed, either upon the praiſes of the one, or the invectives of the other, but upon his manner of governing, upon his ſpeeches and actions. This might be done by recollecting the principal circumſtances of his reign. But to ſave the reader the pains, I ſhall briefly relate what is ſaid on both ſides, of which he will be able to judge.

The principal ingredients in king James's panegyric is the conſtant peace he cauſed his ſubjects to enjoy. This cannot be ſaid to be the effect of chance, ſince it clearly appears to have been his ſole, or, at leaſt, chief aim in his adminiſtration. Nothing, ſay his friends, is more noble or more worthy a great king than ſuch a deſign. But this deſign loſes all its merit, if the prince is diſcovered by his conduct, to preſerve peace only out of fear, ſupineneſs, exceſſive love of eaſe and repoſe; and king James's whole behaviour ſhews he acted by theſe motives, though he coloured it with the pretence of affection for his people.

If ſome take care to extol his knowledge in philoſophy, divinity, hiſtory, polite learning, others affirm, it was but real pedantry, and that from all his acquired knowledge he learnt only to talk very impertinently on every ſubject, inſtead of framing ſolid rules for the government of his dominions.

His liberality, which ſome praiſe, is exclaimed againſt by others as prodigality. Theſe pretend, he gave without meaſure and diſcretion, without any regard to his own wants, or the merits of thoſe on whom he heaped his favours.

The ſame contrariety occurs between king James's hiſtorians with reſpect to his capacity. Some call him for his wiſdom, the Solomon of the age. Others endeavour to diſplay all his errors, particularly in the two ſole important affairs of his reign, wherein he came off very ill, namely, the prince his ſon's marriage, and his ſon-in-law's election to the kingdom of Bohemia.

Some extol him for maintaining the prerogative royal in its full luſtre, in ſpite of the efforts of thoſe who were continually attacking it. Others pretend, he had conceived very wrong ideas of the Engliſh conſtitution, and by aiming to carry the regal authority too high, and inſtilling the ſame principles into his ſucceſſor, he was the prime cauſe of his family's ruin.

As to his manners, writers are no leſs divided. Some deſcribe him as a very wiſe and virtuous prince, whilſt others ſpeak of him as a prince of a diſſolute life, given to drinking, and ſwearing in common converſation, eſpecially when he was in a paſſion. He is likewiſe reproached for diſſolving the earl of Eſſex's marriage, pardoning the earl and counteſs of Somerſet, for the death of ſir Walter Raleigh, and for confidently calling God to witneſs, in full parliament, that he never had any thoughts of granting the Papiſts a toleration, which he could not affirm but by means of ſome mental reſervation.

In fine, whilſt ſome praiſe his moderation and equity to the catholics, others pretend to demonſtrate he was a papiſt in his heart, and only profeſſed the proteſtant religion out of fear of what might follow, in caſe he openly declared for the catholic. If ſome ſay, in proof of his being a good proteſtant, that he made conſtant profeſſion of the eſtabliſhed religion, perſevered in it to his death, and when dying, charged the prince his ſon to protect the church and clergy; others anſwer this is far from a demonſtration. They pretend, the point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that his actions belied his outward profeſſion: that the ſame thing had happened to him in Scotland, where till the age of thirty-ſix years, he had profeſſed a religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards [x]. That when he came to England, he declared himſelf openly the protector of the papiſts: took their part on all occaſions: promoted them to honours, dignities, public offices: that in his reign the laws againſt them were never duly executed, of which he boaſted to the catholic princes in his apology concerning the oath of allegiance: that in all his ſpeeches, whether in the parliament or the ſtar-chamber, his conſtant aim was to move his ſubjects to conſent to a full toleration for the catholics: but not finding the parliament inclined as he wiſhed, he granted, by his ſole authority, a toleration in effect, by hindering the execution of the laws, and diſcharging the condemned recuſants from fines, and other penalties; that in his conventions with Spain and France, he poſitively promiſed to cauſe no more laws to be enacted againſt the papiſts, and thoſe already in force not to be executed: that on all occaſions, he affected to ſhew he found nothing amiſs in the Roman religion, but the pope's exorbitant power over princes: that by giving the pope the titles of holy father, his holineſs, and by conſenting that his ſon's children ſhould be educated in the Roman religion till the age of thirteen years, he plainly diſcovered ſhe ſhould not be ſorry for their continuance in that religion: laſtly, His engagements with the archbiſhop of Ambrun is a freſh and manifeſt proof of his being a true papiſt. To this the others reply, it is not poſſible to conceive, that if king James had been a papiſt in his heart, he would have ſpent a conſiderable part of his time in writing books againſt the popiſh religion, and combating the arguments of Bellarmine and Du Perron [y].

Having related what is ſaid for and againſt king James, with reſpect to his religion, I ſhall take the liberty to offer my opinion or conjecture, which is, that this prince was truly neither a ſound proteſtant, nor a good catholic. One can hardly help owning, that he had never much at heart the intereſt of the proteſtant religion, as on the other hand, it cannot be denied, he made public and conſtant profeſſion of the ſame to his dying day. This induces me to think he had formed a ſcheme of religion different from that of others, according to which he counted of no moment, what the proteſtants and catholics looked upon as eſſential. The difference between the two religions, with reſpect to the tenets, was not what affected him moſt. He believed, probably, that every religion was good, provided it taught obedience to ſovereigns, and preſerved the hierarchy, which he conſidered as a fundamental article. It is therefore no wonder, that, agreeably to this ſcheme, he ſhould refuſe to enter into the meaſures of the Engliſh proteſtants to hinder the growth of the Romiſh religion in England, or not ſcruple to continue in the religion he profeſſed, ſince, according to his notions, the two religions were equally good, provided the pope's deſpotic power was aboliſhed. I ſcarce doubt that in his conferences with the archbiſhop of Ambrun, he had in view the chimerical project of reconciling the two religions, without troubling himſelf about the tenets which divided them, and which, in one of his ſpeeches, he called ſcholaſtic queſtions. But, very probably, if he could have executed this project according to his ideas, all the advantage would have been on the ſide of the Romiſh religion. This, in my opinion, is the only way to excuſe his condeſcenſion to the catholics, and his zeal to protect them. Otherwiſe, I do not ſee how his doubtful behaviour, with regard to religion, can well be accounted for. This may alſo ſerve to diſcover the reaſon of his rejecting with ſo much animoſity the religion of the puritans, whoſe principles he believed directly contrary to the ſcheme he had formed.

But whatever may be ſaid for and againſt James's perſon, it is certain, England never flouriſhed leſs than in his reign, and the Engliſh ſaw themſelves expoſed to the inſults and railleries of other nations, whilſt the blame was generally caſt on the king [z].

[x] Of king James's diſſimulation in point of religion, there is a clear evidence in a ſpeech of his to the kirk of Scotland, which he is ſaid to ſpeak ſtanding, with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, wherein among other things, "He bleſſed God that had honoured him to be king over ſuch a kirk, the ſincereſt kirk in the world. The church of Geneva, what are they? They keep Paſche and Yule [i. e. Eaſter and Chriſtmas]. What authority have they in God's word, and where is their inſtitution? As for our neighbour church in England, their ſervice is an evil maſs, ſaid in Engliſh; they want nothing of the maſs but the liftings," &c. Calderwood, Hiſt. of Ch. of Scot. p. 246.

[y] As to the king's perſon, though his father and mother were eſteemed the handſomeſt couple of the age they lived in, yet he was himſelf but homely, nor in any of his features was to be found the leaſt reſemblance of the beautiful Mary Stewart, or lord Darnly. Welwood, p. 17.

[z] The following epigram made in France in his time, is the clear evidence in what eſteem he was with his neighbours.

Tandis qui' Elizabeth fut roy,
L'Anglois fut d' Eſpagne l'effroy.
Maintenant, deviſe et caquette,
Regi par la reine Jaquette.

That is literally in Engliſh,
Whilſt Elizabeth was king,
The Engliſh were of Spain the terror.
But now, govern'd by queen Jaquet,
They only talk and prattle.

By

By an indenture of the 2d of James I. a pound weight of gold, of twenty-two carats fine, and two carats allay, was coined into 37l. 4s. by tale; namely, into unites, going for 20s. double crowns at 10s. Britain crowns at 5s. thiſtle crowns at 4s. and half crowns at 2s. 6d. a piece: and a pound weight of ſilver of the ſaid old ſtandard into 62 ſhillings by tale; namely, into ſhillings, ſixpences, twopences, pence, halfpence, crowns, and half crowns.———In the third year of this reign, a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard of twenty-three carats three grains and a half fine, was coined into 40l. 10s. by tale; namely into roſe-rialls at 30s. a-piece, ſpur-rialls at 15s. and angels at 10s. a-piece.———In the 9th, there was a proclamation for raiſing gold 2s. in every 20s. ———In the 10th, a pound weight of the old ſtandard gold was coined into 44l. by tale; namely, roſe-rialls, ſpur-rialls, and angels: and a pound weight of gold of twenty-two carats fine, was coined into 40l. 18s. and 4d. namely, into unites at 22s. double crowns at 11s. Britiſh crowns at 5s. 6d. thiſtle crowns at 4s. 4d. three farthings, or half Britiſh crowns at 2s. 9d. a-piece.

1

2

3

4

The gold coins of this king (as appears from the indentures above) are roſe-rialls, and ſpur-rialls, angels, unites, crowns, and half crowns, of ſeveral denominations. The roſe-riall has on one ſide the king upon his throne, in his robes, with crown, ſcepter, and ball, at his feet a portcluſe, IACOBVS. D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverſe, the roſe and arms, which are quarterly, France and England in the firſt and fourth quarters; ſecond, the lion within the double treſſure fleury, for Scotland; third, the harp for Ireland, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST. ISTVD. ET. EST. MIRAB. IN. OCV. NRIS. The unite has on one ſide the king's figure, IACOBVS. DEI. GRA. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET. HIBER. REX. Reverſe, FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM. VNAM. Of theſe unites there are ſeveral ſorts, as may be ſeen in Nummi Britann. Hiſtoria, p. 84, 85. One in particular has the king's buſto laureate on one ſide, and XX. behind the head, a ſcarf croſs the ſhoulder, inſcriptions and arms as the former unites, HENRIC. ROSAS. REGNA. IACOBVS. There is a half, with X. behind the head, and a quarter with V. The crowns have on the reverſe the arms, and HENRICVS. ROSAS. REGNA. IACOBVS. The thiſtle crown has on one ſide a roſe crowned, and IA. D. GRA. MAG. BR. FR. ET. HIBER. REX. On the other ſide a thiſtle flower crowned, TVEATVR. VNITA. DEVS. (Fig. 1.) The half crowns have, on one ſide, the king's figure, and IA. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA. Reverſe, the arms, and TVEATVR, &c.———The ſilver coins of this king are crowns, half crowns, ſhillings, ſixpences, twopences, pence, and halfpence. The crown repreſents the king on horſe-back in armour, and crowned, holding a ſword in his hand; the roſe and crown upon the trappings of the horſe. IACOBVS. D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Reverſe, the arms, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMCI. Another crown is inſcribed, IACOBVS. D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. Reverſe, the arms, QVÆ DEVS. CONIVNXIT. NEMO. SEPARET. The ſhillings have XII. (Fig. 2.) and the ſixpences VI. behind the king's head crowned, with legends as on the crowns. The pence and twopences are inſcribed I. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA. with I. or II. behind the king's head crowned (Fig. 4.) Reverſe, the arms fill up the whole area. The Iriſh monies are in all reſpects like the Engliſh, only have a harp crowned on the reverſe (Fig. 3.) The copper money of Ireland has two ſceptres through the crown.

13 JY 60

THE

A Genealogical Table of the Posterity of James I. King of England.

1. We have in this Genealogical Table as in the foregoing taken care to place on the same Horizontal line all the Princes & Princesses equally distant from the same common Stock, viz.t from William the Conqueror: Thus James I. being on the 18 Line & the 24th King his Descendants are placed on the following Lines in proportion as they are more or less removed.
2. We have carefully distinguished the different Branches that are formed by the Posterity of James I. So that the Fathers and Mothers are placed on the Line above their Children as near the middle as possible
3. As the Males are in the Order of Succession preferred to the Females we have placed the Males before their Sisters tho' the last were older that the Reader might more easily discern what Pretension each of them may have to the Crown of England But except this we have placed both Male & Female according to the time of their Birth
4. That this Table might not be carried to an excessive length on both sides we have in some places been obliged to put the Children of the same Father & Mother one above another especially between Lines 23 & 24.
5. We have set down in small Characters under each Prince the name of his Wife and under each Princess the name of her Husband together with the time of their Birth and Death as far as was necessary.

A Short Table.

which shews at one view how the Branches are formed & contains likewise ye Names of ye several Houses descended from K. James I.

- James I.
  - Charles I.
    - James II — Mary; Ann
    - Mary — William III
    - Henrietta — Anna Maria — Charles Em. (Savoy); Maria Adel. (France); Maria Lou. (Spain)
  - Elizabeth
    - Charles Lewis — Eliz.h Ch. — Phillip (Orleans); Elizabeth Ch. (Lorrain)
    - Edward — Louisa Maria — Lewis Otho (Salm); Eleanor Chr. (Urfel)
    - Ann — Lewis (Bourbon); Maria Ther. (Conty); Anna Louisa (Maine)
    - Benedicta — Charlotte Fel. (Modena); Wilhelmina Am (Imperial)
    - Sophia — George L. (Hannover); Sophia Char. (Prussia); Frederick Will (Prussia)

24 JAMES I.
K. of England, Ann of Denmark, d. 1625

25 CHARLES I.
K. of England, Henrietta of France, d. 1649

26 CHARLES II. K. of Eng. Catherine of Portugal d. 1683
27 JAMES II. K. of Eng. 1 Ann Hyde 2 Mary Be. of Modena Flies in 1668, d. in 1701
Henry D. of Gloucester
Mary Pr. of Orange d. 1660
Elizabeth Will. II. d. 1650
Ann d. 1640
Henrietta Philip D. of Orleans d. 1670

28 MARY — 29 ANN
2 of Eng. William III. d. 1694 — 2 of Eng. Geor. I.st of Denmark d. 1714
Louisa born in France 1692 d. 1712
28 WILLIAM III. K. of England Mary Daughter of James II d. 1702
Louisa M. Charles II K. of Spain d. 1689
Anna Maria born 1669 Victor Amadeus II D. of Savoy

William D. of Gloucester d. 1700
Victor Am. born 1699 d. 1715 — 1 Ann Char. Louis de Sulsbach
Charles Em. P.r of Piemont born 1701 — 2 Polix. of Hesse Rhynsels
Maria Adel. Lewis D. of Burg. Dauphin d. 1712
Maria Lou. born 1688 Philip V.K. of Spain d. 1714
Gab. D. of Orleans Regent Maria Francoise natural Daug. of Lewis XIV d. 1724
Phillip
Elizabeth Charl born 1676 Leopold D. of Lorrain
Victor Amadeus Theo D. of Aost born 1723
Lewis XV. K. of France born 1710
Lewis I. K. of Spain born 1707 Louisa Mar. of Orleans d. 1724
Ferdinand born 1713
Lewis D. of Orleans Augusta Maria Jane de Bade born 1703
Maria Louisa Charles D. of Berry d. 1710 — Louisa Adel. born 1698 Abbess of Shelles — Charlotte born 1700 Fran.P. of Modena — Louisa Maria born 1709 Lewis I.K. of Spain — Phillippina Elis born 1714 — Elis. P. of Charbras born 1716
Leopold d. 1723
Francis Hereditary of Lorrain born 1708 — Charles born 1712
Elizabeth Charlotte born 1711 — born 1714
Dorothea born 1720 Leopold E. of Salm Hochstraten — Elis. Alex. Claude Lamoral P. of Ligne born 1704 — Christiana An. born 1707
Fr. Lewis D. of Bourbon born 1692 Mary Ann of Conty
Hen. Charles E. of Charlois born 1700 — Lewis E. of Clermont born 1701
Maria Gab. born 1699 a Nun — Louisa Elis born 1693 — Louisa Ann born 1695 — Mary Ann born 1697 N. of Vermandois — Thersa Alex. born 1703
Lewis Arm. P.t of Conty born 1695
Maria An born 1699 Lewis Hen. D. of Bourbon — Louisa Adel born 1696
Lewis E. de la Marche born 1717 — N. E. of Alais born 1722

Elizabeth
Frederick V. Elector Palatine K. of Bohemia d. 1661

Charles Lewis Elector Palatine Charlotte of Hesse d. 1680
Rupert d. 1682
Maurice d. 1654
Edward Ann of Mantua d. 1683
Phillip d. 1650
Gustavus d. 1641
Elizabeth Abbess of Herworden
Louisa Hollandina Abbess of Maubuisson d. 1709
Henrietta Maria Sophia
Sigismond Ragotsky P.r of Transilvania d. 1651
Ernest Augustus Elect. of Hannover d. 1713

Charles Elector Palatine d. 1685
Elizabeth Charlotte Philip D. of Orleans d. 1723
Louisa Maria Charles Theodore P.r of Salm d. 1679
Ann Henry Julius P.r of Conde
Benedicta Henrietta John Frederick D. of Hannover born 1652

30 GEORGE I. K. of England born 1660 d. 1727 Sophia Doroth. of Zell
Frederick d. 1690
Charles d. 1674
Christian d. 1703
Maximilian Ernest D. of York born 1674 d. 1728
Sophia Charlotte Frederick I.K. of Prussia d. 1705

31 GEORGE II. K. of England born 1683 Wilhelmina Charlotte of Anspach born 1683
Sophia Dorothea 2 of Prussia born 1687
Frederick William K. of Prussia born 1688
Frederick Augustus Will. born 1722
Frederica Louisa Will. born 1709
Frederica Louisa born 1774
Philippina Char. born 1716
Dorothea Sophia born 1719
Louisa Ulrica born 1720
Charlotta Amelia born 1723

Lewis Aug. P.r of Dombes born 1700
Lewis Char. E. of Eu. born 1701 — Louisa Adel born 1696
Francis Jst Hereditary of Modena born 1698 — Charlotte of Orleans
Frid. born 1700
Benedicta born 1697
Maria Jos. born — Maria Amel
Frederick P.t of Wales born 1707 — Will. Aug. born 1721
Ann P.ss Royal born 1709 — Amelia born 1711 — Elis Car. born 1713 — Maria born 1723 — Louisa born 1724
Frederick born 1712
Augustus Will. born 1722

Abbreviations
K. Stands for King
Q. ..... Queen
Pr. ..... Prince
D. ..... Duke
d. ..... died

To be placed at the end of K. James's reign

Engravd for Harrison's Edition of Rapin.

BRITISH MUSEUM
13 MAY 30

Ist Genealogical Table of the Royal Family of Scotland from Malcolm II to Robert II.

The Scots pretend that Malcolm II was the 83 King of Scot.d from Fergus I.

83 **Malcolm II** K. of Scot. d. 1040.

Beatrix — Boada

84 **Duncan I** K. of Scot. d. 1046. — 85 **Macbeth** K. of Scot. d. 1061.

86 **Malcolm III Canmoir** Margaret of England, Sister of Edgar Athelng. d. 1097. — 87 **Donald VI Luctacus** K. of Scot. expelled 1069.

Edward — Stain in his Father — Ethelred — d. before his Father — 89 **Edgar** K. of Scot. d. 1109. — 90 **Alexander I** K. of Scot. d. 1120. — 91 **David** K. of Scot. d. 1151. — Edmund — Matilda — Henry I K. of Eng. — Maria — Eustace E. of Bulloigne. — 88 **Duncan II** Bastard K. of Scot. imprison'd 1098. — Bethoca

Henry — P.r of Scot. d. before his Fa. — Matilda — 1 Hen. III 2 Geoffrey Emp. E. of Anjou. — Matilda — Stephen K. of Eng. — Hexilda — N. Comin.

92 **Malcolm IV** K. of Scot. d. 1160. — 93 **William** K. of Scot. d. 1214. — David — E. of Hunting.n Matilda of Chester. — Ada — N. E. of Holland. — Marjory — N.... — Will.m — Comin.

94 **Alexander II** K. of Scot. d. 1249. — Isabella — Robert de Ross. — Ilda — N. de Dunbar. — Margaret — Eustace de Vesci. — Henry — de Galithly. — Alfrick — Will.m Say — Henry — David — John. — Margaret — Allan de Galway. — Isabella — N. Bruce — Ada — Hen. Hastings. — Florence — E. of Holland. — Alix — N. de Pinkeny. — Richard — Comin.

95 **Alexander III** K. of Scot. d. 1285. — Margaret — Marjory — Nich.s de Soulis. — William — de Ross. — Patrick — E. of Dunbar. — William — de Vesci. — Patrick — de Galithly. — Will.m Say — Thomas — Christina — Devergulda — In.o Baliol. — Marjory — Robert Bruce — E. of Carick. — John — Hastings. — Will.m — E. of Holl. — Henry — de Pinkenny. — John — Comin.

David — Alexander — Margaret — Erick K. of Norway. — Magoth — Nicholas — de Soulis. — Robert — de Ross. — Patrick — E. of Dunbar. — In.o — de Vesci. — Will.m — de Vesci. — Alfrick — Rob.t Werden — 97 **John Baliol** made K. of Scot. by K. of Eng.d — 99 **Robert I Bruce** K. of Scot. d. 1329. — Edward — Slain in Ireland. — David — Marjory

96 **Margaret of Norway** Q. of Scot. contract.d to Edw.d P.r of Wales Son of Edw.d I. d. in coming over to Scot. — Robert — de Ross. — Patrick — E. of Dunbar. — Agatha — N. of Mandeville. — 100 **Edward Baliol** Made K. of Scot. by Ed. III. in the room of David II. and expell'd by the Scots. — 99 **David II** K. of Scot. Joanna of Eng.d d. 1370. — Marjory — Walter Stuart. — Margaret Matilda

After the Death of Margaret of Norway, the Crown of Scot. was in dispute chiefly between Jn.o Baliol and Rob.t Bruce. The rest mark'd with Stars claim'd it likewise but were descend.d from Bastards or the younger brendits of David E. of Huntington.

Roger de Mandeville.

Robert II Stuart K. of Scot.

Sudlow fec. Map, Chart and Writing Engraver, 191. Strand.

BRITISH MUSEUM
15 JY 60